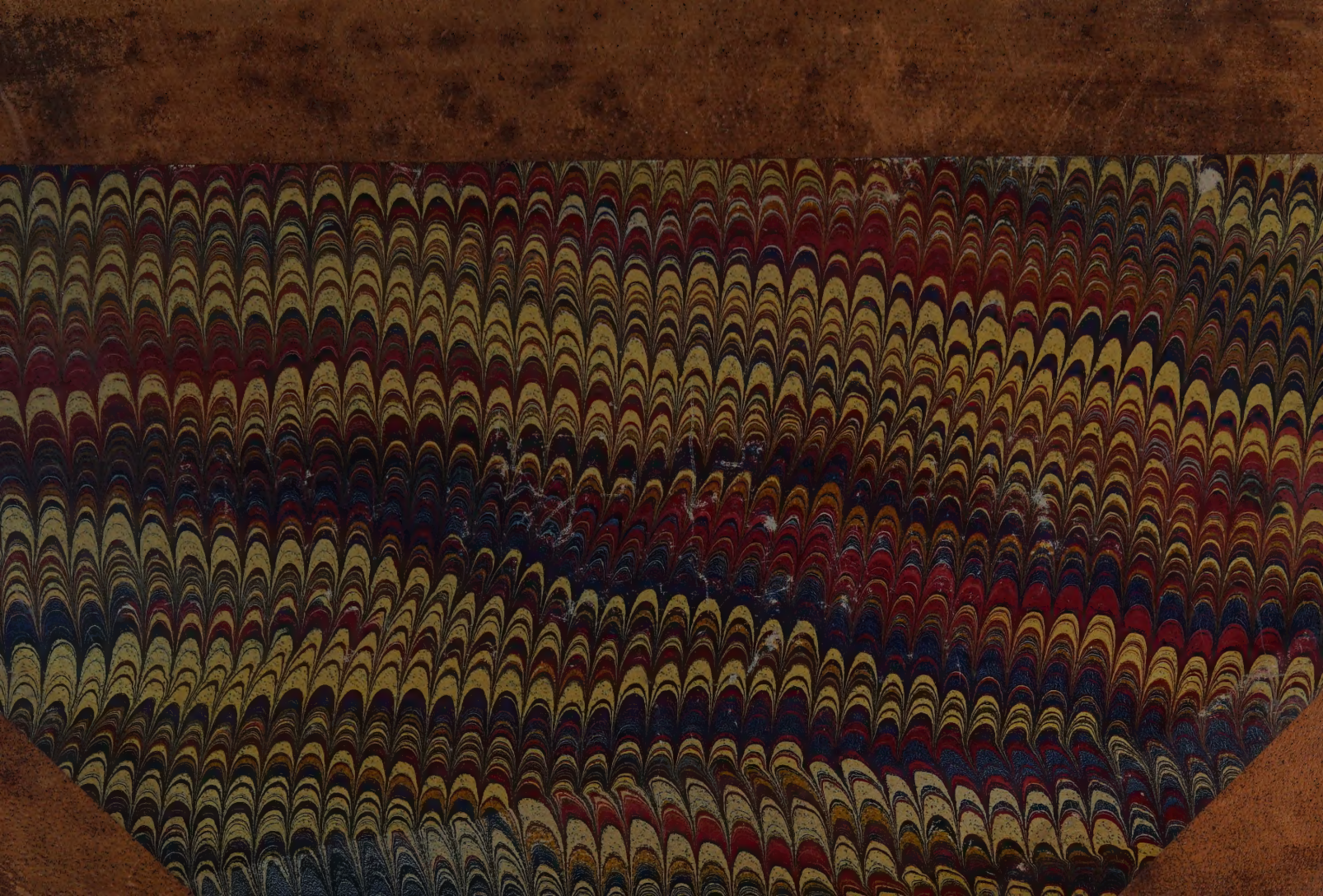

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DANVILLE REVIEW.

No. I.

MARCH, 1864.

ART. I.—*The Nature and Extent of Church Authority.*

THIS article is intended, in part, as a critique upon a pamphlet of forty pages, by James Brown, Esq., entitled *The Church and the State, their Relations to each other;* but mainly designed to set forth what we regard as the true doctrine upon the Nature and Extent of Church Authority, to declare "all the counsel of God," as made known in his word.

The pamphlet of Mr. Brown is a "review of an article in the *Danville Review* of December, 1862," this article being the first of two upon "Politics and the Church," which it was our pleasure to write. We should not attempt a rejoinder to his reply, were it not that the case affords a proper occasion not only to correct some apparent misapprehensions of our meaning into which he and possibly some others may have fallen, but to vindicate more fully a doctrine which is vital to the true theory of the church, and essential to the fulfillment of her mission among men.

Mr. Brown is an entire stranger to us, but we presume he is a lawyer by profession and a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church. We must say that we rejoice, in this day of political turmoil, that any of this class of men are disposed to give serious attention to such topics as are discussed in this pamphlet. It appears to be written, for the most part, with fairness, viewed from his particular stand point, and to be pervaded with a general good temper; though his misapprehensions have led him to do us an occasional injustice, and his unwar-

ranted fears have betrayed him into some harshness of speech toward many of the clergy.

We find, on opening the pamphlet, a preliminary note, complaining of the conductors of this *Review* for not admitting his article into its pages. "The following article," says Mr. Brown, "was written for the *Danville Review* in reply, &c. It was expected that the conductors of that periodical, after having admitted argument on one side of the question, would have fairness and candor enough to allow the other side to be heard also. This, however, was denied, and therefore the appearance of the article in the present form."

When Mr. Brown's article was read by the editors, our individual wish was expressed that it might be admitted, but we were overruled. Of this decision Mr. Brown was duly informed. His intimation of a want of "fairness and candor" towards him—rather a serious charge at any time—is probably from a want of due information of what is common law in conducting periodicals of this character. It is a rule generally governing such in all countries, not to admit articles of the nature of reviews, criticising and controverting those which appear; that such periodicals are established to advocate those opinions which their conductors wish especially to promulgate, and therefore, that there can be no obligation upon them to admit any thing contrary thereto; that their liberty, however, is not abridged by this rule, but when they waive it the case is an exception, of which they are to be the sole judges. It was as an exception that we urged admission in this case. The justice of this common law is obvious at a glance. The press, however, is free, and Mr. Brown has availed himself of it.

The article opens with a quotation from Edmund Burke, which serves "as a fitting introduction to the thoughts" which the writer wishes "to express on the true relation existing between the Church and the State." This extract from Burke serves "as a fitting introduction" quite as well for our purpose also; for it allows us to say of our reviewer, what we have often observed in a large class of writers who side with him, that he assumes the very thing to be proved, and the assumption is of that which is radical as underlying the whole controversy, or he aims at the outset to forestall a judgment in his favor. "Politics and the pulpit," says Burke, "are terms

that have little agreement." If there is anything in this which is "fitting" in its application to the article we wrote, it means that we defended the right to introduce politics into the pulpit, a position which on the contrary we directly denied; or, it means that the doctrine we laid down and advocated—that it is the province of the pulpit and of church courts to expound and set forth all that God has taught, as well that which concerns men's duties to the State as any other things revealed in the Scriptures—necessarily involves the preaching of "politics," a proposition which is of the essence of the whole matter in discussion. We can see nothing "fitting" in the quotation unless it means one of these things. That we are right in this, is evident from what Mr. Burke further says of ministers, which the reviewer intended of course to apply, viz: "Those who quit their proper character to assume what does not belong to them, are, for the greater part, ignorant both of the character they leave and the character they assume. Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the passions they excite." Here is not only full confirmation of what we have said, but this is a coarse and offensive imputation—which nothing in our article justifies—upon the character of a very large number in a most honorable profession, founded upon taking for granted what should be proved, and what indeed can not be. It furnishes a "fitting" opportunity for the retort which this class of writers lay themselves liable to, that ministers, even as a whole profession, are quite as well "acquainted with the world," as lawyers and statesmen, as a class, are with the church; and that they seldom "pronounce with so much confidence" upon what are solely the world's affairs, as we often see politicians, both small and great, very forward to do, about those matters of church doctrine and order which demand long and arduous study fully to understand—an example of which we have before us; and as to the "passions" excited in these classes respectively, we leave that to the observation which any man can make as he witnesses the proceedings at the English hustings, or looks into the courts or legislative halls of our own country.

This wholesale condemnation of large bodies of men in a

most honorable profession, for what here and there an over-zealous or even unworthy member, found in all professions, may do, is in bad taste, and an unwarranted proscription; and it furnishes the "fitting" occasion further to note, in passing, what we have often witnessed since the occurrence of our present civil war, that those politicians who denounce "preaching politics," generally withhold condemnation from "political preachers" proper, provided they are on their side, but bitterly complain of those who are opposed to them, and this too whether they are heard from the pulpit or in ecclesiastical bodies or through the press. Even the great parliamentary orator cited was not an exception to this discrimination in his time. When Great Britain was entering upon that struggle with her American Colonies, which resulted in their independence, and Burke and Chatham and Camden and Rockingham and others were endeavoring to stem the tyranny of Lord North and his supporters, they did not despise the powerful aid given the opposition party by the trenchant pen of the Dean of Gloucester. Churchman though he was, yet an "Apostle of Free Trade," he defended the Colonies against taxation and the other oppressive measures of the ministry, and was deemed a valuable auxiliary to the resistance party in parliament. Indeed he went beyond them, and took the ground boldly for separation, urging, "Declare North America independent," and prophetically added, "measures evidently right will prevail at last." This was "preaching politics" outright, and not by a Bishop who had a seat in the House of Lords, but by a Dean; and yet the statesmen of that day of the party with which Burke acted, were glad of so powerful an ally, though found only in the Church.

We regret to find these aspersions in the opening lines of Mr. Brown's pamphlet, and we still more regret that they are not the only offensive flings against the ministry in which he indulges. Apparently stimulated by the example of his great prototype, he at length far outstrips him. He uses these expressions of the clergy and the rulers of the church: "Who are ever found so ready to *laud themselves as the peculiar favorites of God;*" also, "the impression kept up by clergymen, that, *because they have been accustomed to teach,* THEREFORE they are to be received as the authorized teachers of the word of God;"

they exhibit "more of the spirit of *bitterness and intolerance* than is commonly found with any other *class* of men;" and also, "they seek to grasp at those questions about which they *know nothing*."

Our reviewer must have been very unfortunate in his acquaintance with the clergy, if he has ever met with any Protestant ministers who "laud themselves" as here described, or who base their claim to be "teachers" on the ground here stated. As to "bitterness and intolerance," we know something of ministers and church courts, and of lawyers too, and we are quite sure we have never witnessed such *striking* exhibitions of these qualities as may almost any day be seen in a county court house; but we have never, for that reason, felt warranted in assailing that respectable profession as a "class." Nor should we feel justified in saying that they "know nothing" about matters beyond their own profession, or even matters pertaining to ours; but we think it will be seen in the sequel, in this case at least, that Mr. Brown's want of information upon what belongs to the church, scarcely justifies him in speaking quite so oracularly. He exhibits far too plainly that although he may possibly be useful to that remarkable species of the *genus clericus* he seems to have met with, he is poorly qualified to become the instructor of the great body of the clergy about the functions of their office, and the nature and extent of the authority of the church. We hope to make this appear before we dismiss the subject. It is true, that, after having expended his strength against positions maintained by nearly all the ministers and churches of the Christian world, he puts in, near the close of his pamphlet, this *caveat:* "Nor, in speaking of the clergy, do we wish to be understood as referring to all that class, but only such as bring themselves within the range of our remarks." But the exceptions to those condemned by him — so far as the latter stand simply upon the main propositions we elaborated in the article he reviews — are found mainly in those churches among Protestants which are in alliance with the State; so that, though he may not "wish to be understood as referring" to the mass of the profession, his reasonings, wittingly or unwittingly, are directed against nearly the whole body of ministers and churches of all denominations. There is no objection to this, provided his arguments are sound. We now, in passing,

simply note the fact, that in spite of this *caveat* his condemnations are sweeping, and his style of dealing surprisingly confident. We quite agree with him that "the present age is disposed to measure these claims by the amount of argument that can be brought to bear in their favor." We shall endeavor to put his pretensions on the one hand and our claims on the other to this fair test.

Let us, then, approach the main questions in discussion. There are two of them, suggested by the manner in which Mr. Brown treats the subject. What is the nature and extent of the authority, if any, which the church has in expounding the word of God? What topics are properly embraced within the range of her teachings? These questions cover the whole subject as now presented. In the two papers we published in former numbers of the *Review*, the latter was the main point treated, as it involved that on which persons at present seemed to be the most divided. It was, substantially, whether the ministry and church courts could canvass and determine, in any manner or extent, certain matters, by some deemed "political," by others "ecclesiastical;" in a word, it involves the issue, What subjects are political or secular, and what ecclesiastical? The first of the two questions above named was only treated incidentally. We did not suppose the doctrine laid down, if understood, would be questioned, for it is the doctrine of nearly the whole Christian world. Those who do not acknowledge it, are found chiefly, and almost wholly, among those corrupt sects which have departed from the evangelical faith of Protestantism. We regarded it as taken for granted by all those who hold the cardinal doctrines of the Reformation, that whatever the church, by her ministry and courts, could teach at all, she could teach "authoritatively," in the sense in which this term is commonly understood in the church, and with the qualifications which we then stated with great definiteness and several times repeated; and that, in using this and similar terms, we were but using the common language of the ablest writers in all branches of the church; all which will appear to be so, in due time. But it seems we were mistaken in presuming upon full acquiescence. As Mr. Brown appears to view the matter, the question of church "authority" is the main one. He attacks our positions with vigor. He denies that the church has any

"authority," touching the interpretation of the word of God upon any subject even of the most strictly spiritual nature. These denials are very explicit in terms, and several times repeated. For example, to give his own words, he denies "that the church, through her ministry and courts, is, in any proper sense, God's 'authorized expounder of his law,' or that it has any divine commission at all to determine 'authoritatively' the meaning of the Scriptures on any point whatever, either ecclesiastical or secular." Indeed, the words "authority," "authoritative," and the like, which we used, have thoroughly frightened him. He sees Papal bulls and the Inquisition on every hand. "It is just that claimed by Popes and Councils, no more, no less," exclaims he; "the thunders of the Vatican, of which this seems to be the echo;" and then, "the assertion of any such arrogant pretensions for any merely human tribunal, would have been more befitting the days of Gregory VII, than it is the afternoon of the nineteenth century;" and he threatens us with the Reformation and the weight of the whole Protestant world.

The issue is thus a plain and an important one, and we shall aim to meet it squarely. Touching the first question above mentioned, we shall show: 1. That in applying the terms "authoritatively," &c., to the ministry and church courts, we but conformed to the ordinary *usus loquendi* of the church, as seen in her standards of faith and among her ablest writers from the Reformation downward. 2. That they claim for the church, under these terms, a real authority, in her ministers and courts, concerning doctrine, worship, and government; and we shall show the nature and extent of this authority, as thus claimed. 3. That this claim is founded upon the clearest teachings of the word of God, in direct command, precept, and practice.

In controverting a writer's sentiments, it is always a fair demand that his chief propositions shall be justly presented, with their qualifications and limitations, and that all his deductions shall be judged in the light of these principal propositions. It is just here that we complain of our reviewer. He has not seen fit to give our main propositions their true place, and he presents them in such a manner, with an omission of many of their chief limiting and qualifying clauses, that they appear to

teach a very different thing from that intended. We were careful to limit the "authority" of ministers and church courts *by the word of God*, stating that this was the only rule of faith. We presented this with a fullness and frequency to which Mr. Brown does not do justice, and we might almost charitably suspect that it had escaped his observation; else how could he seriously charge us with teaching a Papal doctrine of authority, when no principle concerning the Romish church is more clearly settled than this, that she repudiates the Scriptures as the only rule of faith?

Our main proposition was this: "That it is within the true province of the pulpit and of church courts, to examine and determine all questions upon all subjects, in their religious bearings, which affect the moral, social, and civil well-being of society; *the Bible being their guide as to topics and the views to be taken of them*, and the province of God, in the exercise of a wise discretion, determining the occasions on which they shall be presented."—*Review, Dec.* 1862, *p.* 613. Then these statements follow, scattered all through the article: "In treating a subject of this nature, *the Scriptures are our first, last, and only conclusive appeal*" (*p.* 614); "to the church is authoritatively committed the high duty of making known the will of God to men," and therefore, "the church, by her ministry and her courts, in all her utterances, *in so far as they are conformed to the Scriptures*, speaks in the name and by the full authority of her Divine Head;" and then, after acknowledging the right of private judgment, stating, "but while this is so, it is no less clear that it is within the true province of the Church, not only, but her bounden and solemn duty, as under Christ, 'the light of the world,' to give, through her ministry and her courts, her best powers, her most laborious zeal, and her most fervent prayers, first, to ascertain, *as far as in her lies, what God's will is, concerning all man's duties, as revealed in the Scriptures*, and then solemnly to declare that will, for the guide of the body of Christ, committed to her watch and care, and for the instruction of the world at large" (*p.* 615); "it is the duty of the ministry and the church to give instruction, *according to God's revealed will*, upon those subjects which now agitate the mind and oppress the heart of this nation, in every part of the State and in every branch of the Church" (*p.* 621); "is the will of

God *revealed upon it?*—if so, that is the end of controversy, and the church is authorized and bound to declare that will" (*p.* 622); and very much more to the same effect. Now it appears, that while Mr. Brown quotes very largely from this article, using the ordinary marks of quotation, he does not quote our first and chief proposition at all, but gives a partial view of it in his own language, and even that out of place; and then, though giving several extracts from the article upon our positions, he omits altogether the foregoing phrases which are italicised, thus conveying an impression to the general reader that we exalted the church and the ministry to an undue position of authority, even above the word of God, into full company with Rome.

To the same effect is the use made of certain terms we employed in these propositions. He impresses a meaning upon "authoritative," "authorized," etc., which, as made to bear upon our doctrine of the Church, involves the claim to a sort of infallibility; that is, if the ministry may, in any proper sense, preach, or if the church may, in any proper sense, pronounce a judgment "authoritatively," it involves what is equivalent to investing them with infallibility, such as is claimed by the Church of Rome. Thus, in noticing our statement that "the church is God's authorized expounder of his will," he says: "The thunders of the Vatican of which this seems to be the echo, are to be revived to enforce obedience to the decrees of the church; and with its ministry and courts girt with the divine right to expound the Bible, and make known to us its meaning, the next step would doubtless be to abolish all diversity of opinion as to what it does teach." Whether we really make any such claim as this, depends upon what we mean in the positions we have laid down, and we have shown that we intend nothing of the kind; but whether our language necessarily involves such claim—which is certainly a fair question, and the real point here—depends upon whether the meaning which Mr. Brown gives to the particular terms mentioned, is the necessary and only meaning, or the usual and prevailing one; for at this point, the whole matter in debate turns upon the signification of these important words. Is he right, then, in assigning such a meaning to them as the only admissible one; or, if we use them differently, are we warranted in this?

These points are easily determined; the former by appealing to an acknowledged standard for popular usage, and the latter by showing that our use is the one common to the Protestant Church. Let us then apply these fair tests.

Webster defines these words thus: "*Authoritative*, having due authority." "*Authoritatively*, in an authoritative manner; with a show of authority; with due authority." "*Authorized*, warranted by right; supported or established by authority; derived from legal or proper authority; having power or authority." These are the various forms of the word "authority" used in our articles. But we give this word also, selecting from its eight designations the only one which is appropriate: "*Authority*, 1. Legal power, or a right to command or to act; as the authority of a prince over subjects, and of parents over children; power; rule; sway."

Now does this popular usage assign to these words anything like an absolute, independent, or infallible quality, either in the essence of the power, or in regard to the persons or things concerning which it may be employed, all which enters into the claim of the Papacy? Is not, rather, the whole limited by the very will and law of God? Is not all "authority," here, referred to a standard outside of and above those who exercise it; a real authority, yet "warranted by right" only, whether that of "prince over subjects," or of "parents over children?" It is precisely so in regard to that which we claim for the ministry and the church, an authority subordinate to the revealed will of God, and yet a real authority, as we shall show. Our reviewer is thus not sustained in the meaning he would impress upon our words; and the alarm, therefore, he has sounded about the terrors of the Vatican is amusing, while the imputation made in another place that we are "claiming the right to denounce the curses of God on those who think or teach differently," is both false and ludicrous. He has made to himself a man of straw, and deals his mightiest blows in beating it to death.

Let us now appeal to the teachings of the Protestant Church, to show that in employing the terms in question as applicable to the ministry and church courts, in expounding the word of God, we have strictly conformed to the settled *usus loquendi* of Christendom. This appeal will show: 1. The frequent use of these and similar terms, in the formularies of the Protestant

faith; 2. That they designate a real authority, in the true sense of the word, and show its nature and extent; 3. That they claim this authority, not as inherent in the church as is claimed by the Papacy, under a visible head, but as founded upon the Scriptures and derived from Christ; its essence, nature, and exercise, being held in due subordination to his revealed will.

The last point is the vital one, and will be examined distinctly, after having examined the testimony of the church. We should go to the Scriptures at once and directly, for, as we said in our first article, they "are our first, last, and only conclusive appeal;" but as Mr. Brown affirms so confidently that all Protestantism is against us, we think it important to test his assertions. He says: "It would seem that the claim now set up that 'the church is God's authorized expounder of his law,' did not obtain with the Westminster divines." Again: "The standards of the faith of Protestant churches, so far as we have seen them, not only give no countenance to any such right on the part of the church, or church courts, but most pointedly disclaim and denounce it."

It may perhaps appear that Mr. Brown is not very deeply learned in the lore of the Protestant world. What these standards "denounce" is the impious pretension of the Romish church, which we have seen to be a very different thing from the claim we have asserted. That pretension, confounding it with our claim, he is constantly battling, without perceiving the heaven-wide difference. But what do these standards really say upon the point in hand? We shall give from a few what will serve as a sample for the whole. We are not to be considered as adopting as our own all that these standards set forth, even in the extracts we shall give. The reformers were fallible men, and held some gross errors. But they are the men with whom we are confronted, and we cite them to sustain what we have said. If they go farther, that is no special concern of ours, and in that case we shall turn them over to Mr. Brown. It will be seen that while they accord a real authority to the church, her ministers, and courts, they always present this in due subordination to the Scriptures, the only rule of faith and practice.

The Confession of Wirtemburg, 1552, was presented to the Council of Trent, which declared what was then and is now the

doctrinal faith of the Romish apostacy, and this Confession may therefore be allowed to present the "authority" of the church as viewed by Protestants, in contrast with the arrogant claims of Rome. In Article 32, "Of the Church," eight specifications are given, the last three of which are as follows: "(6.) That this church hath *authority* to bear witness of the Holy Scripture. (7.) That this church hath *authority* to judge of all doctrines, according to that, 'Try the spirits, whether they be of God,' 1 John, iv: 1; and 'Let the other judge,' 1 Cor. xiv: 29. (8.) That this church hath *authority* to interpret the Scripture." After laying down these points thus formally, the Confession explains its meaning more fully. Thus, upon the 6th point, it is said: "This *authority and right*, understand in this respect: that the true church of God, discerning the canonical books of the Scripture from all others, teacheth and defendeth, that nothing is to be added to or taken from the ancient canon either of the Hebrew or the Christian Scriptures." Here, the "authority and right" of the church settles the canon of Scripture. Upon the 7th point, "To this yield with these cautions: That in the judging of controversies, not any judges whatsoever do take unto themselves the name of the church, but * * * judges lawfully chosen; * * * that all controversies be determined out of the word of God alone," etc. Again, in explanation of these several points: "Now that which is affirmed, that the church hath *authority to bear witness* of the Holy Scripture, *to interpret* the Scripture, and to *judge of all doctrines;* it is not to be understood, that the church hath absolute authority to determine what she listeth, and also, if it please her, to change the Scripture, and to feign a new doctrine, and to appoint new worships of God: but the church, as the spouse of Christ, ought to know the voice of her husband, and that she hath received of her husband a certain rule, to wit, the prophetical and apostolical preaching, confirmed by miracles from heaven, *according to the which she is bound to interpret those places of the Scripture which seem to be obscure, and to judge of doctrines.*" This Confession, Article 34, "Of Councils," distinguishes in the same manner, subordinating the "authority" of councils to the Scriptures, in opposition to the pretensions of Rome, thus: "We confess that Councils ought to have their judgments in the church, concerning the holy *doctrine* of religion, and that

the *authority* of lawful councils is great; but the authority of God's Word must needs be the greatest."

Upon the point last mentioned, concerning church courts, the Confession of Scotland, 1560, makes the same discrimination against Rome, in Article 20, "Of General Councils," saying: "But the cause of councils, we mean of such as merit the name of councils, was partly *for confutation of heresies*, for giving public confession of their faith to the posterity following; which both they did, *by the authority of God's written word*, and not by any opinion of prerogative, that they could not err, by reason of their general assembly."

In the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, 1562, Article 20, "Of the Authority of the Church," it is said: "The church hath *power to decree* rites and ceremonies, and *authority in controversies of faith:* and yet it is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written, neither may *it so expound* one place in Scripture that it be repugnant to another." Like all the other confessions, here a real "authority" is ascribed to the church, carefully discriminating against Rome by subordinating it to the Scriptures.

The Confession of England, 1562, though drawn up in the same year, yet not the same as the last cited, in Article 7, upon "Ministers of the Church," says: "We say, also, that the minister doth execute the *authority of binding and shutting.* * * * And touching the keys, wherewith they may either shut or open the kingdom of heaven, we, with Chrysostom, say, 'They be *the knowledge of the Scriptures;*' with Tertullian, we say, 'They be *the interpretation of the law;*' and, with Eusebius, we say, 'They be *the Word of God.*' Moreover, that Christ's disciples *did receive this authority.*" The "keys" are the proper *symbol of authority*, not only in ecclesiastical but in secular usage.

All the Confessions speak fully of the "power of the keys," or the *authority* which Christ gave to the church, exercised by her ministers and courts. The Former Confession of Helvetia, 1536, Article 16, on "Ecclesiastical Power," says: "Now the *authority of the word*, and of feeding the flock of the Lord, which properly is the power of the keys, prescribing to all, as well high as low, what to do, ought to be sacred and inviolable. * * * For Christ himself is the true Head of his Church, and he alone is the Shepherd, who giveth governors, pastors and teach-

ers, that, by the outward administration of the keys, *they may rightly and lawfully use that authority.*"

The Confession of Bohemia, 1573, chapter 14, "Of the Keys of Christ," says: "The fourteenth chapter of Ecclesiastical Doctrine is of the Lord's Keys; of which he saith to Peter, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven."—Matt. xvi: 19. And these keys are the peculiar function, or ministry and administration, of *the power of Christ and of His Holy Spirit:* which power is *committed to the Church of Christ, and the ministers thereof,* unto the end of the world; that they may not only by preaching publish the holy Gospel, * * * but also that to the believing and unbelieving, they may publicly or privately denounce and declare, to wit, to those his favor, to these his wrath; and that to all in general, or to every one in particular: that they may wisely receive some into the house of God, to the communion of saints, and drive others out from thence; and may so, through the performance of their ministry, *hold in their hand the sceptre of Christ's kingdom,* and use the same to the government of Christ's sheep. * * * And all these things are done by the faithful shepherds of souls *in the Lord's stead;* not doing this of themselves, but *upon Christ's commandment.* * * * On the other side, the office and proper work of the keys of Christ is, to shut and bind; that is, *by the commandment of Christ, and the authority of this office* given by him to the church, which is *his power and sceptre,* to denounce, &c. * * * This *power of his sceptre and spirit* hath the Lord granted and delivered to the holy Apostles, and, in them, *to all ministers* of churches lawfully ordained, that *they might exercise it in his stead.*"

The foregoing are sufficient from the age of the Reformation. Coming down a century later, we find the Westminster Confession, 1647, teaching the same doctrine about church "authority," subordinating it to the Scriptures and discriminating in like manner against the assumptions of the Church of Rome. Chapter 31, "Of Synods and Councils," section 3, says: "It belongeth to Synods and Councils ministerially *to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience;* to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God, and government of His church; to receive complaints in cases of mal-administration, and *authoritatively to determine the same;* which *decrees and determinations,* if consonant to the word

of God, are to be *received with reverence and submission;* NOT ONLY for their agreement with the word, BUT ALSO *for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his word.*"

This last testimony is about as explicit a declaration of the "authority" of the church as could well be made in human language; certainly as full and decisive as any one paragraph, or all of them together, found in our former articles, containing also the self-same and the strongest term we used ("authoritatively"), to which Mr. Brown makes such vehement objection, and employing this term in the same sense; and what is to be especially remarked is, that he quotes from this very section of the Confession, and yet says, with surprising complacency: "It would seem that the claim now set up, that 'the church is God's authorized expounder of his law,' did not obtain with the Westminster divines." And he also says of this Confession: "It *denies* to ministers and courts the right to determine *any thing*, even in *ecclesiastical* matters, '*authoritatively;*'" when, as it appears, so far from denying this, it says: "It *belongeth* to Synods and Councils" to do this very thing, in this very manner, and expresses "the right" by using the very word which Mr. Brown repudiates.

But this is not all concerning the testimony of the Westminster divines upon church "authority." That body elaborated what is entitled "The Form of Presbyterial Church Government, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines of Westminster," and which was "examined and approved, anno 1645, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland," in which they say: "Christ hath instituted a government, and governs ecclesiastical, in the church; to that purpose the Apostles did immediately receive *the keys* from the hand of Jesus Christ, and did use and exercise them in all the churches of the world, and upon all occasions; and Christ hath since continually furnished some in his church with gifts of government, and with commission to execute the same when called thereunto. It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by several sorts of assemblies, which are congregational, classical, and synodical." They here use the scriptural term "keys" in the same sense in which it is used in all the Confessions, as *the symbol of authority;* and they refer to many texts of Scripture

to prove what they here assert of the "authority" which Christ gave to the ministers and courts of his church, in committing to them "the keys." Thus, citing Matt. xvi: 19, and John, xx: 21-23, they say: "These texts shall be brought to prove that the Apostles did immediately receive the *authoritative power of the keys*, from the hand of Jesus Christ," and citing 1 Timothy, i: 20; 3 John, ix: 10; 2 Cor. x: 6; 2 Cor. xiii: 10; they say: "These texts do prove that the Apostles did use and exercise the *authoritative power of the keys*, in all the churches of the world, upon all occasions." After giving these as examples substantiating ministerial "authority" in the church in all subsequent ages, they give specifications of its exercise: "The ruling officers of a particular congregation, have *power, authoritatively*, to call before them any member of the congregation, as they shall see just occasion." They speak of "*authoritative* suspension from the Lord's table;" and as "there was power and authority, under the Old Testament," given to the officers of the church, so "the like power and authority by way of analogy, continues under the New Testament. The ruling officers of a particular congregation have *power, authoritatively*, to suspend from the Lord's table a person not yet cast out of the church; * * * because it is an ecclesiastical business of ordinary practice, belonging to that congregation." That the Westminster divines here term the "power authoritatively to suspend," involves, of necessity, "the right" *authoritatively to expound the word of God*, or, as the Wirtemburg Confession styles it, "to judge of all doctrines;" for, discipline, even to suspension and excommunication, may be exercised for error in *doctrine* as well as for immorality of life, and of this the rulers of the church are made by Christ the sole judges. The Westminster divines are thus *toto cœlo* arrayed against Mr. Brown.

There are testimonies almost without number to be found in the seventeenth century which fully sustain the position we have laid down upon church authority. It was an age which produced many able divines, who were more scriptural upon many points of doctrine and government than many of the earlier Reformers. As one of the fruits of the laborious researches of that age, "sundry ministers of Christ within the city of London," published a work which is used as a text book, and is regarded as a standard authority in institutions on both sides of the Atlantic. We give

extracts as a sample of the views held at that time upon the point before us, and might fill a dozen pages of similar testimony. We find the reprobated words we used brought into requisition with great frequency, to set forth the authority of the church, her ministers and her courts.

This work speaks of the "power" of church courts to determine *authoritatively*" matters of doctrine and government, as "*of divine right*;" that in these things, lower courts "are subordinate to the greater, *authoritatively*;" that these courts are "not only suasive and consultative, but also *authoritative* classes and synods, in cases of great importance, difficulty, common concernment;" that as to its "Author or Fountain," this "is a power or authority, *derived from Jesus Christ our Mediator*;" that as to "the special kind or peculiar *nature* of this power and authority," it is, "1. A *spiritual* power or authority; 2. It is a *derived* power," etc.

Notice, from the same work, the matter about which this authority is exercised. In chapter VII, "Of the several Parts or Acts of this Power," etc., it is said, respecting church courts: "*Authoritative discerning and judging of doctrine*, according to the word of God, *is a divine ordinance*. As that council at Jerusalem *authoritatively* (viz: by ministerial authority) judged of both the false doctrine and manners of false teachers, branding them for troublers of the church," etc. In the same chapter, after speaking of the authority to eject, on account of erroneous doctrine or corrupt life, it speaks of the authority of church courts over the matter of reinstating the penitent: "seasonable remitting, receiving, comforting, and *authoritative* confirming again in the communion of the church those that are penitent." In chapter IX, it is said: "Ecclesiastical power consists of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which are exercised in *the preaching of the word*, dispensing the sacraments, executing the censures, admonition, excommunication," etc. Again: "Church guides can properly discharge the duties of *doctrine, worship, and discipline*, themselves, and ecclesiastically command and compel others to do their duty also." In chapter XIV, "Of the Divine Right of Synods, or Synodical Assemblies," in speaking of the authority of church courts over matters pertaining to both faith and manners, it is said: "The power of synods is *not only persuasive and consultative*, as some think, able to give

grave advice, and to use forcible persuasions in any case, which if accepted and followed, well; if rejected and declined, there is no further remedy, * * * but it is a proper *authoritative juridical power*, which all within their bounds are obliged reverently to esteem, and dutifully to *submit unto*, so far as agreeable to the word of Christ. Finally, this *authoritative juridical power* of synods is three-fold, viz: *doctrinal*, regulating, and censuring. 1. *Doctrinal*, in reference to matters of faith, and divine worship; not to coin new articles of faith, or devise new acts of divine worship; but to *explain and apply* those articles of faith and rules of worship which are laid down in the word, and *declare the contrary errors, heresies, corruptions.* Hence the church is styled 'the pillar and ground of the truth.'—1 Tim. iii: 15. * * * 3. *Censuring* power, in reference to *error, heresy*, schism," etc.; "and these censures exercised, not in a lordly, domineering, prelatical way: but in an humble, sober, grave, yet *authoritative* way, necessary both for preservation of *soundness of doctrine*, and incorruptness of conversation; and for *extirpation of the contrary.* This is the power which belongs to synods."

These citations will suffice to show the views of the Protestant church at the Reformation and in the following century. We might give further testimonies from the men of those times, but it is needless. They agree with that given above; and what we have produced fully sustains our position on church "authority" in our former articles. But all this is of no moment, however completely it may meet and refute the objections of our reviewer, unless we are sustained by the direct testimony of the word of God, the tribunal of final appeal.

Let us, then, consult the Scriptures, to see what "authority," if any, they give to ministers and church courts to expound the word of God, touching doctrine, worship, discipline, etc. "Where can any Scripture warrant be found," inquires Mr. Brown, "for ministers and church courts to set themselves up as the authorized expounders of the divine will? Where is any light promised to them that is not also to each Christian?" We will give the information sought; but let it first be borne in mind that we have never contended for the right of "ministers and church courts to set *themselves* up" for this or any other purpose, and yet it is quite easy to show that they have been

"set up" for this very object by competent authority, and that all the "light" has been "promised to them" which is required for their work. "A right so important in its nature," continues Mr. Brown, "and so liable to be abused—for it is just that claimed by Popes and Councils, no more, no less—should rest on plain Scripture, and not be left to inference." We agree to this test for the claim, and shall endeavor to make the foundation here demanded for it so "plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it;" but this confounding of the claim with the usurpations of Rome is a total mistake, repudiated by all who insist on this "authority," and shows the writer to be unfamiliar with his subject.

The most general and yet quite specific foundation for this authority, and for the endowments requisite for its exercise, is the ministerial commission which Christ gave, and under which the ministry in every age claim to act. It is recorded by the Evangelists in much the same language, but by Matthew with more fullness. It forms the last words of his nospel, was delivered just before Christ's ascension, and, with the prefatory statement, is as follows: "Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshiped him: but some doubted. And Jesus came and spake unto them saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen."

It is not material to this discussion to enquire whether the Apostles only were present when this commission was given, or whether the whole body of believers was present; for in the latter case, and on the supposition that it was given directly to the church as a whole, all agree that its functions are to be exercised by the ministry, and in this case its authority was bestowed on the officers through and as the representatives of the church; or, in the former case, if given to the Apostles directly, it could not, as all agree, expire with them, for its functions are to be exercised "even unto the end of the world."

We therefore take the following things as conceded: that

this is the general ministerial commission; that it contemplates ministers as an order to be continued in the church to the end of the Gospel dispensation; that it invests them with the functions of preaching, administering the sacraments, taking the oversight of the government of the church, and introducing others into the ministerial office; and that all authority and endowments essential to these several objects, are here given and promised, and are to be continued during every period of the church. The meeting of Christ with the "eleven" at the time and place previously "appointed" (Matt. xxvi: 32, and xxviii: 7,)the bestowal of authority on the ground that "all power" had been given him expressly for the objects mentioned, and the terms employed in the grant, place all we assume beyond doubt.

Substantially the same duties as a portion of those above enumerated, with the authority and endowments essential to them, are mentioned and explained in other passages, and belong to the same general delegation of ministerial power, thus: "Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: who sesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."—John xx: 21–23. Again: "And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."—Matt. xvi: 18, 19.

These grants of authority are found elsewhere stated in the same words. We need not stop to notice the perversion of the last passage by Papists. Protestants generally agree that these passages are intended to indicate the duties which Christ committed to the ministry of all ages, and to convey the necessary authority and powers for their discharge.

Two questions now arise: What is the authority, if any, bestowed by this commission? What are the endowments, if any, promised for the discharge of the duties imposed? We may view these questions separately, though they are so intimately connected that their subject matter, for the purposes of

this discussion, may be regarded as much the same. Authority, in this case, implies all the essential endowments for its exercise; and so the possession of the endowments here promised presupposed full authority for their use. The one is the complement and warrant of the other.

First, then, what is this authority? In its nature, this is none other than Christ's authority, embodied in his ministers, and executed by them in his stead, and is the same, therefore, as though he acted in person. This is the idea which Paul had of this commission: "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." That Christ might be qualified to impart this authority, nothing less than "all power" was given him of the Father for this very purpose. "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, *therefore*, and teach all nations." It is thus just as certain that the ministry possess full divine authority from Christ to execute every part of this commission, as it is that Christ bestowed any authority whatever upon them for this end by virtue of the absolute "all power" which he had derived from the Father.

The word rendered "power" in the preface to this commission (*πᾶσα ἐξουσία, all power*), means here *authority*. It is translated "authority" in nearly thirty places in our version of the New Testament. Two examples will suffice. Where the Roman centurion says to Christ, "I am a man under *authority*, having soldiers under me" (Matt. viii: 9), this word is used; and we know the nature of authority, as embodied in the Roman emperors. It was real, and so far as human authority may be, it was absolute. When Christ preached, the reason given why "the people were astonished at his doctrine," was that "he taught them as one having *authority* (same word), and not as the scribes."—Matt. vii: 29. Where disobedience to the civil authority is spoken of, "whosoever, therefore, resisteth the *power* (authority), resisteth the ordinance of God" (Rom. xiii: 2), it is the same word in the Greek. And not only in the English Scriptures, but in ecclesiastical writings, and in common speech, the words "power" and "authority," though really different, are often used interchangeably. The nature of ministerial authority is therefore unquestionable. In quality, it is, by

delegation, nothing short of the highest authority in the universe; spiritual in its character, and divine in its essence.

In the next place, observe what is demanded of those who are called to the exercise of this authority; or, in other words, notice what are the specific duties of the ministry as set forth in the commission. The present discussion calls us to notice only one of them, but that perhaps a chief one. We would not rashly distinguish where Christ has not, but if any preëminence be allowed, we regard *preaching*, and what is essentially involved therein, as the minister's prime duty. Paul must have viewed his commission in something of this light when he said: "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel."

What, then, is preaching? It is to give instruction in divine truth, *by exposition of its meaning*. The prominent idea of the preacher is that he is a *teacher*. This is the duty imposed by the very terms of his commission. Two words used in it show this. The command is: "Go, *teach* (*μαθητεύσατε*) all nations."—Matt. xxviii: 19. The word here rendered "teach," is used in but three other places in the New Testament, and in two of them it has reference to instruction in Gospel truth, and in the other it is used concerning a disciple who had been so instructed.—Matt. xiii: 57; Acts, xiv: 21; Matt. xv: 57. The other word is: "*Teaching* (*διδάσκοντες*) them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."—Matt. xxviii: 20. The word here rendered "teaching," is used in some form nearly one hundred times in the New Testament, and always conveys the idea expressed in this passage, that of *teaching* the truth, or of teaching error, and is in every instance rendered in our version for the one or the other.

Preaching is thus essentially giving *instruction* in divine truth, by developing its meaning; and this is something more than the public reading of the word of God. It involves of necessity, *exposition*, *interpretation*, *application*. The ministerial commission gives full authority to do these very things; these are the very things which by its precise terms are commanded to be done; an order of men have been called by Christ and set apart for this express purpose; the doing of these things is of the very essence of their authority; and anything which falls short of this manner of preaching does not meet the demands of this commission, either in letter or spirit. When, therefore,

this part of the ministerial work is done in accordance with Christ's will, it is done in the highest possible sense "authoritatively;" and as the ministry are bidden, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," it follows that "every creature" who hears the truth thus preached, in any nation, tribe, or tongue, is bound to give heed to it as the word of God, under peril of the divine displeasure. Ministers are thus "the authorized expounders of the word of God."

We are now prepared for the inquiry: What are the special ministerial endowments, if any, for this important work? As exposition of the truth is the chief duty of the ministry in the matter of preaching, as the benefit to be received from it depends in a great measure upon the correctness of such expositions, and as the Scriptures expressly declare that the illuminating power of the Holy Spirit is essential in any and every case to a clear and correct understanding of the truth (1 Cor. ii: 14), it would seem to be a little remarkable if Christ had not given the ministry, by promise or otherwise, any special endowment for this chief part of their work, called and set apart as they are for the special duty of instructing all mankind in the way of salvation. Reasoning *a priori*, we should conclude that such endowment were a moral necessity, that the ministry could not accomplish the purpose of preaching without it, and we should expect to find, on searching the word of God, that the requisite aid had been provided.

The grounds on which such a presumption is founded, and which, on examination, we find sustained by the facts, are: 1. The Spirit's influences are bestowed upon individuals, ordinarily for their individual benefit; but they are given to the church as an organized body, for the benefit of all men. 2. The vast mass of mankind are in ignorance and sin, and therefore can not claim the guidance of the Spirit, while the members of Christ's own body need constant instruction that they may "grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;" hence the ministry are appointed expressly to instruct the church in this "knowledge," and to "teach all nations" the truth. 3. The organization of the courts of the church, is, in a great degree, for her own benefit; but their functions, for this end, are not less for her guidance in true doctrine than in holy life, and indeed the one is essential to the other.

Assuming each of these points to be true, and that the ministry and church courts in executing their several functions are to be guided by the Scriptures as their standard, and that the word of God can be understood only by the teachings of the Spirit, there seems to be, we repeat, a manifest necessity—perceivable antecedently to any direct knowledge of the fact—that the "church as such," in her ministry and courts, should be especially endowed by the Spirit, that she may accomplish her mission. The duties she has to fulfill, as an organization, through her teachers and rulers, are vastly greater and more varied and difficult than those which devolve upon any individual simply for himself. For them she needs higher endowments of the illuminating and guiding Spirit. Is there, then, any foundation for the position that the church possesses such endowments? We need not distinguish specifically what is said of the ministry as "teachers" and as "rulers," or what is declared of the church as an organized whole; for under whichever of these forms the Scriptures speak on this point, they are to be understood of what is promised to the body of Christ as a public visible organization.

For an answer to the inquiry immediately before us, let us first revert to the ministerial commission, as given by each of the Evangelists. When Christ sent forth the ministry to "teach all nations," Matthew records him as saying: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." This is always understood of the presence of the Holy Ghost, called elsewhere "the Spirit of Christ," and was promised not merely for the personal comfort of the ministry, but to witness to, aid in, and sanction, their official work. When Luke speaks of this commission, he gives these words of Christ, referring to the Holy Spirit: "Behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high." John refers to this endowment, in connection with Christ's sending forth the ministry, giving his word: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."

That these passages all refer to the same persons—the ministry sent forth under the general ministerial commission—is universally conceded. What, then, is the purport of these several declarations of Christ about the Holy Spirit? It will not do to say that they have no reference to the ordinary, per-

manent ministry, but relate merely to the endowments of the Apostles. If we may say that the special aid of the Spirit for the official work of this commission as promised in the record of Matthew was not to be permanent, then we have no ground to conclude that the commission itself is permanent. The same reasoning which would destroy the permanency of so material a part would destroy the whole. But not only is the commission permanent, as all agree, but this part of it is permanent, and therefore the promise of the Spirit is permanent; for "the end of the world" means, as long as the Gospel shall be preached, or to the end of this dispensation. Nor may we say, that, because the Apostles were endowed with miraculous powers of the Spirit, as at Pentecost, referred to in the passage from Luke—powers which have ceased, being confessedly for a temporary purpose—therefore the ministry are not to enjoy and have no promise of any special endowments of the Spirit whatever, for a permanent work. In some important things the apostolic work was totally different from that of the permanent ministry, and hence the Apostles had miraculous powers. When their extraordinary work ceased, the extraordinary endowments for it also ceased. But this furnishes no reason to conclude against special endowments for the ordinary ministry. The work in the two cases being dissimilar, the endowments may be dissimilar, and still those which the permanent ministry possess may be special and peculiar to their order, though miraculous inspiration has passed away. There is no need of thus confounding the cases, nor is there any conflict between them. But besides this, the gift of the Spirit spoken of in John, whatever its measure or quality, was actually bestowed before the Saviour's ascension, and is not therefore to be confounded with the effusion at Pentecost. It was bestowed at the moment of announcing the commission, thus: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." Undoubtedly this was an accomplishment of the promise made in this commission as given in Matthew—one recording the promise and the other its instant fulfillment; the accounts of the two Evangelists thus making up the complement of the Saviour's words touching the one event—without in the least conflicting with the miraculous

endowments referred to in Luke, and fulfilled at Pentecost after the Saviour's ascension. This shows perfect harmony between these three Evangelists upon this feature of the commission, while it appears that Mark, though giving the other points of the commission, makes no mention of the Spirit; but his omission does not affect what is directly stated by the other three. It is thus as certain as any thing recorded in the Scriptures, that, in the commission, under which the ministry of all ages are authorized to preach the Gospel, is contained both the promise and a declaration of the actual bestowment of special endowments of the Holy Ghost for their work.

We may then note the progress of the Gospel in the early stages of its career for illustrations of this power. When its first preachers went forth under this commission, we find that the Spirit witnessed with their teachings, *in specially enlightening their minds*, not only in the new truths of the new dispensation, *but upon the written revelation which the church had in its possession during the previous ages.* Nor was this special endowment for preaching confined to the Apostles, the extraordinary order, who had extraordinary powers, and a temporary mission to fulfill. Stephen, Philip, Barnabas, who were not of the Apostles, with many others, were thus endowed.—Acts, vii: 55; viii: *passim;* xi: 24; xv: 4. The primal cause of these special endowments was that these preachers might *rightly expound the truth, interpret the written word of God*, as well as make known other truths, and thus meet the demand of the commission to "*teach* all nations" the way of life.

If it be said that the power of the Spirit by which these first preachers under the new dispensation were aided was truly miraculous, and belonged to them as inspired men, we reply that it would be difficult to show that all who were then aided by the Spirit to preach were endowed in this higher sense, or had any higher aid than that promised to the ministry in every age, except in the proclamation of entirely new truths. But we may safely admit that all the preachers of the apostolic age were thus truly inspired, and that this was essential to the complete establishment of the infant church. But it is a most violent *non sequitur* from this, that the ministry of subsequent ages, acting under *the same commission*, in which is promised *the same Spirit, for the same end*, are to enjoy no measure of

these special endowments. This makes the words of Christ of none effect: it nullifies one of the material parts of the commission, and, in effect, destroys the whole.

And besides this—on the admission supposed—observe how the true and full inspiration of all the preachers of the apostolic age affects the present argument. If a proper inspiration was needed to enable them to understand, so as to expound aright, *the Old Testament Scriptures, a written revelation*, much more do the ministry now need the special endowments promised to enable them to expound a written revelation, when they can lay no claim to such inspiration. The measure of aid which we claim to be permanently promised for the same end is at least as important now as a much higher measure was then, otherwise it would not have been made permanent. The difference is not essentially in its *nature*—though we by no means deny such difference—but in its *degree*. These early instances may therefore well illustrate what is promised in that commission under which all Christ's ministers act.

For further illustration, observe two particular instances where the early preachers of the Gospel, not of the number of the apostles, were specially aided by the Holy Spirit to understand, in addition to the Old Testament Scriptures, *the words of written revelation, as found in the New Testament* (precisely the case of the ministry now), *so as to be able to preach its truths to others*. They are found in the instructions of Paul to Timothy and Titus, whom he styles, the one his "own son in the faith," and the other his "own son after the common faith," and both of whom he had probably introduced into the ministerial office. They are injunctions upon ministerial duty. Paul says to Timothy: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust." "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed unto thee, *keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us*." "And the the things that thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also."—1 Tim. vi: 20; 2 Tim. i: 13, 14; ii: 2. An eminent scholar, commenting on Paul's meaning in these passages, remarks: "The thing committed in trust to Timothy, which the Apostle was so anxious that he should guard, and

deliver to faithful men able to teach it to others, was the true account of our Lord's character as the Son of God, his descent from Abraham and David, his birth of a virgin, his doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, and his return to the earth to raise the dead and judge the world. Now, as these things, at the time the Apostle wrote this epistle, were all faithfully *recorded in the writings of the Evangelists, and were foretold in the writings of Moses and the prophets, these inspired writings* were, without doubt, a principal part of the deposit committed to Timothy, to be kept by him, and delivered to faithful men able to teach others. Farther, as the Apostle in his sermons and conversations had explained to Timothy many passages, both of the ancient Scriptures *and of his own writings*, these interpretations were to be kept by him, and followed, in all his discourses and exhortations to the Ephesians and others."—*Dr. MacKnight, in loco.*

That "the things" which Timothy was to "keep" were the great doctrines of gospel faith here mentioned, and that they were to be kept "*by the Holy Ghost*," so that he might be enabled properly to preach them to others—"to faithful men who should be able to teach others also"—are stated in the Apostle's own words. That these doctrines, at the time Paul wrote, were reduced to a written form by the several Evangelists, is an undoubted historical fact; and that these Scriptures of the New Testament, including Paul's "own writings" and his other instructions, as well as the Scriptures of the Old Testament, were "a principal part of the deposit committed to Timothy" as a minister, all which he was enjoined to "*Keep by the Holy Ghost*," in order that he might be aided to preach the truth, and committing it to "faithful men," to be kept in like manner, that they might "teach others also" by the endowments of the same Spirit, are matters concerning which there is no ground for disagreement. It follows, then, upon the testimony of the Apostle, in the light of these facts, that Timothy enjoyed just those special endowments of the Holy Spirit which were promised in the commission to the ministry of every age, and for precisely the same end—*to enable him to understand the great doctrines of salvation which had been reduced to the form of a written revelation, so that he might properly preach them to others.*

The other case referred to is found in a corresponding passage in Paul's instructions to Titus, concerning the qualifications of those whom he should introduce to the ministry: "Holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."—Titus, i: 9. The Apostle does not mention here, as in Timothy, that "the faithful word" is to be held fast "by the Holy Ghost" which dwelt in him, but this is of course implied.

These cases thus illustrate the exact condition of ministers now, who are faithful to the demands of their commission; they may have the special aid of the Holy Spirit to enable them to understand *a written revelation*, so as to declare the truth *authoritatively* "to every creature."

The point to which we have already adverted, as an objection which might be made by some—that these are instances of inspired men—would, even if admitted, only serve to make the argument all the stronger for the position we maintain. There is, however, no proof that Timothy and Titus were inspired, in the sense that the Apostles were. Why should Paul instruct them in regard to their ministerial duties, if they were equally inspired with himself? The fact that he did thus instruct them is a clear proof that though he was inspired, they were not; for it is absurd to suppose one man would attempt to teach another, where both had equal claims to inspiration. Timothy and Titus were not of the college of the apostles; they had no apostolic powers; they were simply preachers of the new dispensation, having, so far as we have any certain knowledge, no higher endowments for their work than those promised in the commission given to all true ministers of the Gospel. But, as we have said in regard to the other instances referred to in the Acts, admitting that Timothy and Titus were truly inspired, and had all the higher powers of the Holy Ghost which the Apostles enjoyed, and that it is to these that Paul refers in regard to the "trust" which they should "keep by the Holy Ghost," then we say that these admissions only make their case an argument in our favor, showing the absolute necessity in even a stronger light for what the promise provides; for, if such extraordinary gifts were *essential to enable them, as preachers, to understand the written revelation of the Old*

Testament, and as much of the *written revelation of the New Testament* as was then reduced to that form, then, *a fortiori*, much more do the ministry now, *for the same purpose*, need at least the special endowments promised in the general ministerial commission. So far, therefore, as the present discussion is concerned, it really matters not what may have been the quality or measure of the endowments bestowed on these early preachers. Take either view of their spiritual gifts, and their case fully sustains and illustrates the position for which we contend—that the faithful ministry of every age have the promise and may enjoy the special aid of the Holy Spirit, in such measure as is neither promised nor bestowed upon any in the church for any less purpose, to enable them to understand the truth that they may expound and proclaim it to others with saving effect.

We now present some illustrations of the actual exercise of "authority," by both ministers and church courts, in expounding the word of God, under the special endowments of the Holy Spirit for this end, which may serve as examples for ministers and church courts of the present day.

The first is found among Paul's instructions to Titus. After mentioning certain subjects for his preaching, he says: "These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke, *with all authority*," *μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς*.—Titus, ii: 15. There would be no more sense in supposing the "authority" with which Titus was enjoined to preach, was to be confined to him, as peculiar to the man, or the subjects mentioned, or the time, place, or age, in which he lived, than in supposing Paul intended a similar restriction to be put upon the words with which the next verse opens: "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work." These injunctions, it is agreed by all, both preceding and following the verse under consideration, declare the duty of ministers in this and in every age. The same must be admitted of the "authority" with which Titus was enjoined to preach. What, then, was this authority? The word *ἐπιταγῆ* occurs but seven times in the New Testament. In each of the other six places it is translated, in our version, "commandment." One is found in this same epistle, where Paul speaks of himself as a preacher: "But hath in due times manifested his word through preaching, which is committed unto me according to the *command-*

ment of God our Saviour."—Titus, i: 3. Again: "Paul, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the *commandment* of God our Saviour, and Lord Jesus Christ which is our hope."—1 Tim. i: 1. When speaking of "the preaching of Jesus Christ," Paul says: "But now is made manifest, and by the scriptures of the Prophets, according to the *commandment* of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of the faith." Rom. xvi: 26. In the other three places (1 Cor. vii: 6; vii: 25: and 2 Cor. viii: 8), the Apostle had "*no commandment* of the Lord."

The "authority" which Titus was thus to display in preaching, was no empty thing, when the same writer, in every other instance in which he uses the word by which he expresses it, calls it "the *commandment* of the everlasting God." Be it observed that the Apostle does not mean by "authority" in this place, that Titus was to regard himself as a duly authorized minister—duly instructed and otherwise qualified and properly ordained, concerning which of course there could be no doubt—but that his *preaching* was to be "with all authority." This plenary "authority" was to enter into the essence of his *doctrine*, in matter and manner, so that he could declare it as the real truth of God, so that those who heard him should be obliged so to regard it, and so that he could demand obedience to it as such.

Take another example, showing ministerial "authority" and the duty of the people under its exercise: "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief: for that is unprofitable for you."—Heb. xiii: 17. Here are three words, one expressing *authority*, and the other two enjoining *obedience*. The word rendered "obey," is πείθεσθε, from πείθω, which signifies "to bind or tie, in order to lead; to turn, conduct," etc. It is used negatively in Gal. iii: 1, and v: 7, in precisely the same manner in both places: "that ye should not *obey* the truth." The nature of the obedience spoken of in Heb. xiii: 17, is illustrated, so far as the use of the same word now may do it, in James, iii: 3, "Behold, we put bits in the horses' mouths, that they may *obey* us; and we turn about their whole body." The word rendered "submit," is used no where else in the New Testament. It is ὑπείκετε, from ὑπείκω compounded of ὑπο, *under*, and εἴκω, *to*

yield. It undoubtedly has its correct meaning in our version, in this place. The word rendered "rule," is ἡγουμένοις, the whole phrase being, πείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, and meaning literally, "Obey *the ruling* of you, or *your rulers.*" The participle here used is from ἡγεομαι, meaning "to lead, guide, teach, instruct; to preside, govern," etc. The noun ἡγεμων means "a leader, guide; a chief, ruler, governor, prince," etc. Both the substantive and verbal forms, coming from the same root, are used many times in the New Testament; the former, once in the plural, translated "princes" (Matt. ii: 6), and in every other instance translated "governor" or "ruler," either singular or plural; the latter having a variety of translations in our version, but always embodying the idea of "authority." Two instances of the latter, besides the verse in question, are found in this same chapter, as verse 7, "them which have *the rule over you*, who have spoken unto you the word of God;" and verse 24, "Salute them that have *the rule over you*, and all the saints." In both these verses, as in verse 17, under consideration, the participial form of the verb is used, the only difference being in the case.

It is thus clear that this passage teaches a real authority in the rulers of the church, and demands a corresponding subjection on the part of the people; the authority being nothing less than that of Christ, the Head of the universe, delegated to his ministers; and the obedience being nothing less than that which he himself demands, and to be rendered to them as unto him. The passage can mean nothing short of this.

The only question which remains, concerning Heb. xiii: 17, if indeed there can be any raised at all, respects the things embraced in the authority there given to "rulers;" that is, the matters about which the authority is to be exercised. It is plain that it covers *doctrine*, *worship* and *government*, for all these are committed to ministers and ecclesiastical rulers. We say nothing here upon the specific authority of church courts, as such; that point is still in reserve. But assuming at present that there are such courts, or even individual "rulers," then this passage can embrace nothing less than what we have stated; for the whole matter of *doctrine* and *worship*, in preaching, teaching, expounding, catechising and conducting all the service of the sanctuary, whether in the prayer meeting, Sunday

school, or the great congregation, comes under the authority of the "rulers" of the church as truly as the specific matter of *discipline*. But if any suppose that this passage has reference to discipline particularly, or indeed wholly, it will not in the least affect the argument from it in favor of ministers and "rulers" being "the authorized expounders of the word of God," as we claim. Discipline in the strictest possible sense of the term, may be exercised upon one or both of the things, corruptness in *doctrine* and corruptness in *life;* as truly upon the former as the latter, and with equal authority. There is nothing upon which the whole church is better agreed than this, both in principle and practice. Take any actual case, then, of discipline for corruptness in doctrine. Ministers and people alike may be arraigned for this. They may be admonished, suspended, excommunicated, and if ministers, deposed from office. If, then, there be any tribunal competent for this, recognized by the Scriptures—whether the congregation among Independents; or the session, presbytery, or synod, among the Presbyterians; or the bishop, among Episcopalians — that tribunal must, from the nature of the case, as the London divines style it, be concerned in "judging of doctrine," in order to determine whether error really exist; and if so, to judge of the gravity of the case, and the grade of punishment required; and when this is determined by the court of last resort, the decision is final; and the sentence which follows is irrevisible, unless the error is renounced and repentance is shown. If the decision degrade a man from his office, or cut him off from the church, or both, it may involve the most serious consequences, oftentimes to reputation, character, and peace, and not unfrequently, from the deprivation of office, may take from him and from his family the means of worldly support; while none of these consequences would be in the least obviated by the most persistent plea of sincerity in the exercise of what Mr. Brown terms "the inalienable right of private judgment in all matters connected with the Christian Scriptures," secured to "the Protestant world" by the "Reformation of the sixteenth century." All this is unquestionably within the *authority* of the "rulers" of the church, and results from no other principle than that they are "the authorized expounders of the revealed will of God." On no other principle could the church be main-

tained as an organized body for a moment, except upon that of allowing its ministers and members to preach, believe, and act, as each one should see fit. This might suit the advocates of "Broad Church" views, but would not be the type of the church of Christ as given us in his word.

For the next case in illustration of "authority," let us analyze that of a court of the highest type representing the church at large, acting upon a matter referred to it for adjudication, the whole essence of which was concerning *doctrine*, involving as it was viewed by some, nothing less than the soul's salvation. It will thus illustrate by actual example the principles laid down in the verse last examined, Heb. xiii: 17. It is found at large in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. The case was this: certain men taught that circumcision was essential to salvation: the matter was discussed in the church at Antioch, where they "had no small dissension and disputation;" Paul and Barnabas with others were appointed to "go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and Elders about this question;" on convening the court, made up of this description of rulers, "the Apostles and Elders came together for to consider of this matter;" like church courts in all ages where important subjects are canvassed, there was "much disputing," in which Peter, Paul, Barnabas, James, and others took part; at length, just as in modern courts, they came to a decision, which in this case at least we presume was correct; this decision was put into written form, and sent forth for the observance of all the churches, those in "Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia," being specially mentioned, "which are of the Gentiles;" when "the epistle was read," containing the decision, the people of all the churches "rejoiced for the consolation;" and as the result of the whole matter, this "authoritative" decision of a church court, "the authorized expounders of the word of God," upon a great doctrine of the Christian faith, to which the people were required to submit, was followed by a general revival of religion, which is thus noticed: "And as they went through the cities they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem. And so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily."

The points made in this narrative, so far as they are essential

in this discussion, are very simple. We take for granted what seems to lie upon the surface of the whole proceeding: that this was a church court of a representative character, which made a decision upon a vital matter of doctrine, for the observance of the churches at large. The main questions in hand, are two: 1. Was the decision "authoritative," as regarded both by the court and the churches at large? 2. Is this case an example for us of the present day? Although some things in this narrative have been much controverted, there is general agreement upon the two points in which alone we are now concerned. But we will examine them briefly.

1. Was this decision *authoritative?*

The matters embraced in it are called "necessary things," and a "burden," thus: "It seems good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater *burden* than these *necessary* things," *βάρος πλὴν τῶν ἐπάναγκες τούτων.*—Acts, xv: 28. The word here rendered "burden," means an onerous endurance, or heavy weight: "Which have borne the *burden* (*βάρος*) and heat of the day."—Matt. xx: 12. "For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal *weight* (*βάρος*) of glory."—2 Cor. iv: 17. The word rendered "necessary" (*ἐπάναγκες*), is used in no other place in the New Testament. It is compounded of *επὶ*, *upon*, and *ανάγκη*, *necessity*, or "compulsion, force, obligation, whether actual, moral, or religious." The subject matter decided, was thus a "burden" which must be borne, and embraced things of "necessity;" it constituted, therefore, a command, and involved an obligation in the very highest sense *authoritative.*

All this further appears, when we examine the nature of the edict in which this decision was published to the churches, and the manner in which it was received by them. Embracing several things, it is called, in the plural, *decrees:* "They delivered them the *decrees* for to keep," *φυλάσσειν τὰ δόγματα.*—Acts, xvi: 4. The word rendered "decrees" is used in but four other places in the New Testament, and always means an injunction of the most positive and binding nature. In two of these instances it is applied to the edicts of the Roman emperor: "There went out a *decree* (*δόγμα*) from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed."—Luke, i: 1. "These all do contrary to *the decrees* (*τῶν δογμάτων*) of Cæsar."—Acts, xvii: 17. There can be

no debate whether the "decrees" of the Roman emperors were "authoritative." They always required unconditional obedience. In the other two instances this word is applied to the positive ordinances of God: "Having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in *ordinances* (*δόγμασι*) for to make," etc.—Eph. ii: 15. "Blotting out the hand writing of *ordinances* (*δόγμασιν*), that was against us."—Col. ii: 14. The Jewish "ordinances" here referred to, having been established by God, were of the most obligatory nature, upon the judgment, heart, and conscience. The same word (*δόγμα*) is used in several places in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, to represent the "decrees" of the kings of Babylon.—Dan. ii: 13; iii: 10; iv: 3; vi: 8.

We are then brought to the conclusion concerning which there can be no question, that in the use of a word implying absolute moral necessity, to set forth the subject matter of the decision, and in the use of a word expressing authority requiring unconditional obedience, to publish the result arrived at to the churches, the court rendered a judgment which was in every sense "authoritative." The people on hearing the decision, not only acquiesced in it, "but rejoiced for the consolation" it gave them. It was, therefore, regarded as "authoritative" by those who made it and by those for whom it was made; by the court, and by the church at large. "The truth is," says Mr. Brown, "theological *dogmas* settle nothing." But on the contrary, it appears that they are the very things which do "settle" vital questions. The "dogmas" of this court *determined* for the people of the whole church an essential matter of doctrine concerning the terms of salvation.

2. Is this case to be taken as an example for "authority" in a church court in any succeeding age?

Several matters are here involved. 1. Is it said that they decided by virtue of their endowments as *inspired* men? If so, any one of the apostles could have settled the dispute at once. Inspiration utterly precludes the idea of consultation and discussion. It is a direct divine impulsion. When inspiration is the power at work it is said: "For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."—2 Pet. i: 21. If inspiration had been the requisite, Paul could have decided the mat-

ter alone, without going up to Jerusalem. 2. Is it said that the reference to the Holy Ghost in the narrative (Acts xv: 28), shows that inspiration was employed? But it is said: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, *and to us*." Such a conjunction is never spoken of where inspiration is concerned. It is men who speak or write, but the whole essence of what is uttered is directly from God; yet here, the Spirit and men are joined in a way to indicate that while the men were acting on the light which they gained from the several speakers, who referred to the Scriptures for authority, they were simply enjoying, for their understanding of these Scriptures, those endowments of the Spirit promised by Christ to the rulers of the church in every age. To make any such mention of themselves, when inspiration were the power in action, would be but little short, if any, of blasphemy. 3. Not only the apostles, who seem not to have assumed any apostolic authority in any way whatever, but also "the elders" (verse 6), were concerned in the consultation and decision; and "the brethren" (verse 23), "with the whole church" (verse 22), seem to have been employed in spreading the knowledge of these "decrees," and thus aiming to put the decision into execution. 4. When all the elements of the case are considered, there is the strongest ground for the conclusion in which all branches of the church agree, that, in regard to the decision of this court at Jerusalem, "it must have been the design of God, in not ordering *one* to make it, to set an example of ordinary ecclesiastical proceedings for all succeeding ages."

It would be easy to fill pages showing that the most distinguished men in the church agree in the view of this court at Jerusalem. Indeed, upon the only two points essential in this discussion—that this was an *authoritative decree*, and that the case is an example for the church *in all ages*—there is well nigh if not entire unanimity of sentiment. Says Dr. Smyth: "The decision which was thus made was *authoritative*, extended to all the churches, and was sent down to them, and read in them;" and he cites this case on purpose to show the "Scripture warrant for such an assembly of the rulers of the church" in every age.—*Ecc. Cat., in loco.* Dr. McLeod, in a work which has passed through several editions on both sides of the Atlantic, presents this case as an example for the higher church

courts of all times and countries, and says: "This is an *authoritative decree*, enacted by a representative assembly exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction over churches and presbyteries."—*The Chr. Church, in loco.*

The London divines, in the work already referred to, examine this case at great length. Of the sending of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem, they say: "Here was an *authoritative* mission of delegated officers." Of the composition of the body: "The elders and brethren who are as *authoritatively* members of the synod as the apostles, did, in all points, as *authoritatively act* as the apostles themselves." Of the decision: "Here are several *authoritative* and juridical *acts of power* put forth in this synod;" and, "here are plainly juridical, *authoritative* constitutions;" and they declare it a "judgment of *authority*." Against the position that the case may have been decided by the apostles, as inspired men, or in some way in their apostolical character: "Here all the members of the synod, as they were convened by like ordinary authority, so they acted by like ordinary and equal power in the whole business laid before them; which shows it was an ordinary, not an extraordinary synod. For though apostles and evangelists, who had power over all churches, were members of the synod, as well as ordinary elders, yet they acted not in this synod by a transcendent, infallible, apostolical power, but by an ordinary power as elders." Again: "Here is now an ordinary way of proceeding by debates, disputes, allegations of Scripture, and mutual suffrages. What needed all this, if this had been a transcendant, extraordinary, and not an ordinary synod?" Of this being an example for all times, they say, when speaking of the discussion in that assembly: "If this had not been to have given a pattern to succeeding ages, all this was unnecessary. How absurd for inspired men to reason and dispute on a subject, when the sentence of one inspired was sufficient for the decision. * * * * The pattern of their practices" in this and in many other cases in apostolic times referred to, "must be a rule for all succeeding churches." And finally, in regard to the statement, "It seemed good *to the Holy Ghost and to us*," they take the ground that any court now might adopt it with propriety, guided by the Spirit, as Christ promised, and being governed by the Scriptures, thus: "Which

words, any assembly, having like clear evidence of Scripture for their determination, may, without presumption, use, as well as this synod did."

We may now announce some general conclusions from the whole discussion thus far. The foregoing expositions of Scripture, illustrated by the opinions of eminent men of the church, result in establishing the following propositions:

1. For the public preaching of the Gospel, the ministry, as an order of men, possess an authority from Christ, and have the assurance of special endowments of the Holy Spirit, to aid them in expounding the Scriptures for the instruction of "every creature," which belong to no other persons. They are always, therefore, to preach "in his name," and by his authority; and when, under the guidance thus provided, their preaching is conformed to the Scriptures, it is in the highest possible sense "authoritative," and the people are required to receive the truth they proclaim as the very word of God, and to render obedience thereunto, on pain of his eternal displeasure.

2. The courts of the church which Christ has appointed have a like assurance of spiritual aid for expounding the word of God, and are always to act "in his name" and by his authority upon matters of both doctrine and life respecting members of the church, their standard, as in preaching, being the Scriptures: and when so conducting, their decisions are in the highest possible sense "authoritative," possessing a sanction directly from Christ, which can be claimed for the acts of no other persons for the same ends; and it is the duty of the people to render obedience to them as unto Christ.

The length to which this article has extended forbids our pursuing the subject further at present. It is by no means exhausted, although the proposition upon which alone we have now written—that the church, by her ministers and courts, is "the authorized expounder of the word of God"—we think is fully established. This being so, objections to it, however plausible, are impotent for its overthrow. There are points, however, made against it in the pamphlet of Mr. Brown, which require notice. They may be reduced substantially to two: How can such a proposition be consistent with what he terms "the inalienable right of private judgment?" How can the church be invested with this authority,

unless there be perfect agreement in her views? These two questions will dispose of what remains upon the main branch of the subject we have here discussed. One other proposition—the chief or rather the only one treated in our two former articles, and which Mr. Brown assails—we have not entered upon at all in this. It concerns *the range of subjects* which the church may entertain by her ministers and courts. These several points, each and all of them having an intrinsic importance aside from the immediate occasion which has here called them up, may be examined hereafter.

ART. II.—THE NATION'S SUCCESS AND GRATITUDE. *The Substance of a Discourse delivered in Danville, Ky., on the 26th of November, 1863, the day of National Thanksgiving and Prayer.*

AT the close of one of the most remarkable passages of the Word of God the great Apostle of the Gentiles exclaims, "*Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ!*"—1 Cor. xv: 57.

Let no one suppose that the manner in which I apply these words, and use the exalted sentiment they convey, is a wresting of the Scripture. For the image of the supreme triumphs immediately alluded to is taken from the triumphs which men and nations win concerning the things of this world; and all of them, of every kind, are gifts of God through Jesus Christ our Lord; and whosoever obtains them, whether they be temporal or eternal, will find them fruitful only in proportion as he renders back to God gratitude and love. And God, who gives us victory, whether over sin and death and hell, or whether over ourselves and over the world, and over his enemies and ours, will make the victory itself complete, and our fruition of it consummate, in proportion as we win it in his name, and use it to the glory of his grace. For it is to him that *overcometh* in the work upon which God has set him, and in which the Lord Christ is his leader, that the glorified Redeemer will give to eat of the tree of life; it is to him he will give a crown of life; it is he who shall eat of the hidden manna, and receive power over the nations, and his name shall stand in the Book of Life; he it

is who shall be a pillar in the temple of God, with the name of God, and of the city of God, and the new name of the son of God, written upon him; and to him, saith Jesus, will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my father in his throne.

To thank, to praise, and to bless God therefore, for every mercy he bestows on us, as, on the other hand, to humble ourselves before him at every hiding of his face from us; is the constant duty of every one of his dependent, rational creatures. And in proportion as the mercies are special and signal, or the calamities and dangers great and pressing, should the thanksgiving or the humiliation be earnest and particular; fasting and confession being the appropriate accompaniments of our humiliation; praise and rejoicing in God, in like manner, being parts of our thanksgiving; and earnest prayer to God, indispensable to both. These solemn duties stand so high, in the judgment of God, that he has established them as perpetual ordinances, constant as to their divine obligation, occasional as to the times and seasons of their special celebration. It belongs to each individual to determine for himself, so far as the special celebration of these ordinances of God appertains to matters wholly personal to himself. It belongs to the head of each family to determine concerning his own household, in like manner. It belongs to the tribunals of the church of God to determine the times and seasons proper for their observance by the Christian congregations and people under their care. But it appertains, also, to the civil magistrate to recommend to the people of any community of which he may be chief, to sanctify unto God special days and times, in the fitting recognition of God as God, and as their God and Redeemer, in the reverent and hearty observance of these institutes of Christ's kingdom in this world. This belongs to the civil magistrate, because he is not only the temporal head of the people, whom he ought to guide in the way that is pleasing to God; but, especially, because he holds his place, first by the ordination, and secondly by the providence of God; and because thus distinguished of God, he is moreover the servant of God in that place, and the minister of God for special ends revealed in his word; the sum of which is, that the people may be kept from the wrath of God on account of their sins, and that they may be partakers of

those blessings which mankind can receive only through the knowledge of the living and true God.

Thus it is with a full authority derived from their office, and ordained of God, that the Governor of the commonwealth of Kentucky and the President of the United States, in concert with the chief magistrates of many other States, have set apart this day, and invited the people to observe it as a day of public and special thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God for the many signal mercies we enjoy in the midst of our present deplorable condition of civil war; and also as a day of special prayer to God for the continuance and increase of these tokens of Divine favor, unto the complete deliverance of the nation from its present danger, trouble, and temptation. And so we are now gathered in the house of God, in concert with the thousands of God-fearing men and women throughout this commonwealth, and the many tens of thousands throughout this nation—to praise and magnify the name of God, to pour out our hearts in thankfulness at his mercy seat, and, with earnest love, to make loud and high recognition of his wonderful works and ways of judgment and justice and goodness; beseeching him, by every plea he has put into our mouths, to continue to this great and free nation—as unto a living and perpetual monument of his own glory—all that loving kindness and infinite protection, for which we now call upon all that is within us, to exalt and bless and adore him! So shall we be brought, in triumph, through our present sore troubles; and in God's good time and way, the heavy calamities prepared for us, shall be swallowed up in victories given to us by him.

As we participate in this solemn and acceptable service, with full consent and preparation of heart, let us especially remember, amongst the many things to be deeply pondered concerning ourselves, those that follow, as being too important to be passed over, with slight consideration. In the *first* place, it is the high privilege of the followers of Jesus Christ, the sons and daughters of God Almighty, to come with great confidence to his throne of grace. A believing, penitent, loving people find favor where their divine Redeemer sits at the right hand of the majesty on high; and their praises and their supplications go up with acceptance in the ears of the Lord God of Hosts. Therefore, let them beware that the things for which they

thank and praise God are really things which God has done; and let them beware that the things for which they pray are things right in themselves and acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. And so, in the *second* place, remembering the abounding iniquity which surrounds us on every side, defiling so much the very instruments which God uses in our deliverance, and profanely seeking union in the very favor which he shows his people; let us beware of any fellowship before God with such works of darkness, doubly jealous of ourselves, lest we go before him with the taint of the filth of his enemies upon us and the idols of reprobates in our hands. God is to be praised for all that he is, and all that he does; and it is only the pure in heart who shall see him. It is heathenism that uses its God to bring its own carnal desires to pass. Wherefore, in the *third* place, all we offer and all we ask should be in a deep sense of our own insufficiency in all respects; and with strong desires that our will may be swallowed up in the will of God, and that his infinite wisdom and goodness, and not our manifold errors and imperfections, shall be the rule of his dealing both with us and with our country. For they are the circumcision, saith God, which worship God in the spirit and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh. And the service which most becomes the children of God, is that they offer themselves a living sacrifice unto him, which he will make holy and acceptable.

One more step in the direction indicated by all I have said, places every one imbued with the spirit of such an occasion as this, in a position where the particular subjects of his thanksgivings and supplications are as clear, as I have endeavored to make the spirit in which those acts of worship should be performed. God has made our duty so plain, that he calls it a highway, and a way of holiness, and declares that wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein. We have in our hands the complete revelation of his will, wherein he has made known to us all that belongs to our present salvation and our eternal blessedness. The sum of it all, and therefore the whole duty of man, as God himself explains, is that we fear God and keep his commandments. And the meaning of that is, as God declares, that having shown us all good, what he requires of us is to do justly, to love mercy, and walk humbly with our God.

And, in addition to his blessed word, we are surrounded continually by his adorable Providence, so that we absolutely live and move and have our being in him. It is from the person of the Lord Jesus, who is alike the only head of his church, the head over all things and the sum of the revelation of God, that all providence takes its rise since the creation of our universe, and that the course of all providence is developed. It is true, that, in the widest sense, the providence of God is from eternity, and over all things in every other universe there may be besides this of ours; and will reign over all, after this episode of our universe, and sin and redemption shall, so far as time shall exist to measure it, have been swallowed in the infinite dispensation of God. Nay, the whole dispensation of salvation for lost sinners of the human race, by the Son of God, is a great act of the providence of God. It is also true, that, by reason of our weakness and blindness, and the shortness of our lives on earth, and the small portion we behold of God's infinite providence, we are liable to be always taken by surprise, and often to deceive ourselves concerning the significance of those acts of God, of which he had revealed nothing to us in advance. But this is hardly more than must be said of the plainest revelations of God, concerning which, that men resist, evade, and pervert them—there are innumerable proofs always before our eyes. Still, it is none the less true that God's word is a lamp unto our feet and a light unto our path—that the Spirit of God is with us, crying, This is the way, walk ye in it—and that the crucified Redeemer calls to us evermore, follow me. And in like manner, the Providence of God, unrevealed till it reveals itself, and unsearchable as to its whole significance, becomes to us as it develops itself, often a general, and oftener still a topical commentary of Christ himself, upon his own teachings and commands. To-day, with the word of God in our hands, and the wonderful providence of God toward us and our country during the past three years, open to all men; the special mercies, pertinent to our present condition, for which we should thank and praise God, and the particular blessings, relevant to our immediate future, for which we should implore God; seem to me to be capable of the most precise statement.

In proceeding to make such a statement, exactly responsive to the whole current of what I have now said, it is well to

remind you that it is now within a few days of three years since the President of the United States then in office (Mr. Buchanan), struck, perhaps, with the impending ruin of his country, for which very few were more deeply responsible than himself, made proclamation of a day of national humiliation and prayer, with open confession, on his part, that there was no remedy for the vast and accumulating national perils but the direct interposition of God. It had been better if he had taken the divine rebuke to a far better and greater man, under circumstances far more desperate: Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward! The Lord heard the supplications of the people; but not to the intent indicated by their chief magistrate. The war he dreaded, came; but the ruin he connived at, came not. Almost three years of war, well nigh unparalleled for the extent and cost of it, as well as for its possible effects, bring forth this day of national thanksgiving, responsive to that day of national humiliation. Called in providence, without any procurement of my own, to point out the duty of our country then, I find myself, in like manner, called to point out its duty now, under a change of circumstances so remarkable. No clearer exposition could be given of the difference between the condition of the country at the two periods, than a just comparison of the two proclamations of the two Presidents. What falls to us now is to fill up this portentous gap in our national career by recounting briefly, and in order, the chief intervening acts of God's providence toward us, which make this day, so justly, what it is; pointing out at the same time, that these are among the very mercies most relevant to every purpose of our present national appeal to the throne of God.

In the *first* place, there is ground of fervent and everlasting thanks and praise to God that he kept back the nation from giving any just cause for any part of the enormous wickedness which has been perpetrated. Legal pretext for breaking up the nation, there was none whatever. But even if it could be supposed possible for the right of the legal destruction of the nation, at the caprice of a portion of it, to exist either by nature or otherwise, it is perfectly certain that no national act had ever been performed that would justify the smallest approach toward the exercise of such a caprice. On the contrary, since the

foundation of the world, there never existed a supreme government, which ought to have been less liable to serious complaint on the part of those subject to it, much less to wide-spread insurrection and open war, than the Federal Government was during the long course of years that traitors were secretly conspiring to destroy it, than it was at the moment the Southern states seceded from it and took up arms against it. Now, let any human mind attempt to form a somewhat adequate conception of the misery and ruin that have been inflicted, and of the sin that has been committed, in the attempt to consummate the original wickedness of this attempt to destroy this great Republic. Let it be remembered that all this incalculable guilt and suffering had for its original justification no pretext that would excuse a private person for causing another even a moment's uneasiness. Yet it is all to be accounted for at the bar of God! To speak of nothing else, they who are responsible for this terrible war, and the frightful slaughter which has attended it, must answer to God for every drop of human blood that has flowed in torrents along its cruel track! That which God would not pardon, was that Manasseh had shed innocent blood till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Behold I am bringing such evil upon Jerusalem and Judah that whosoever heareth of it both his ears shall tingle! I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down! Whatever may be the judgment of God, in the world to come, upon the authors of such crimes, it requires no seer to reveal that God is bringing the curse of blood-guiltiness upon them in this life. Who shall impeach the righteous judgment of Jehovah? Who in the survey of such a course of Providence, and in the knowledge of the divine record it is illustrating, is not ready to call upon his soul, and all that is within him, to bless God that he has kept us back from doing aught to provoke iniquities so abominable in his sight?

In the *second* place, there is abounding cause of gratitude to God for the manner in which he has stirred up the hearts and guided the course of the loyal population in every part of the country, in the terrible ordeal through which they have been led. Taken by surprise, seduced by diabolical deceits, or overpowered by sudden force, the faithful population in the seceded

states were still a source of weakness to the insurgents; their cruel oppression operated as a constant stimulant to the national efforts for their deliverance; their presence in the revolted states afforded the surest means of restoring society, after the rebellion should be crushed; and the tens of thousands of them who coöperated with us, as soon as they had opportunity, added continually to our strength. In the border slave states, all of which were embraced in the scheme of the revolt, and all of which have been already secured to the Union, the hand of God has been more manifest, perhaps, than any where else. At first, every thing, in all of them, wore the most threatening aspect to the national cause; and they have suffered by the war many fold more than all the Northern states; large portions of them to an extent that is frightful. But, through the constant blessing of God, the steadfast courage of the loyal people, sustained by the prompt co-öperation of the border free states and the vigor of the Federal Government, has constantly and now finally triumphed over an almost perpetual Confederate invasion, combined with the treason of, probably, half of their own aggregate population. Of the course of events in Kentucky especially, with which I have been familiar from the beginning, I feel assured that any just consideration of what has occurred, from the complete triumph in 1859 of the party which has furnished the bulk of our domestic traitors, up to the present time, will reveal a course of providential interpositions as well calculated to fill us with awe as with profound gratitude. The Northern states met the great crisis with a universal uprising of heroic patriotism, hardly surpassed in the history of the human race. And if, in the unsatisfactory aspects which our public affairs have sometimes put on, disloyal factions have arisen, the providence of God has broken them to pieces. And if untimely party spirit has sought ignoble success, even at the risk of the degradation of the country, the providence of God has brought such base attempts to open shame. And now, as if to rouse and unite the nation to give one final and crushing blow, a great demonstration of resolute support to the Government comes, attended with the horrible cry of thousands of our brethren systematically starved to death as prisoners of war, while thousands of insurgents, our paroled prisoners of war, are captured afresh, fighting against us! It is as if God would rebuke

us for allowing space for an hour in which such unparalleled dishonor may be practised, and such atrocious cruelty may be perpetrated! It would hardly be a marvel to see the whole nation hurl itself against the barbarians, who cause the people they rule with a rod of iron to revive crimes long since banished from the earth!

In the *third* place, we ought to come before God, with his awe and his dread upon us, as we magnify his great name for his goodness towards us, in confounding all the counsels of the chief leaders of this insurrection—defeating all their expectations—and turning their wickedness to their own destruction. In one thing posterity will remember with respect this insurgent population—they have generally fought well, often with heroic courage. But even in this praise—which we are glad they merit, as it redeems in some degree a people of our own blood—few or none of those who are conspicuous in leading them to destruction have any part. The traitors most conspicuous in the detestable conspiracy which preceded the revolt, and in the organization of the insurrection when it broke out, and in the violence and fraud which marked it from its birth, have been conspicuous also in the diligent practice of the great duty of self-preservation. As statesmen, as leaders of a great revolution, as financiers, as diplomatists, as any thing on which success of any kind depends—if it be not that God has confounded them—there is nothing to redeem them from contempt. They would establish a new and immense empire, whose corner stone should be laid in African slavery: and they proceeded to the execution of their vast design, in the only way by which it was possible for African slavery among themselves to be destroyed—the only way in which it was certain that the immense region that they already possessed, could be completely desolated. They would make the whole commerce and capital of the world tributary to their designs, by means of their control of the cotton market of the world; and they speedily succeed in reducing their population to a condition rapidly approaching want—hurrying the country they governed into irremediable bankruptcy, and forfeiting forever the greatest agricultural monopoly ever possessed by any people. They would separate forever from the United States, as from a nation that had lost its freedom, and was degrading its civilization; they would prohibit all intercourse with their former fellow-

citizens, whom they pronounced the basest of mankind; they would condescend to do all this peaceably, on terms the most insolent and preposterous, if reverently accepted at their dictation; otherwise they would chastise the Yankees into submission, make Washington the seat of their empire, establish slavery in favored portions of the North, and hold the rest in subjection. And so on through all the phases of a self-conceit exalted into phrenzy, and an audacious insolence unrestrained by principle or common sense. God blowed on them: and what now, for the realization of their insane attempts? What woe to us—what woe to the world—if they could have accomplished even a small part of what they proposed to themselves! What thanks are due to God for frustrating designs pregnant with folly and wickedness, and unmixed with a solitary chance for good?

In the *fourth* place, God has stood by us in a wonderful manner throughout all the vicissitudes of the great war, upon the issue of which depended, not only our national prosperity, glory, and independence, but our national existence as well; and for this, as it is the most palpable manifestation of his providence, so it should receive the most distinct and grateful recognition by us. War of itself, like pestilence and famine, is always a calamity—a calamity springing directly from the depravity of the human race. But, like pestilence and famine, it is an instrument which God employs in the course of his adorable providence; and from which, as from all evil, it is his divine prerogative to bring forth good. And so great is the good brought out of it by God, that little exists on earth worthy to be possessed, that is not held, first or last, by the blessing of God upon stout hearts and strong arms in the day of battle; and that no race or people ever did anything for the glory of God, or the advancement of human kind, who shrunk from maintaining by force whatever God had given them, or from achieving by force whatever God required of them. Of all wars, bloody insurrections are the most desolating, the most offensive to human reason and to the majesty of God, and the most certain to fail of their design; and as of all insurrections not one has ever been more bloody, more desolating, more causeless, more abominable than this. The unshaken conviction of all God-fearing loyal men, from the beginning, that it must utterly fail, has, at every

step, been vindicated as just, and realized as true. Within less than three years our valiant troops have overrun, subdued, and occupied more than half of the immense territory, more than half of the states, claimed by the insurgents; and in doing this have reduced, by more than half, the power of the insurgents to carry on the war, and have rendered their design of dividing the Republic by force, on the slave line, and erecting the fourteen slave states into a new nation, forever impossible. And now we are many times more competent to do what remains, than we were at the beginning to do what has been done; and the insurgents are many times less competent to offer effectual resistance than they were at first. Well might the President say, "No human council hath devised, no mortal hand worked out these great things." And what remains for us is to take new courage as we see new proofs that God is with us, and do what remains of our great work as those should do who are guided by the hand of God. But remember that God is a jealous God, and we are a sinful people. Not for thy righteousness, said he to his ancient people, or for the righteousness of thine heart dost thou go to possess their land; but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee. And, in another place: I do not this for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for my own name's sake.

In the *fifth* place, we owe to the God of all grace and mercy peculiar thanksgiving for that he not only made all things work together for our good, in our own land, but also embraced us in the acts of his providence concerning foreign and distant nations, bounding and limiting and ordering the things which vitally concerned the greatest of them all, so that we have been constantly delivered from great and impending danger. There were two prominent dangers to which our country was exposed. The first was, that while the nation was wholly unprepared, the Confederate leaders, who had the whole period of Mr. Buchanan's presidency in which to reduce our means of prompt defense to the very lowest point, and to exalt their own means of attack to the very highest; should rapidly concentrate the whole military strength of the insurgent states and hurl it, in immense masses, upon the wavering border states, and through them into the very heart of the nation. They had a million of fighting men; one half of that force, perhaps one-third of it, thus

used, at the proper moment, presented in reality the obvious and certainly the only possible chance of success. They could not do it, or they did not see it; they lost the great occasion; and their destruction, if they were unaided, remained only a question of time. The other great peril was the intervention of the great commercial nations of Europe in their behalf. This they confidently expected; and it is probable that when all the secrets of their conspiracy are laid bare, it may appear that their leading men had better reasons to expect decisive military aid, both from Great Britain and France, than for their clamorous folly about the sovereignty of cotton. I shall not, on this occasion, array the proofs of the manifest intention of both those great nations, persisted in up to a very recent period, to secure the independence of the Confederate States, if that could be done without too great risk to themselves. Few enlightened men in this country have any doubt on the subject. I shall not stop to show that the recent favorable change in the conduct of both of those nations, toward the United States, produced in part by the manifestation of our power and in part by the threatening state of European affairs, is probably worthy of little reliance any longer than the events which produced the change remain to confirm it. Nor can I now recount the circumstances of that immense and increasing European agitation, which took its rise since the commencement of our civil war; which may speedily convulse all Europe in a manner far too deep to render it convenient for either France or Great Britain to provoke a war with the United States at present. But what I wish to point out is, the hand of God in our deliverance, even if it were but temporary, from this second of our chief perils, by delivering us from the combined menace of France and England, and possibly from war with both, as allies of our insurgents. In this age, nothing is more certain than that nations that would be free must be powerful. That God has given to this nation a glorious mission, which is not yet accomplished, it were mere atheism to deny. That having done so, however he may chastise us for our sins, or purge us by suffering unto greater fitness for our destiny, that he will withhold those acts of his almighty providence, which are needful for our national preservation, is beyond conception. That he will not, let the events I have feebly recounted, and which involve a deliverance so sig-

nal and so opportune, satisfy our hearts and fill our mouths with praise.

In the *sixth* place, God is greatly to be praised for the spirit of a sound mind, which by his grace and providence has constantly increased in the loyal people of the United States, enabling them to see more and more clearly, the supreme duty of preserving the integrity, the supremacy, and the independence of the Republic; and confirming them, more and more, in the determined purpose to perform that duty. This result is the more remarkable, as we reflect on the manner in which the infinite mass of confused opinions has worked itself out, and cleared itself up, to the distinct and almost solitary test and purpose: *the insurrection must be put down, absolutely and at whatever cost.* And it adds to the importance and efficacy of this result that it cost, in thousands of cases, the most heroic sacrifice of feeling; that it was reached, in thousands of others, against temptations as strong as were ever overcome; that it has been adhered to by all in full view of the immense sacrifices it would require, and that not even mistakes of great gravity, and errors full of danger, on the part of those in whose hands is the immediate fate of the country, have shaken for an instant the unalterable purpose. The question of negro slavery, for example, in its relation to the insurrection to the Federal Government, and to the future pacification of the country, has furnished the severest test of this sublime loyalty that could be imagined. And therefore, while I can not, at this time, argue any part of it at large, its immediate relation to the subject before me and to this whole occasion, as well as proper respect for public opinion, and perhaps I may add, for myself, forbid my passing over it in silence. I will therefore observe, in the first place, that traitorous slaveholders everywhere are destitute of any right or just authority in any national decision concerning this subject: because they perfectly understood that they risked their slaves as well as their lives upon their fatal revolt, and because by their treason they have laid themselves justly liable to the forfeiture of both. In the second place, I observe, that as the people of this country have never sanctioned the use of the Federal Government as an instrument to extend or to perpetuate negro slavery, so, I am persuaded, they never will approve the use of it as a direct instrument in its extinction. In the meantime, all

men and parties, who, on the one hand, oppose the permanent pacification of the country until and unless negro slavery is first abolished; and all men and parties, on the other hand, who resist that pacification, until and unless negro slavery is accepted as a permanent element, are equally and alike mere factions, out of sympathy with the nation and perfectly certain to be finally repudiated by it. For myself, whenever this question is forced upon me, no one who remembers that, in 1830, I sought to open the way to a system of gradual emancipation, under the old Constitution of Kentucky, by proving the legal power over the after born; no one who remembers that, in 1850, I sought to have a system of emancipation engrafted on our present State Constitution: can, for a moment, suppose that after the immense progress of free opinions in the interval, I am likely, for the sake of negro slavery, to risk the triumph of the nation, or to give countenance to proceedings or opinions which tend directly to a collision between the Government of Kentucky and that of the United States. On the other hand, I made public in 1862 my objections to the special policy of the present Administration touching this vast and difficult subject, even before the final proclamation of the President was issued. What the final issue as to the black race may be, depends, first, upon the future course of the insurgents themselves; secondly, upon the future course of the Federal Government; and, thirdly, upon the future decision of the people of the United States; neither of which can be known at the present time. Thus far the temper of the nation, and especially of loyal persons in the slave states, seem to me to be as I have stated; and I judge it to be a temper eminently the product of that spirit of a sound mind, manifested in so many other ways, for whose wide existence we are called on to thank God. No nation ever occupied a situation, in which it was more important that every species of fanaticism should be banished from its councils and its conduct, and every tendency toward disloyalty denounced and put down.

In the *seventh* and last place, the only remaining topic I will suggest, as demanding our special thanksgiving to God, is that, amidst all the shocks which the nation has received, and all the turmoil of a great and bloody civil war, and all the rank corruption of the times, he has kept the great body of the people

sound at heart concerning those great principles of liberty and free government, which lie at the base of all our institutions, and which are the fruits of the longest and most effective political training ever enjoyed by any portion of mankind. I know there is an incessant clamor to the contrary by all who are in sympathy with the principles of the insurgents, and that this clamor is taken up, to a certain extent, by many who are classed in a kind of general and qualified way with the supporters of the Union and the National Government. There is, undoubtedly, a wide distinction, in ordinary times, between a government considered of itself and the body of civil magistrates who administer that government. But when the nation is arrayed in battle, and the existing magistracy represent alike its civil and its military existence, habitual clamor against their honest—even though, in some respects, improper—endeavors to secure the triumph of the republic, far more resembles sympathy with its enemies than patriotic jealousy for constitutional liberty. The safety of the state is the supreme law. And though this great rule of public duty may be abused by wicked magistrates, the rejection of it for the purpose of giving security to public enemies is the direct way to destruction. War is for the protection of nations, not for the protection of traitors and insurgents against them. And when life, the supreme gift of God to men, is forfeited by crime, what rule of reason or of morality requires special care to be taken of the personal liberty of those whose whole endeavor is to destroy public liberty, or heedfulness of the personal and property rights of those whose business is to kill us and destroy all we possess? When this clamor degenerates into an outcry against the Government, on questions of the neglect of mere forms of proceedings, and the non-observance of purely technical, civil ideas, in dealing with justly suspected traitors, by way of military police in the midst of desolating war, it is not easy to forget who has taught us that the habit of straining at gnats is usually the indication of power to swallow camels. There is no rule whatever, either of reason, or morality, or religion, that requires the public enemies of the state to be treated before the civil law as if they were its friends; nor do the Constitution and laws of this country, or of any other, secure to rebels, and those who aid and comfort them, the rights and immunities, either as to form

or substance, which belong to peaceable and loyal citizens. To allege, on such grounds as are constantly urged, that the Federal Administration is corrupt and tyrannical; that the laws are thereby set at nought, and the Constitution subverted; that the submission of the nation to such proceedings is proof of its own incapacity for freedom; and that, as the general and terrible result, we are already in subjection to a military despotism: is proof only that there is a party in the country which abuses the forbearance of the Government and the patience of the people, and insults the providence of God. If every word they say was as true as it is false, the citizens of the republic who are in arms for its defense, would, before laying those arms aside, restore the liberty, the laws, and the institutions of their country. What is true, theoretically, of every country, and of every form of government, is also true practically with us. The community, by its very nature, and by the express ordinance of God, is altogether superior to any possible form of government, by means of which its national life is held forth. Our present Constitution is our present means of manifesting our national existence and desires. Our fathers made it; it has served the most glorious purpose for us; we love it, and intend to maintain it. But we were a nation before we made this Constitution. And before we were a separate nation, we were free Britons—a part of an empire already glorious. And when we separated as a nation from that empire, it was a constitutional monarchy; before that it had been a kingly oligarchy; before that almost a despotism; before that, six hundred years ago, it was a feudal monarchy. And all these changes came by convulsions. But all the time, Britain was Britain. And all the time, for nearly a century, America has been America, under whatever form of political institutions. And, by the blessing of God, free America shall be free America forever, under whatever form of free constitution, this one, or any other one, it shall please her unconquerable people to create! And, from the bottom of my soul, I thank God for every proof that this heroic and long-descended temper of the people abides in all its strength.

Having now presented some of the special grounds pertinent to this peculiar occasion, on which the united thanks and praise of all loyal and God-fearing people throughout this

nation are due to God, I will very briefly point out the corresponding blessings, specially relevant to these grounds of praise, for which they who thus rejoice in God should offer their supplications at his throne of grace.

We ought implore God that he would give to us, and to every one like-minded with us, great grace, wisdom and courage, that we may be enabled to stand in our lot, and, come good or come ill, quit ourselves like men unto the uttermost. That he would, of his great mercy, give grace and sense to the disloyal men and women scattered over the land, and mixed with the loyal people, to see the great wickedness and danger of the principles they cherish and the practices they encourage, so that they may repent thereof and turn to a better way. That he would confound the counsels and break the endeavors of all open rebels against the life of this nation which God has set up and enlarged, and against its government which God has ordained, and so show his wonderful compassion to them as to keep them from perpetrating all further mischief, and to turn them from their dreadful sin and folly. That he would so order, in his great goodness, that all in authority amongst us may be kept from every evil way, and from every purpose unworthy of the great necessity laid upon us, and the great end set before us, so that complete triumph and lasting peace may be speedily secured for us, by means which God will own and bless. That God, having fitted the nation for complete success, and having given that to it, would incline and enable all men to walk in such ways of wisdom, justice and humanity, that all the results of this frightful struggle shall turn to the glory of his adorable name, and that the evils of these troublous times may pass utterly away, and return no more forever, while the good that God will bring out of them, both to this republic and all the inhabitants thereof, and to the world, may be a perpetual inheritance, to his endless praise, through Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world.

It is in the light of eternity alone that the real importance of all these things to us, considered as individual persons, can be duly estimated. It is not as they tend to make us miserable or make us content; to reduce us to want or fill us with abundance; to strip us of freedom or confirm our liberties; to exalt us very high or reduce us very low; but it is as they tend to

wean us from the Lord Jesus, or to lead us to a more perfect conformity unto him, and a higher service and enjoyment of him, that they are all of supreme significance to us. To keep ourselves aloof, when God is shaking, not the heavens only, but the earth also, may be to separate ourselves from him, who is overturning all things that can be shaken, in order that his people may inherit all that can not be moved. And one of the most mournful aspects of the sins and miseries with which this insurrection has polluted the land, is the phrenzied participation which thousands who profess to be ministers of Christ, and tens of thousands who profess to be his followers, have had in originating it, in sustaining it, and in applauding it. Nevertheless, the kingdom of Messiah will purge itself, and survive and triumph, and Messiah, the Prince, will vindicate to himself his dominion over all things; and they who put their trust in him shall never be confounded. While hypocrites and apostates perish in their sins, we may trust that the deluded children of God will be saved as by fire, and we know that the faithful witnesses for Christ will be brought off conqueror, and more than conqueror, through Him who loved them and gave himself for them. To Him be glory in the highest!

ART. III.—BAPTIST REVISION OF THE FOUR GOSPELS. *Review of "The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The common English version, corrected by the Final Committee of the American Bible Union."*

ABOUT thirty years ago, the managers of the American Bible Society refused to aid in the circulation of certain versions of the Holy Scriptures in the Bengalee and Burmese tongues, for the reason, that the Greek equivalent for the word *baptize* was translated in those versions, by a word corresponding to the English "immerse." Most of the Baptist members of the Society immediately withdrew, and formed the American and Foreign Bible Society. The new association carried within itself, the germs of further dissensions. Many of the influential members urged upon it the duty of revising the English scriptures, especially in the places where the word *Βαπτιζω*, or any one of its cognates, is employed. In the year 1850, the

Society determined that it would continue to issue the common version, without alteration or revision. The dissatisfied minority united with others in the establishment, May 23, 1850, of the American Bible Union. The avowed object of the Union, is "to procure and circulate the most faithful versions of the Sacred Scriptures, *in all languages*, throughout the world. The italics appear in the constitution of the Union, and are significant. The Bible Revision Association was established in the city of Louisville, in 1853, for the purpose of coöperating with the American Bible Union. The adjective *Revision* is also significant. In point of fact, both of the societies last named, have hitherto given their attention mainly to the thorough revision of the English version of the Bible. In the volume, the title of which stands at the head of this article, the public receives the first fruits of the labors of these brethren, in the shape of a revision of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and the first three Pauline Epistles.

The preliminary controversy which this subject has occasioned is at an end. What are the imperfections of the common version; whether they are as numerous and as serious as has been alleged; whether they can all be corrected by a strict translation, as distinguished from a critical gloss or an exegetical addition to the text; whether, in the present state of the English-speaking churches, throughout the earth, it is possible to supplant the common version by any revision whatever; whether, in point of scholarship, the world is ripe for so great a work; whether our Baptist brethren can command the mature and final culture necessary to its accomplishment; and whether the entire English race is likely to accept from the "Final Committee of the American Bible Union" any revision as of supreme authority, are questions which it would be useless now to discuss. Most of them have been thoroughly considered, and so far as they have been left undetermined, they must be turned over from the logic of debate to the logic of events. The merits of the new revision, and the validity of its pretensions to the exalted position now held by the common version, are the only points in the case that remain to be examined.

The more learned members of the Bible Union understood from the beginning, what was not so well known, perhaps, to

the mass of their supporters, that a double labor was to be undertaken. Not only was a faithful translation, in all respects, of the original scriptures to be produced, but as preliminary to that, the Hebrew and Greek text were to be revised. The text of the Greek scriptures, especially, has never been conclusively settled. The second Elzevir edition of the Greek Testament, published in Leyden in 1633, contains what is called the *textus receptus* or the "received text."

This text has been repeatedly examined by modern scholars, and the results of their labors appear in the various readings which are printed in all the critical editions of the Greek Testament. Now the revisers, employed by the Bible Union, have undertaken to determine the value of all these various readings, and, in fact, to prepare a new and final textus receptus. The formidable character of this undertaking can be appreciated only by those who have given attention to this branch of sacred learning. The Greek text is derived, first, from about thirty MSS., written in the unical or capital letter, the oldest of which is assigned to the fourth century, and the most recent to the ninth or tenth century. The first four of these, commonly distinguished by the first four letters of the alphabet, are the oldest copies. Next, about four hundred and fifty MSS., written in small or cursivede letters, have been collated. These are assigned to the period running from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. Again, the New Testament exists in several ancient versions, some of the oldest of which are the Itala and the Syriac Peshito, made in the second or third century, and the Latin Vulgate, by Jerome, toward the close of the fourth century. Finally, large extracts from the New Testament are found in the writings of the Latin and Greek fathers. By the use of these materials, a critical apparatus has been constructed, exhibiting in one view all the various readings. The number of the readings, noted by Griesbach, has been estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand. Scholz, who collated nearly double the number of MSS. examined by Griesbach, swells the number, so it is said, to nearly three hundred thousand. It should be added that hardly one in a thousand of these variations affects, in the slightest degree, the real sense of Scripture. They consist, for the most part, of words differently spelled, letters changed or

omitted, or doubled, the interchange of numbers, tenses, and synonyms, and such like. And it should be added again that not one of the remainder attacks any fact or doctrine vital to the revelation. Yet, in order to the restoration of the authentic Greek text, all these readings must be examined, and their value carefully determined. Now, in the judgment of the best biblical scholars, the time has not yet come for the final revision of the original text, and the settlement of the many difficult points involved. An enlightened writer in the *Quarterly Review*, London, for January, 1863, presents the following judicious survey of the present state of this science:

"Supposing that a new textus receptus is required to embrace the results of recent inquiries, is the time yet arrived when we can venture to undertake the work? Have sufficient materials been accumulated? Bring to textual criticism the same logical principles which we apply to physical science. Have we not learned the peril of setting forth theories of geology, while geology is in its infancy? Is not comparative criticism still in its infancy—its laborers few—divided—not always to be trusted in the accuracy of their observations, avowedly partial in their theories, some of them suspected in their tendencies, none of them capable of commanding, even if it were desirable that they should command, unhesitating acquiescence in their authority? There are three sources from which the Greek text of the New Testament must be derived—manuscripts, versions, and quotations in ecclesiastical writers. *Has any one of these been adequately examined?* Is the authority of unical texts a settled question? Is the rejection of cursive texts finally decided on? Is the real credit due to any particular codex fixed or capable of being fixed? Does not the whole field of inquiry present, except in a very few instances, only a conflict of probabilities and hypotheses? Such appears to be the opinion of the soundest and most judicious inquirers, notwithstanding all the invaluable labor that has been bestowed upon the subject within the present century by Matthæi, Alter, Birch, Griesbach, Scholz, Hug, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Davidson, and Scrivener. The nucleus of Divine truth is firm and solid; its verge is still surrounded with a halo."

The Bible Union has abandoned the well-chosen and conservative position taken by this writer. Its exigencies were

immediate and urgent. It had undertaken "to procure a faithfully revised version of the English Scriptures;" to that end the ancient Greek text was indispensable. But one of the prime necessities of the Society was haste. It could not allow the revisers in its service to imitate the patient industry of the older scholars; of Wetstein and Griesbach, who devoted the best part of their lives to the work; of Scholz and Tregelles, who spent many years upon the text, in toil and travail; of Tischendorf, whose unwearied industry in the discovery and publication of a single manuscript is so well known to the present generation. The Bible Union would not circulate the common version *ad interim;* and could, therefore, do nothing towards spreading the word of God, in our tongue, until the revision was finished. Doubtless it expected the work to be well done, but then here was an emergency in which, "'twere well 'twere done quickly." *Si possis, recte, si non, quocunque modo.* As early as the thirteenth year of the existence of the Union the Final Committee have been able to agree on a new textus receptus of the Greek and a thorough revision of the English text. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that before the religious public will acquiesce in the authority of the Committee, they will require information on two points: first, what changes in the former textus receptus have been made? and, secondly, what are the grounds on which these changes are proposed? These points are now to be looked into. But it should be stated here that our inquiries will be limited to the revision of the Four Gospels. Part II, containing the Acts and the Epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians, did not come into our hands until the materials for this review had been collected, and so arranged as to occupy all the space that can be given to the subject in these pages.

The amendments which the revisers have made in the Greek text of the Four Gospels, adopting our translation as the standard of comparison, are very numerous, approaching, if indeed they do not exceed, two hundred. These may be reduced to four classes. A few leading examples in each of these classes appear below.

1. Words and phrases are added to the text. We print the words so added by the revisers in *italics*. Luke, xv: 17, "How many hired servants of my father have bread enough and to

spare, and I perish *here* with hunger." John, xix: 3, "And *they came to him* and said, Hail King of the Jews." John, xx: 16, "She turned herself and saith unto him, *in Hebrew*, Rabboni!"

2. Words and phrases are removed and others supplied. Matt. xix: 17, Instead of the words, "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God," the revisers read, "Why dost thou ask me concerning good? one is the Good." Mark, ii: 7, "Why doth this man thus speak blasphemies?" The revisers read it thus, "Why does this man speak thus? He blasphemes." Mark, xi: 10, "Blessed be the kingdom of our father David, that cometh in the name of the Lord." The revisers change the Greek, so as to read: "Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David." Some amendments belonging to this class are simply suggested in the margin. Matt. xxi: 31, "Whether of them twain did the will of his father? They say unto him, The first." Here the marginal note is, "*In the oldest copies:* they say to him, the tardier one." Luke, xiv: 5, "Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit," etc., the marginal note is, "*In the oldest copies:* whose son or ox."

3. Several important passages are marked as suspicious. Matt. xxiii: 14, "Woe unto Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses," etc. The note is, "v. 14 is wanting here, in the oldest copies; it belongs to Mark, xii: 40, and Luke xx: 47."

Mark, xi: 26, "But if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in Heaven forgive your trespasses." This verse is dismissed with the note, "v. 26 is omitted in some ancient copies."

Luke, xvii: 36, "Two men shall be in the field; the one shall be taken and the other left." Note, "v. 36 belongs in Matt. xxiv: 40; it is omitted here in the oldest copies."

Luke, xxiii: 17, "For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast." This receives a broader condemnation: "v. 17 is omitted in all the oldest and best copies."

John v: 3, 4, "In these lay a multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, [waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water. Whosoever then, first, after the troubling

of the water stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had]. Here the pointed suspicion is breathed out, in italics, thus, "vv. 3, 4. *The words in brackets are wanting in the oldest and best copies.*"

John, viii: 1–11. This place contains the story of the woman taken in adultery, and the memorable interview between Christ and the Pharisees touching her case. The entire passage is enclosed by the revisers in brackets with this explanation: "The words in brackets are wanting in most of the ancient copies." Upon that naked statement the suspected verses are left to perish out of the page of holy scripture.

4. Certain portions of the received text are rejected by the revisers, as spurious. The attention of the reader is not called to these erasures by any note or comment in the margin. It is the more necessary, therefore, that a few, at least, of these should be distinctly pointed out. The following selection has been made out of a very large number of cases that have been noted The Greek words struck out by this revision of the text are indicated below by their English equivalents in brackets.

Matt. v: 44, "Love your enemies, [bless them that curse you. Do good to them that hate you,] and pray for them which [despitefully use you, and] persecute you."

VI: 4, 6, 18, "Thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee [openly.]"

VI: 13, "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: [For thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.]

XII: 35, "A good man out of the good treasure [of the heart] bringeth forth good things."

XV: 8, "This people [draweth nigh unto me with their mouth and] honoreth me with their lips," etc.

XVI: 3, "[O ye hypocrites] ye can discern the face of the sky."

XVIII: 29, "And his fellow servant fell down [at his feet,] and besought him saying, Have patience with me and I will pay thee [all.]"

XX: 7, "He saieth unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard; [and whatsoever is right that shall ye receive.]"

XX: 22, 23, "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of [and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?] They say unto him we are able. And he saith

unto them, Ye shall drink indeed of my cup [and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with]: but to sit," etc.

XXIII: 8, "But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master [even Christ] and all ye are brethren."

XXV: 13, "Watch, therefore: for ye know neither the day nor the hour, [wherein the Son of man cometh.]"

XXVI: 60, "But found none,—[yea] though many false witnesses came, [yet found they none]. At last came two [false witnesses] and said," etc.

XXVII: 35, "And they crucified him, and parted his garments casting lots: [that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet. They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.]"

Mark, ii: 17, "I came not to call the righteous but sinners [to repentance.]"

III: 5, "Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it out: and his hand was restored [whole as the other.]"

IX: 24, "And straightway the father of the child cried out and said [with tears, Lord] I believe," etc.

XIV: 22, "Take [eat] this is my body."

XIV: 70, "Surely thou art one of them, for thou art a Galilean, [and thy speech agreeth thereto.]"

Luke, iv: 18, "he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me [to heal the broken hearted,] to preach deliverance to the captives," etc.

IV: 41, "And the devils also came out of many, crying out and saying, Thou art [Christ,] the Son of God."

VI: 10, "and his hand was restored [whole as the other.]"

VI: 45, "and an evil man out of the evil [treasure of his heart] bringeth forth," etc.

VIII: 48, "And he said unto her daughter, [be of good comfort,] thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace."

XI: 2-4, "[Our] Father, [which art in Heaven,] hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. [Thy will be done as in heaven so in earth.] Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation, [but deliver us from evil.]"

XVII: 4, "and if he trespass against thee seven times in a day and seven times [in a day] turn again," etc.

XX: 30, 31, "And the second [took her to wife, and he died childless.] And the third took her; and in like manner the seven also; [and they] left no children and died. Last [of all] the woman died also."

XXII: 64, "And when they had blindfolded him they [struck him on the face and] asked him, saying," etc.

XXIII: 38, "And the superscription was written over him, [in letters of Greek and Latin and Hebrew,] This is the King of the Jews."

XXIV: 1, "they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices, which they had prepared, [and certain others with them.]"

John, iii: 15, "that whosoever believeth in Him should [not perish, but] have eternal life."

V: 16, "And therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, [and sought to slay him] because he had done these things on the Sabbath day."

VI: 11, "And Jesus took the loaves; and when he had given thanks he distributed [to the disciples, and the disciples] to them that were set down."

VIII: 59, "Then they took up stones to cast at him; but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple, [going through the midst of them, and so passed by.]"

XI: 41, "Then they took away the stone, [where the dead was laid.]"

XVI: 16, "and again a little while and ye shall see me, [because I go to the Father.]"

XXI: 25, "I suppose the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. [Amen.]"

This list of erasures contains a portion only of those that have been noted; but it is sufficiently formidable as it stands. Now the Church of God does not hold that the received Greek text is immaculate; it does not treat its inaccuracies as integral portions of divine revelation; nor will it be slow in correcting those inaccuracies when they are clearly shown to be such. But while comparative criticism is in its present immature condition, the Church will not countenance the Bible Union in taking such large liberties with the original Scriptures. It is to be borne in mind that the oldest copy extant of the New Testament, the Vatican, marked B, was made not earlier than

the fourth century. Until some light can be cast upon the history of the text during the first three or four centuries, until collations of the oldest MSS. are prepared, which can be every where relied on as accurate, until the critics can be agreed among themselves as to the vital points in the subject, and until these critics reach conclusions which they do not find themselves constrained to modify in their successive publications, the Church is not likely to brand, as spurious or suspicious, large and important portions of the Divine Word.

The case of the revisers is far from being clear when examined upon its merits. They omit, for example, the doxology of the Lord's prayer in Matt. vi: 13. The MS. copies marked A and C are defective at this chapter, and must be laid out of the question. The doxology is not found in B or D, but is found in nine of the unical MSS. It is contained also in the Syriac Peshito version, which was made in the *second* century, and is, therefore, about two hundred years older than the oldest of the MSS. Moreover, the Apostle Paul adopts the substance of the closing petitions and of the doxology in 1 Tim. iv: 18. We are aware of the line of argument followed by those who erase the passage; and of the insinuation, current among them, as to the value of the Peshito testimony; but we venture to predict that the church will not surrender the case as it now stands on the evidence.

From Luke, xi: 2, 4, the revisers exclude several clauses of the Lord's Prayer, to wit, the words: "which art in heaven;" "Thy will be done as in heaven so in earth;" "but deliver us from evil." Now the last of these petitions, at least, is contained in three out of four of the oldest copies, to wit: A, C, D and in fifteen other unical MSS. If this rule of excision were applied to the entire text of the Gospels how many fragments of it would remain to be gathered up?

Nor are the grounds tenable on which the Final Committee puts suspicion on the story of the woman taken in adultery (John, viii: 1–11). On examination it turns out that A is defective from John, vi: 50 to viii: 12; but the destructive critics say that the gap in the copy is not wide enough to include all the matter, therefore this particular passage must be ruled out! B omits it; C is defective from chap. vii: 3 to viii: 34; D contains the passage. Five other unical and two hundred cursive MSS. contain it. The Itala translation of the

second century, the apostolic constitutions of the end of the third, Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome contain it. On the other hand many of the fathers, as Origen, Chrysostom, Tertullian and Cyprian do not quote it, or they exclude it; and the variations in the text are urged to the discredit of the passage Is the church expected, on such narrow grounds as these, to expunge from the Gospel hitherto received one of the most instructive and touching incidents in the life of Christ? One thing at least is certain: if this narrative be an interpolation, its author had a wonderful insight, both speculative and spiritual, into the character of Jesus, and into the very heart of divine truth. We have aimed not at a full discussion of these questions, but at a brief statement of their leading features. The reader of these pages, with a critical apparatus before him, can easily determine for himself, the merits of the proposed alterations in the Greek text.

In turning from the revision of the original to that of the common English version, it is quite natural to inquire how the Final Committee have dealt with the passages which contain the word baptize and its correlatives. This will be shown by a few citations from their revised Gospels.

Matt. iii: 1, "In those days came John the Immerser, preaching in the wilderness of Judea."

III: 5, "Then went out to him Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the region about Jordan, and were immersed by him in the Jordan."

III: 13, 14, "Then Jesus comes from Galilee to the Jordan to John, to be immersed by him. But John sought to hinder him, saying: I have need to be immersed by thee, and dost thou come to me?"

III: 16, "And Jesus when he was immersed, went up straightway from the water," etc.

Mark, vii: 3, 4, "For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they carefully wash their hands, do not eat, holding the tradition of the elders. And coming from the market, except they immerse themselves, they do not eat. And there are many other things which they have received to hold, immersions of cups, and pots, and brazen vessels and couches."

With a single exception, to be hereafter mentioned, the revisers adhere rigidly to this rendering. John the Baptist

every where appears with his new *alias*. Christ is made to say, "There has not risen a greater than John the Immerser." The disciples are equally scrupulous; for when Christ asked them: "Who do men say the Son of Man is? they said: some say John the Immerser." Even Herod and the daughter of Herodias, little as they loved John, cheerfully paid, as it seems, the tithe of mint in never forgetting his title. The damsel said, "Give me here, on a platter, the head of John the Immerser;" and Herod, when he heard of the fame of Jesus, said: "John the Immerser is risen from the dead." The Pharisees also, it would appear, were quite as tenacious as some of our excellent brethren now-a-days, respecting a certain ceremony; for "except they immerse themselves they do not eat," and they held among other traditions the "immersion of cups, and pots, and brazen vessels and couches." Now upon all this it may be safely affirmed: 1. There is no evidence, aside from these mistranslations, that the Pharisees always first immersed themselves before eating, or that they always purified their couches or beds by immersing them. 2. These renderings show the straits into which men are driven when they assume that words, appropriated to a religious use, must be taken always in one unchangeable signification. The word *αγγελος*, messenger, is applied in the New Testament to celestial spirits, and translated *angels*. Under their unbending rule the revisers should translate it *angel* in Luke, vii: 34, "When the *messengers* of John were departed," etc. 3. The churches which worship God in the English tongue will hardly discard the common, and adopt the Baptist version, without taking some time for deliberation.

In a single instance the revisers depart from the rigid rule. They translate Mark, x: 38, thus: "Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink, or to endure the immersion which I endure!" The word twice rendered *endure* here is the litigated *βαπτιζω*; and the same rendering is repeated twice in v. 39. The effect of this is to obscure what has been described as "the inimitable strength and beauty which is derived from the simple collocation (*wherewith I am baptized to be baptized*), and especially from the juxtaposition of these two forms of the same verb *βαπτιζομαι βαπτισθηναι*" (Alexander). Still further it is a departure from the principle, laid down so peremptorily by the Bible

Union, as to the exactness with which the original "must be translated by corresponding words and phrases so far as they can be found." Has the Final Committee stumbled, for once, over the old stumbling block—*βαπτιζω*?*

It is a very agreeable part of our present duty to turn from the course of adverse criticism to some of the good fruits of biblical scholarship which are exhibited in the new version. In many instances, the revisers have adopted into the text the marginal renderings of the common English bible, which are approved as judicious by the best modern scholars. The following are examples:

Matt. v: 21, "Ye have heard that it was said *by* them of old time." The margin reads *to* them.

VI: 1, "Take heed that ye do not your *alms* before men to be seen of them." The margin reads *righteousness*. With this amendment the verse lays down the general principle as to the manner of performing righteous deeds; and then the following verses to verse 18 apply the principle to three specific acts or manifestations of righteousness, to-wit, almsgiving, prayer, fasting. The original word, according to some of the oldest manuscripts and versions, is *δικαιοσυνην*. The revisers follow the margin.

X: 4. Simon, the disciple, is called "the Canaanite," as if he were either a descendant of the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan, or a native of Cana, neither of which ideas is conveyed in the Greek. The margin reads: "Kananite, that is Zealot, as in Luke, vi: 15."

X: 16, "be ye therefore wise as serpents and *harmless* as doves." The word *simple* is suggested in the margin; meaning singleness and purity of motive.

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* We have seen but one revision of the Gospels published by the Union for European circulation. This describes John as "el Sumergidor;" Christ's baptism as "sumergido," and the purification of couches as "immersiones." But so far as we have examined, this version, issued in 1855, follows substantially the received Greek text, differing therein very widely (may we add fortunately?) from the revision in English, issued eight years later. Whether the Union will continue to circulate both versions, reconciled to their discrepancies in the text by their agreement in the immersions, or whether the society will suppress their former European editions and issue others, is a question upon which we have no information. We presume, though we do not know, that they are in a similar predicament with their favorite Bengalee and Burmese versions.

XXII: 20, "Whose is this image and superscription?" (marg. *inscription?*)

XXIII: 24, "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." The impression, so generally prevailing among English readers, that "strain at" means "to swallow with difficulty" is incorrect. The Greek is well rendered in the margin "to strain out a gnat."

XXVIII: 19, "Go ye, therefore, and teach (marg., *disciple*) all nations."

Mark, vi: 27, "And immediately the king sent an *executioner* and commanded his head to be brought." The margin reads "one of his guard," the word *executioner* being an explanation rather than a literal translation of the word.

VII: 4, "as the washing of cups and pots, brazen vessels and of *tables;*" marg., *beds:—couches* would, perhaps, be better still.

The revisers might have adopted into the text some other marginal readings. Mark, x: 52, "Jesus said to the blind man, Go thy way, thy faith hath *made thee whole;*" hath *saved thee* both from bodily and spiritual blindness. XIII: 8, "These are the beginnings of *sorrows.*" The margin has it *pains as of a woman in travail. Pangs* would perhaps express the idea. In both cases the revision follows the common version.

Among the new renderings, not suggested in the margin, which have been adopted by the revisers, the following may be taken as favorable instances:

Matt. i: 22, "Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of (*υπο*) the Lord by (*δια*) the prophet," etc. According to modern usage the phrase would read "*by* the Lord," as the real author of the prophecy, "*through* the prophet," as the organ of communication. It is so rendered by the revisers.

II: 16, "Then Herod sent forth and slew *all the children* that were in Bethlehem." The masculine adjective and article used in the Greek, together with the true meaning of the noun, point to *male* children as the exact translation.

IX: 16, "No man putteth a piece of new (revisers say *unfulled*) cloth unto (*on*, rev.) an old garment."

XIII: 21, "when tribulation or persecution ariseth, because of the word by and by (rev., *immediately*), he is offended."

"By and by" is old English for *forthwith, instantly;* but procrastination, the inveterate vice of human nature, has infused the element of delay into the term "by and by," so that it is no longer an exact equivalent of the Greek εὐθυς. The same remark applies to Mark, vi: 25, "And she came in straightway with haste unto the king, and asked, saying: I will that thou give me *by and by*, in a charger, the head of John the Baptist." The revisers say *immediately;* perhaps *forthwith*, or *without delay*, would be still better. So, also, in Luke, xxi: 9, for "the end is not *by and by*" read *immediately*. Comp. Luke, xvii: 7.

XIV: 8, "And the damsel being *before instructed* (rev., *urged on*) of her mother, said, Give me here John Baptist's head in a charger." Perhaps *instigated*, as Alexander suggests, would be still better.

XX: 1. The term which is here rendered "householder," is in verse 11 of the common version rendered the "good man of the house." The revisers obliterate that unnecessary distinction.

XXII: 1–14. The parable of the marriage of the king's son. Trench, whom all biblical scholars are happy to recognize as the new Archbishop of Dublin, points out the distinction "between the δουλοι who summon the bidden guests (ver. 3, 4), and the διακονοι who in the end expel the unworthy intruder (ver. 13). The first represent *men*, the ministers of Christ; the last are the *angels* who execute the divine judgments.—Luke, xix: 24. The revisers, following this suggestion, read "servants" in ver. 3, 4, and "attendants" in ver. 13.

XXVI: 41, "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation." In Mark, xiv: 38, the same Greek words are translated in the common version, "watch and pray *lest ye* enter into temptation." The revisers amend the verbal discrepancy.

XXVIII: 14, "And if this *come to the governor's ears* we will persuade him and secure you." It is a favorite opinion with modern interpreters that the original text refers to the absence of Christ's body from the sepulchre as "coming before the governor," not incidentally, by way of mere rumor or news, but officially, as a matter of judicial inquiry. The revisers read it: "if this shall be heard before the governor;" using "heard," we suppose, in its legal sense.

Mark, v: 30, "And Jesus immediately knowing in himself that virtue (*δυναμις, power*, rev.) had gone out of him."

Luke, xxiii: 42, "Lord remember me when thou comest into (*εν in*, rev.) thy kingdom:" that is, with all thy glorious kingdom about thee."—*Trench.* The common version renders the same phrase "*in* his kingdom" at Matt. xvi: 28.

John, ii: 8, 9. The word translated by the common version "governor of the feast" in ver. 8, is translated "ruler of the feast" in ver. 9. The revisers use the last term in both verses.

John, x:16, "And other sheep I have, which are not of this *fold* (*αυλης*); them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one *fold* (*ποιμνη*), and one shepherd." Trench points out the difference between these Greek words, and suggests that Tyndale's rendering of *ποιμνη* by the word *flock* should be restored. The revisers follow Tyndale.

Advancing to another stage of this examination it may be useful to ascertain what disposition the revisers have made of certain places in the Gospels, upon the exact sense of which the best scholars of the day are not agreed.

Matt. vi: 27, "Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit to his *stature?*" The revisers follow the common version; but the weight of modern authority favors the use of the word *age*, which is the primary meaning of the Greek noun. So Alexander, Olshausen, Steir, Wordsworth, etc.

VIII: 20, "The birds of the air have *nests:*" so the revisers. Other critics receive the term in a wider sense; as *shelters, haunts.*

Mark, vi: 20, "For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and a holy, and *observed* him." The revisers follow the text of the common version; but some of the best interpreters follow the margin: *kept him* or *saved him*, i. e. for a time, from the malice of Herodias. So the Vulgate—*custodiebat eum.*

XII: 26, "Have ye not read in the book of Moses, how *in the bush* God spake unto him," etc. *In the bush* is taken by the revisers to indicate not the place whence God addressed Moses, but the portion of the Pentateuch containing the narrative. Their reading is, "in the Book of Moses, at The Bush, how God spake," etc.

Luke, ii: 49, "wist ye not that I must be *about my Father's*

business." The revisers render it, *in my Father's house*. This is an ancient interpretation, but the Greek, (εν τοις) is thought by most modern scholars to have the wider sense of the common version.

John, iv: 6, "Jesus sat thus *on* (επι) the well." Trench and others read "*by* or *at* the well." Compare Mark, xiii: 29, "at (επι) the doors." John, v: 2, "by (επι) the sheep market." The revisers say *on*.

XII: 6, "He was a thief, and had the bag, and *bare* what was put therein." So read both the common version and the revisers, with the best authorities. Some, however, take *bare* in the sense of *taking off, purloining*.

It is a part of our present duty to point out, distinctly, some of the instances in which the revisers appear to have failed in giving the true sense of the original. One of the first questions, which would naturally arise in the minds of those who endeavor to acquaint themselves with the Greek scriptures, is: Have the revisers paid sufficient attention to the distinctions of mood and tense existing in the Greek verb? Have they, for example, given to the imperfect tense the signification which belongs to it as distinguished from the aorist? This latter question takes importance from the fact that the common version has been more frequently criticised on this than on any other point in Greek grammar. That the revisers have not wholly overlooked this particular appears from the following examples:

Luke, v: 6, "They enclosed a great multitude of fishes and their net *brake*." The imperfect tense here conveys the idea not that the net actually broke, but that it "was in the act of breaking," or, as the revisers say, "began to break."

Luke, xxii: 1, 2, "Now the feast of unleavened bread *drew nigh* (*was drawing near*, rev.), which is called the Passover, and the chief priests and scribes *sought* (*were seeking*, rev.) how they might kill him."

Many other cases have been noted, in which the revision shows the hand of an accomplished scholar; but the cases are very numerous in which the imperfect is allowed to do duty for the aorist, or an action which in Greek is represented as incomplete or continued, is in the English of the revisers represented as complete and past.

Mark, i: 31, "immediately the fever left her, and she *ministered* unto them." Here the idea of a ministering, *continued for a time*, is expressed by the imperfect tense, showing the completeness of the miraculous cure.

Luke, i: 59, "They *called* (imperfect) him Zachariah," i. e. they *were calling* him Zachariah, when his mother interposed and called him John.

VI: 19, "because power *went out* (imperfect, i. e. *continually*) and healed them all."

VI: 23, "in the like manner *did* (imp., i. e. *habitually*) their fathers unto the prophets." Ver. 26, "Woe unto you when all men speak well of you, for so *did* (*habitually*) their fathers unto the false prophets." The point given by this tense to the remark ought not to be lost.

So, also, by giving full effect to the imperfect tense, in Luke, viii: 41, Jairus *incessantly* "besought" Christ to heal his daughter; in viii: 52, the family of the dead maid *incessantly* "wept and bewailed" her; in xxiv: 27, Christ *continuously* "expounded" to the two disciples in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself; in John, v: 16, 18, the Jews *constantly* persecuted Jesus, and *constantly* sought to slay him, because he *habitually* did these things on the Sabbath, and said that God was his father; in vii: 1, Christ would not walk in Judea, because the Jews *constantly* sought to slay him; in xi: 5, Jesus *habitually* loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus; in xiii: 22, when Jesus said one of you shall betray me, the disciples looked *continuously* on one another, doubting of whom he spake; in xxi: 18, Jesus said to Peter, when thou wast young, thou *habitually* girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldst. The most striking instance in point is Luke, xvii: 27, 28, where no less than ten imperfects may be found. These are treated as aorists in both the common version and the revision, whereas the true sense is that in the days of Noah they ate, drank, married and were given in marriage—all *habitually;* and, in the days of Lot, they ate, drank, bought, sold, planted and builded, all *habitually*. An instance, conveying a different shade of meaning, is in Luke, xiv: 7, Christ marked how the Pharisees *chose* out the chief rooms, as both our version and the revision translate the word; but according to the use of the imperfect, while they *were choosing* the chief rooms Christ spake the para-

ble. Now there would be, probably, a difference of opinion among competent scholars upon the question whether these adverbs, indicating incomplete, or continued, or habitual action, ought to be inserted in the text. Some might insist that these adverbs would be glosses, not translations; others, that the ideas they represent enter into the inmost sense of the imperfect tense, and must be expressed in an exact translation. But this is one of the questions which will come up for consideration when any final revision of the Greek scriptures is made. We do not perceive that the Committee is competent to settle that question authoritatively. By the way in which they have settled it for themselves, they fail to express, in a very large number of places, the precise sense of the Greek. In many of these cases, as in Luke, i: 59, and xiv: 7, the true meaning might have been rendered without the use of an adverb.

It is frequently alleged, as another short-coming of our version, that the obvious distinction between *ειμι to be* and *γινομαι to become* or *to begin to be* is almost habitually overlooked. Have the revisers corrected this inaccuracy? In many instances they have done so. As examples: in Matt. xvii: 2, "his garments *became* white as the light;" xxiii: 26, "that the outside of the platter may *become* clean;" xxiv: 32, "when the branch of the fig tree has already *become* tender." Luke, vi: 16, "Judas Iscariot, who *became* (i. e. afterwards) a traitor;" xi: 26, "the last state of that man *became* worse than the first;" ver. 30, "as Jonah *became* a sign to the Ninevites;" xxii: 44, "his sweat *became* as it were great drops of blood;" John, ix: 27, "Will ye also *become* his disciples;" etc., etc. But, on the other hand, the places in which the distinction is obliterated are numerous. One of the most important of these, where the point, if not indeed the sense, of the passage depends on this discriminating use of the two verbs, is John, viii: 58, "Before Abraham *began to be* (*γενεσθαι*) *I am* (*εγω ειμι*)." The revisers have failed to mark the distinction not only here, but elsewhere; as, for examples: Matt. vi: 16, "when ye fast *become* not as the hypocrites of a sad countenance"—i. e. do not change the expression of the countenance; viii: 26, "and there *began to be* or *there came on* a great calm;" x: 16, "*become* therefore wise as serpents;" Mark, ix: 50, "if the salt *lose* its saltness"—literally, if the salt *become* saltless (*αλας αναλον γενηται*); Luke, x:

36, "which of these three *became* or *began to be* neighbor to him that fell among the thieves?" xv: 10, "there *begins to be* or *springs up* joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth;" John, vi: 17, "and it had now *become* dark;" x: 16, "there shall *come into being* one fold and one shepherd;" xx: 27, "and *become* not faithless, but believing;" *cum multis aliis.*

Trench, in his treatise on Bible Revision, has a fine chapter "on some unnecessary distinctions introduced" into our version, and another "on some real distinctions effaced." Some instances in which the revisers have made the proper discriminations have been adduced above; other cases have escaped their notice. The first miracle of the feeding of the multitude is recorded by the four evangelists, and in each instance the word κοφινος is used for the *baskets* in which the fragments were gathered.—Matt. xiv: 20; Mark, vi: 43; Luke, ix: 17; John, vi: 13. The second miracle of the same kind is recorded twice, and in both accounts σπυρις is used (Matt. xv: 37; Mark, viii: 8), pointing out the fact that there were two miracles of that description, and not one only, as some of the neologists pretend. The difference between the two terms may possibly be determined from the fact that Paul was "let down by the wall in a σπυρις" or *hamper.*—Acts, ix: 25. The revisers translate both terms by the word *basket.*—John, xxi: 15–17. The revisers mark the distinction between "Feed (βοσκε) my lambs" and "Feed (ποιμανε, *tend*, rev.) my sheep;" but they do not attempt to discriminate between the two verbs in verses 15–17. "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest (αγαπαω) thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love (φιλω) thee." In verse 16, the same words are repeated. In verse 17, Christ responds to the tenderness of Peter by taking up his word. "He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest (φιλεις) thou me." Simon replied, "thou knowest that I love (φιλω) thee." Trench, in his *Synonyms of the New Testament*, points out "the delicate and subtle play of feeling" exhibited in the use of these verbs.

Certain other words and phrases receive in the new revision a rendering which is not likely to obtain general acquiescence. A few examples out of many of this description may be quoted:

Matt. v: 3–11. The revisers say, "*Happy* the poor in spirit;"

"*Happy* they that mourn;" "*Happy* the meek;" and so on through the catalogue, leaving us without the "seven beatitudes." The Greek adjective is twice applied to God in the New Testament: in 1 Tim. i:11, and vi:15, where it must be rendered *blessed*. The term should also undoubtedly take that meaning in Matthew. v, in order to convey the two ideas not contained in "happy:" to wit, that they who possess these graces share in the divine blessedness, and that their spiritual joy depends on the divine favor. They are blessed like God and they receive blessing from God.

V:18, "one jot and one tittle shall *not* pass from the law," etc. The particles *ου μη* make up an intense form of the negative, equivalent to by *no means* or by *no manner of means*. Compare Matt. xxvi:35, Luke, xxii:16, 18, 34. In these and many other cases the revision fails to give the full force of the expression.

VI:25, "Take no *thought* for your life what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink." Trench points out in one of his finest criticisms, the fact that the noun *thought* in the old English was an equivalent for solicitude and excessive anxiety; and he cites passages from Bacon, Shakespeare, and the Somers' Tracts, in which the persons are said to have died of *thought*. This scripture forbids not a prudent provision of necessary food and raiment for the future, but undue and unbelieving anxiety. The revisers leave the passage with the change of the adverb: "Take *not* thought."

IX:19, "And Jesus arose and followed him, and *so did* his disciples." The revisers omit "so did," leaving it doubtful whether these "disciples" belonged to the ruler or to Christ.

XI:17. The revisers have it: "We piped to you and you danced not; we sang the lament and ye beat not the breast."

Mark, i:1, "The beginning of the *Gospel* of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." The revisers translate it "good news." Nor is this all; for in every case in which the Greek word occurs in Mark (it is not found in the other Evangelists) it is rendered "good news" or "glad tidings," so that the good old word "gospel" is wholly expunged from the text. The word is allowed to stand in the titles thus: "The Gospel according to Matthew," etc., etc., but it would be rather difficult to show that the titles of the four books are part and parcel of the inspired text;

especially if the same rules of criticism be applied to them which have made, in the hands of the revisers, such havoc with the Lord's Prayer. It is but fair however to state, that in a preliminary note to the Acts and the first three Epistles, it is stated that, "in this volume, the term *gospel* has been retained, wherever the Greek word is understood to be used in its later and technical sense to which the word *gospel* now corresponds in English usage." What this "later and technical sense" is supposed to be, should have been but is not explained. But if it be the sense in which the word corresponds to a narrative of the life and teachings of Christ, there is reason to hope that the Final Committee will follow what appears to be a happy after thought, and restore the sacred term to its place in Mark, i:1, and under a liberal construction of the rule, in a few other places. It is, surely, an untoward result of biblical learning to deprive the Sermon on the Mount of the beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer of the doxology, and the Evangelists of the gospel—even in terms.

VIII:24. The revision reads: "And looking up he said: I behold men; for I see them as trees walking." The Greek text imperatively requires "walking" to be construed with "men." The meaning is: "I see them walking about in dim and confused outline—as much like trees as men." The revisers, however, have not removed the equivoque.

Luke, xvi:8, "And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done *wisely*." So the common version and the revisers. But many critics construe φρονιμως *prudently* or *shrewdly*—indicating worldly wisdom, in distinction from σοφος true wisdom.

Luke, xxii:36. The revisers translate thus: "he that has a purse let him take it, and likewise a bag; and he that has *none* let him sell his garment and buy a sword." *None* what? Purse? bag? or sword? The common version is better: "he that hath no sword let him," etc.

John, xiii:23. "And supper being ended, the devil having already put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him; *Jesus* knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God and went to God, he riseth from supper," etc. The revisers expunge the word

Jesus leaving the verbs *knowing*, *riseth*, etc., liable to an equivocal construction, either with the devil or with Christ.

The last topic to be considered is the English in which the revision appears. Its authors have, very wisely, made the authorized version the basis of the present work. According to the statement on the title page, it is "the common English version corrected." Among the corrections is the reduction of proper names to their modern forms; for examples: Jeremy and Jeremias are uniformly written Jeremiah; for Esaias they write Isaiah; for Elias, Elijah; for Jonas, Jonah; for Jewry, Judea. Certain forms of expression in our version, which are contrary to the present usage of the language, are also changed. *Whom* is altered to *who* in the expression, "Whom do men say that I am?"—Matt. xvi: 13; Mark, viii: 27, 29; Luke, ix: 18, 20. The relative *who* is substituted for *which* where persons are the antecedents: Matt. vi: 9, "Our Father *which* (*who*, rev.) art in heaven." Luke, ii: 11, "For unto you is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour, *which* (*who*, rev.) is Christ the Lord." Compare Matt. v: 44; vi: 4. It is a curious fact that at the time our version was prepared the possessive pronoun *its* was very rarely used. It never occurs in the English New Testament. The pronouns *his* and *her* were used as neuters. We read in Matt. v: 13, "if the salt have lost *his* savor;" in Mark, ix: 50, "if the salt have lost *his* saltness," etc., etc. There are distinct traces of this usage even in the most modern English; we apply *his* and *him* to the sun, *she* and *her* to the moon, to ships, and to certain famous cities, as Rome and Jerusalem. But the revisers generally employ *its* in such constructions. The common version, moreover, occasionally unites two moods in a single construction; as "if any man *be* a worshipper of God and *doeth* his will him he heareth." Solecisms of this kind are corrected in the revision. Luke, xxiv: 26, "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things," etc., conveys the idea that it was Christ's duty to suffer death. But *ought* here is an old English past tense of the verb to *owe*, and carries with it the notion of necessity. The revisers read: "*Was it not necessary*, that the Christ should suffer these things?" The Greek verb is ἔδει.

There are, however, many points, some of them minute and others more important, which will be debated with the revisers. It will be doubted, for example, whether they have been alto-

gether successful in their treatment of the antiquated forms of speech, contained in the common version. They have neither wholly eliminated this element, nor have they left it untouched; but have, apparently, attempted a compromise between the old and the new, which, like most compromises, is not self-consistent. They sometimes discard the termination of the third person singular, *eth;* sometimes they retain it. These instances occur: Matt. iii:13, "Then *comes* Jesus from Galilee;" viii:9, "to another come and he *cometh;*" v:28, "looks;" ver. 29, "causes;" ver. 32, "commits;" ver. 42, "asketh." In many cases both forms appear in a single construction: Luke, vi:47, "Whosoever *comes* to me and *hears* my sayings and *doeth* them;" ver. 49, "But he that *hears* and *doeth* not," etc.

The revisers show the same inconsistency in their treatment of the word *offend* and its cognates. These terms have lost one of the leading significations which belong to them in the old English. To offend was used as an equivalent of the verb to stumble or to be made to stumble; hence, in a secondary meaning, it signified to lay a snare, to put stumbling blocks in the way of others, or to betray them into sin. Matt. v:29, "If thy right eye *offend* (σκανδαλιζει) thee, pluck it out;" i. e. if the eye incurably betray thee into sin. Mark, ix:42, "Whosoever shall *offend* one of these little ones that believe in me," etc.; i. e. cause them to stumble, or to fall into grievous sins. Matt. xxvi:31, "All ye shall be *offended* because of me this night;" i. e. ye shall be betrayed into sin. Now, in the first of these passages, the revisers read "if thy right eye causes thee to offend;" in the second, "whosoever shall cause one of these little ones to offend;" but, in the third they retain the word *offended*, either by inadvertence, or perhaps because they judged the sense of the passage to be expressed by the use of the word as equivalent to *displease*. In either case they have missed the true meaning of the expression. Surely Christ did not intend to say that his disciples could be *displeased* or *provoked* with him when he should be arrested in the garden. The revisers should have allowed the word to stand, in every case, on its old English signification, or they should have modified it wherever necessary to the sense. Partial changes from the old to the new perplex the reader.

Nor are they uniformly successful in their construction of the historical present. The peculiar vividness of the conceptions

formed by the Greek mind, allowed the Greeks not only to use, very freely, the present for the past, but to exchange one tense for another, and that repeatedly, in the same sentence. Our language lays great restraint on this versatility of conception and expression; and the common version adheres to the English idioms. But the revisers have, not unfrequently, incorporated the Greek idiom into the English text, throwing the construction into awkward forms: John, xiii: 3, "knowing that the Father *had given* all things into his hands and that he *came* out from God and *is* going to God, he *riscs* from supper and *lays* aside his garments, and taking a towel *girded* himself. After that he *pours* water into the basin and *began* to wash the feet of his disciples," etc. In the course of seven verses (verses 3-10) there are eight changes between the present and the past in the verbs. XIX: 9, "And he *went* again into the palace and *says* to Jesus, Whence art thou. But Jesus *gave* him no answer. Then *says* Pilate to him," etc. The effect of this rigid adherence to the forms of the Greek grammar is to produce, not a translation, but a transfer of Greek idioms into an English dress. Why not, on that principle, allow the transfer of a Greek word like *baptize?* In another passage the revisers follow the common version in the transfer of a Hebraistic phrase: "children (*sons*, rev.) of the bride chamber," for the *attendants of the bridegroom*, or the *groomsmen*. Well enough this in the old version, which allows the transferring of words and phrases, but not so well in one that is, in itself, a protest against the practice.

The change of expression is not fortunate in Luke, xxiii: 6, "When Pilate heard of Galilee he asked whether the man were a Galilean." This good old English is "corrected" thus: "he asked if the man is a Galilean."

It is agreed among the best interpreters that it would have been well if our translators had taken a distinction between γεεννα, the place of eternal punishment, and αδης the abode of the dead. It is particularly necessary to mark this distinction in Acts, ii: 27, 31, where the soul of Christ is said to have been in αδης, or *hell* according to our version. The revisers propose the word "underworld" as the equivalent of αδης. Matt. xi: 23, "Thou Capernaum which art exalted to heaven shalt be thrust down to the underworld." The word is an ungraceful coinage, and most persons would prefer to naturalize the Greek *hades;* pleading

the example of the revisers in their readiness to adopt both Greek and Hebrew idioms.

Biblical scholars have called attention to the fact, that in the authorized version, a single English word represents many different words in the Greek. Thus, twenty-one Greek words are translated *depart* in our New Testament, twenty Greek words answer to *show*, fifteen to *bring forth*, fourteen to *declare*; fourteen to *give* and eighteen to *receive*. On the other hand, a single Greek word is treated as an equivalent to many English words. Thus λογος is translated into twenty-eight different expressions in our New Testament, παριστημι represents sixteen, and ποιεω fifty-one. It is not possible in the nature of the two languages, on the one hand to efface, on the other to represent, all these distinctions, yet it can hardly be doubted that the *copia verborum* of both vocabularies could be handled, by perfect masters, with far greater skill. We do not perceive that the revisers have made much progress in this direction.

Our limits do not allow this examination to be extended, although the materials in our hands are not exhausted. But the alterations which the Bible Union has made, in both the Greek and the English text of the authorized version, have been sufficiently indicated, to bear us out in submitting certain conclusions to the judgment of the Christian public.

In the first place, this revision considered, not as a substitute for the common version, but simply as a contribution to biblical literature, is of considerable value. It exhibits the findings of protracted study and excellent scholarship directed to the formation of an authentic Greek text, and to the adequate expression of its meaning in the vernacular. A new translation, as an addendum to a volume of notes, is always acceptable; and if the revisers had sent forth their version in connection with such a commentary as the admirable work of Dr. Hackett on the Acts of the Apostles, they would have performed an important service. But the naked revision, although it presents the last results of their labors and will be useful to the student, is not likely to be estimated at its intrinsic worth; and we are left to lament that so much scholarly ability has been, in a great measure, sunken, in what we must be allowed to consider, an unprofitable enterprise.

In the second place, this revision is not likely to supersede the common version. The old-fashioned Bible is too firmly rooted in the traditions and affections, natural and supernatural, of the English-speaking races to be easily supplanted by any revision whatever. No man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith, the old is better. But apart from this consideration, which may be set down to the score of habit or to the score of prejudice, there are rational grounds for this opinion. It may be confidently presumed that the Church at large will not, in the present state of biblical science, accept of this as the final settlement of the Greek text. A certain number of the various readings, adopted by the revisers, may be sustainable on critical grounds, with the all but unanimous consent of the masters in the science; but who shall persuade the Christian public to accept of new readings, in respect to which the arguments are nearly balanced, and the authorities are nearly equally divided, some of these authorities meanwhile wavering in their judgments? Many of the proposed amendments do not materially affect the sense of Scripture and may be received. But will the people of God allow, without debate, the Lord's Prayer in Matthew to be bereft of the doxology; the Lord's Prayer in Luke to be expunged in two of its leading petitions; and the story of the adulteress and the Pharisees in John, viii, to be *girdled* with brackets and left to its fate? The changes made in the English text, taken as a whole, furnish other grounds of this judgment. Some of these changes, suggested long ago in the margin, or established in the consent of the best interpreters, will be thought to convey the exact sense of the original. But the revisers adopt some corrections the value of which has not been determined, and others which are generally rejected by the best interpreters; they fail to remove certain ambiguities; they create new ambiguities; they transfer Greek idioms into the English text; admit awkward constructions; are not infallible in the moods and tenses; in short they are not, any more than King James' translators, guiltless of mistakes. All these might be over-looked in a commentary, but they are fatal to a version which proposes to supplant the old-fashioned Bible. In using a commentary, too, we might be disposed to reconsider the proper meaning of *βαπτιζω*; but here it is proposed to settle, forever, the mode of bap-

tism against the convictions of nine-tenths of Christendom. This is the proposed settlement: first, the Bible Union prepares a corrected version of the English New Testament; next it introduces the words immerse, immersion, and immerser; lastly it proposes that the nine-tenths of Christendom shall adopt the new version as infallible therein; a short and easy method that of determining controversies!

The patronage under which the revision is published, although very respectable, will not be able, in the face of these obstacles, to command success. The American Bible Union is a voluntary society in the city of New York. Neither proficiency in biblical learning nor even a profession of religion is required as a qualification for membership; but "thirty dollars makes a life member and one hundred dollars a life director." It is understood, that the members of the society are, almost exclusively, of the Baptist persuasion, including the churches of the "Reformation," in which the Rev. Alexander Campbell is a distinguished teacher. Some of the most eminent men, among the Baptists, have, however, from the beginning, discountenanced the proceeding; and in the end it will appear that wisdom is justified of all her children. In the stout array of the officers of the Union, seventy-two in number, may be found some honored brethren, but we look in vain for the persons of such men as Wayland, Williams, Hague, and Sears. The ancestral images of twenty illustrious houses were borne aloft in a famous procession at Rome; "but" adds Tacitus, "Cassius and Brutus outshone all the others from the fact that their statues were not seen."

The ultimate personal authority on which this revision rests is in a position of yet more deplorable weakness. Who are, in the last instance, responsible for the work? The only information, as yet made public, is contained in the title page: "The common English version corrected by the Final Committee of the American Bible Union." The remarkable fact is, that the names of this committee have been effectually, if not studiously, concealed. Neither the published list of officers, among whom are found the names of forty-one vice presidents, and twenty-seven managers, nor the constitution, nor the proceedings of the society, nor the public journals, afford a single hint as to the persons who have undertaken to determine, finally, for the English-speaking races, the true Hebrew and Greek text of the

Holy Scriptures, and the true rendering of that text into the English tongue. It is hardly to be supposed that the revision is intended for the use of the Baptists alone; since the practical effect of the measure, in that case, would be to separate the denomination, more widely than before, from the other branches of the church. The common impression has been, and is, that this revision is intended to supersede the authorized version. If this be true, who are the people that are expected to acquiesce in this project? They are all the powerful Protestant churches in this country, speaking first through their great ecclesiastical courts, and then through the thousands of their ministers and communicants; they are the established churches of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, represented by sovereign, parliament, convocation, general assemblies, archbishops, bishops, ministers, universities; they are the dissenting churches of the empire, scarcely less powerful, speaking through their appropriate organs. Are these immense tribes and nations of God's people expected to abandon the old English Bible and accept in place thereof a version made under the auspices of a portion only of a single denomination; prepared, moreover, not to protect any fundamental doctrine of faith, but in the interest of what the great mass of Christians believe to be a delusion respecting the mode of baptism? And, still further, are they expected to adopt a version, which not only sets aside their baptism, but handles, with immoderate freedom, both the Greek and the English texts; and all this on the authority of an anonymous committee? If these be the plans and expectations of the Union, did any enterprise ever undertaken by Christian men carry with it the certainty of a more signal failure?

A critical examination of this revision will show, thirdly, that there is no urgent necessity for any change in the authorized version. We do not deny that there are inaccuracies in the English version, as it now stands; nor do we prefer an inexact translation to a perfect one; nor do we doubt that the progress of biblical learning has thrown much light upon the true text and the true meaning of Scripture. But this revision does, in effect, unite its testimony with that of the entire body of the learned, in behalf of the substantial accuracy and sufficiency of the common version. The numerous changes proposed by the revisers in the Greek text, with a few exceptions, do not go to

the inmost sense of the record, and these exceptions apply to readings which can not, in the present state of criticism, be established. The changes proposed in the English text, even if they were all accepted, would not add, in any appreciable degree, to the perspicuity or spiritual efficacy of the Divine Word. Besides this, every real improvement in the translation can be, and is in fact even now, made known through the margin, or through popular commentaries used in Sunday schools and bible classes, or through the pulpit. If competent scholars will continue to prepare expositions exhibiting the ripest fruits of their labors; if the ministers of the Gospel will faithfully study the inspired originals, with such helps as are offered them; if by expository preaching, and by instructing bible classes they will make known the true meaning of the word, they will communicate to the people exact knowledge—exact according to their light—of the mind of the Spirit.

The labors of these revisers point, fourthly, to a very satisfactory conclusion as to the purity of the Greek text of the New Testament. The efforts of great scholars have been directed for three hundred years to the formation of a critical text. Many hundred manuscripts and versions have been collated, and many thousand various readings have been discovered. Yet these readings go only, for the most part, to the omission, repetition or transposition of single letters or syllables, to the use of synonyms, or to particles without appreciable force; and hundreds of them are, without doubt, to be referred to the ignorance and carelessness of the copyists. None of them assails a single doctrine of our common salvation; they leave untouched nearly every passage and word in which such doctrine is delivered.

The texts formed by the most learned critics, the Sinai manuscript lately discovered by Tischendorf, the text adopted by these revisers, and even that made up by Alford, who is almost a "destructive," will confirm any candid mind in the substantial integrity of the Greek Testament in common use, as an exhibition of the very words in which the Holy Spirit caused the book to be composed. All the various readings, taken together, affect the real sense of Scripture as little as the clouds of dust and leaves swept from the Sierra Nevada by a summer wind, or a few stones loosened from its surface by a summer rain, mar the

stability and configuration of the range of mountains, or spoil the treasures of virgin gold hidden within.

All these premises terminate in this as their final conclusion: the problem of a revision of the English Scriptures can not be resolved by the present generation. It has been proposed in various forms; in the attempt of the American Bible Society to establish an amended standard of the authorized version, in the publications of Trench, and of the "Five Clergymen" in London, in the New Testament edited by the Rev. Alexander Campbell, and now in the labors of the Bible Union. These movements have invariably demonstrated that the world is not ripe for so great and difficult an enterprise. In the meantime, a proposition in the Presbyterian General Assembly, for the preparation of a church commentary appears to have taken a similar direction. Neither of these ideas can be realized at present; perhaps not even in the ages to come. But let us hope that Biblical learning may, at least, attain to both of these results, as its grand consummation. The Hebrew text is well nigh settled. The ancient Greek text will be slowly evolved through the progress of comparative criticism; the Hebrew tongue, with its cognates, will be well considered; the classical Greek and Hellenistic Greek, in its etymology and syntax, in the elaborate structure of its verb, the subtile forces of its particles, and the inimitable flexibility and complication of its sentence-forms, will be progressively unfolded; biblical chronology, archæology, geography and natural science, will be investigated anew, and again anew. The product of all these toils never ceasing, never weary, may gladden the hearts of God's people in the form of a commentary on his Word, which shall embody the judgments of Christian scholars counted by thousands—as the sea gathers into its bosom and assimilates all the waters. To this must be added an adequate acquaintance with the English language, in all its sources and elements and philosophy, together with what Cicero calls the *delectus verborum*, the perfected vocabulary, which expresses exact thought in exact terms—demanding a culture won by the prolonged study of the best models, and by the deepest insight into the genius, both of the language and of the civilization of which that is the finest product. Given such an authentic text as is here indicated, such knowledge of the ancient languages, such exquisite skill in the use of the vernacular,

together with the commentary, and the vast learning employed in its composition, and the conditions of a revision of the English Scriptures will require only a general agreement of the people of God to become complete. Other tongues, spoken by man, will also demand that the treasures of the Word be conveyed to their keeping; in each instance with the same fidelity as to the substance and the same consummate skill in the diction. Our Baptist brethren will, on mature reflection, we doubt not, take this comprehensive view of both the possibilities and difficulties of the case; and they will be satisfied if their revision, although it be not received as "final," shall be allowed to hold a place among the materials which shall enter into the composition of the best possible commentary, and, of what is the consummate result of such a commentary, an exact translation of the Scriptures into all spoken languages.

Art. IV.—*The Loyalty demanded by the present Crisis.*

It is proposed in this paper to consider the sentiments which a truly loyal man should entertain toward those who are now called of God to exercise authority over the nation. This will involve a review of the difficulties which beset the Administration at its beginning, and the necessities growing out of the war which the rebellion has forced upon our people. And, as no administration has ever before had to grapple with such tremendous opposition, or try so many hitherto untrodden paths of action, none have deserved so much lenity from loyal men for mistakes in judgment, or measures of questionable legality.

It will be pertinent to the subject to dissect the character of those pretended patriots who, while proclaiming at the street corners and along the highways, that they are just as good Union men as anybody, yet, by their every act and word show their animus to be treasonable and their influence with the enemies of our country. And, as there are connected with these, in effect if not in purpose, numerous croakers and birds of ill omen, who despair of the Republic, and magnify temporary advantages gained by the secessionists; who villify every measure

of the Government which was not enacted for their own special behoof; who predict the utter subversion of the Constitution when its enemies are punished; it is proposed to show that the efforts of such persons have a direct tendency to weaken the hands of Union men and strengthen the enemy; and, therefore at this time, however allowable a certain licentiousness of speech may be in peace, are positively disloyal and wicked.

The foundation of all stable government is the sanction and blessing of God granted to rulers. For by Him kings reign and princes decree justice: and, therefore, as the established powers are ordained of God, those who on insufficient grounds resist this ordinance, receive to themselves condemnation and misery; as the leaders of the present unholy insurrection are learning to their confusion. It is very true that a government may become oppressive by subverting the liberties which it was established to protect; that a magistrate may lead the people astray by first forsaking God, as did Saul; and thus both constitution and executive become a burden so heavy that the voice of the people as a voice from heaven cries out against the oppression, and the yoke is justly shaken off. But in order to justify such action the perversion must be unquestionable, and the tyranny intolerable. The senseless murmurs of a restless and ambitious faction, or the disappointed hopes of shelved politicians, are not to be regarded. For these are usually nothing but the evidence that their occupation of making silver shrines for themselves, is gone, and their uproarious cries are only the expression of selfishness, but do not in the least atone for the crime of rebellion or compensate for the miseries of a popular uprising. For governments, however well administered by fallible human agents, and over such creatures, can only be a system of compensations, effected by the surrender of individual preferences for the common good; and hence it follows, from the nature of the case, that instances must occur wherein grievances are felt and occasions made for selfish complaining. And while such complaining is counter to the spirit and needs of civil society, it is also unreasonable because subversive of the common good, and contrary to the divine ordinance, which requires submission. Nor should the loyalty of the subject be expressed by a formal submission to authority, an outward obedience as if extorted by fear; but a hearty support, a cordial acquiescence in those mea-

sures which the public welfare demands through personal sacrifice. This is not all, the true patriot honors the ruler as such, though differing from him in political views, because he is the visible representation of the divine power in the state. Even when the character of the magistrate be such that a good man can not approve of it, still, while the person can not be respected the office must be honored and obeyed. This is without doubt the true notion of loyalty—a sentiment far too little regarded in our country since partizan rancor ran so high near the close of Washington's presidential term, and, from the absence of which, our rulers have been deprived of that moral support which is imperatively necessary to the successful working of governments when the purposes of the executive are thoroughly honest. As a people, we have been nearly destitute of that romantic devotion to the persons of our magistrates which has so often been manifested in other countries; and, while it is the highest earthly reward, is one of the firmest securities that the confidence bestowed will not be betrayed. It by no means follows, that we must approve of everything which the constituted powers can do in order to be loyal citizens. The divine right of kings to tyrannize was a doctrine never palatable on this side of the Atlantic, and is becoming less so generally on the other. Our danger has been in the opposite extreme, and our course in this respect has been to drive the better class of men from our political arena, and take as a *dernier resort* those second or third rate politicians, who, but too well satisfied to feed at the public expense, did not shrink from the abuse and dishonor cast by the opposite faction; but which are so abhorrent to a pure-minded conscientious man. It is our privilege to learn wisdom from the results of our own errors; and it is sincerely to be hoped that henceforth we will avoid that mistaken policy to which we, in common with all democracies, are prone.

A hearty loyalty on the part of the people toward their rulers being a Christian virtue, as well as a necessary accompaniment of all stable government, it follows that this is the more indispensable when the existence of the state is threatened. For though in a time of profound quiet, when no unusual expedients must be resorted to in order to maintain the supremacy of the government, it may be admissible, even necessary, to scruti-

nize closely the conduct of rulers, and call them to strict account for doubtful measures, so that their improper actions may be corrected; yet when their overthrow is threatened by unlawful opposition, we should not, unless usurpation be unmistakably their object, withdraw our moral support. For it then becomes our highest earthly duty to rally without delay to their aid, and strike down the foe who endeavors to destroy our liberty in the person of our lawfully constituted ruler. And here let a common and fatal error be noted. Many hold that they can support the Government of the United States without supporting the Administration; that they can be loyal to the Constitution, while acknowledging no allegiance to those who have been elected in precise conformity with its provisions. That is, a man can be loyal to the Constitution while utterly disregarding its most important provisions: can be obedient or disobedient according to his interest or inclination; can be at liberty to yield obedience when his favorite party is in power, and can wholly set at nought every obligation when his candidate is defeated. Such is the deplorable disloyalty manifested by many who claim to be Union men. Such is the sentiment of the peace party at the North, and the multitudes in the border states who have taken the oath of allegiance to obtain Federal protection. But this is nothing but disunion manifested by those who are too cowardly to fight for a principle; and is just as hurtful, and infinitely more contemptible, than that open rebellion which the enemy in arms manifests. A grain of common sense shows that we can not separate between our rulers and the state, saying that we owe all allegiance to the latter and none to the former. Until any officer has been superseded by his rightful successor he is our magistrate, and the visible representative of the only power on earth to which we owe allegiance, and whether we approve all his acts or not, we must obey unless his commands manifestly contravene the law of God—and it is at our peril if we disobey.

Now, if these things be true at all, that loyalty is a virtue, but resistance to lawfully constituted authority a crime of most aggravated character, then *a fortiori* at such a crisis as the present, it behooves us to unite in the cordial support of those whom God has placed over us, even though they, in their efforts to subdue our common enemies, may have encroached on some

of our cherished rights; for, as before said, government is a system of compensations by which conflicting interests are united when all is at peace; of course, it follows that in war each man must surrender more of his private interests, and sink his own individuality far more in the common good. There is no sacrifice which the state may not justly call him to make; and the same holds good of particular parts of country and bodies of people constituting the whole. These doctrines are irrefragably true if any system of government be maintained, and no opposition would be offered to them if they were promulgated in the abstract; but the special application of them to our own case is fraught with difficulties, because the conflicting interests of the few shut out from view the common good of the whole. To this, the greatest evil by far which now besets our political pathway, special attention is directed.

At the commencement of the present insurrection, the Government of the United States was called to legislate for a people of various political views, influenced by strongly conflicting interests, and holding to hostile institutions. Added to this, the party previously in power had been the vacillating but ever dishonest tool of those who had long been the advocates of secession; and in their interest had perverted the whole power of the nation, as well as wasted the resources of the people. There was a powerful faction arrayed against the incoming administration, which, having prejudged and determined to destroy it, was prepared by all kinds of misrepresentation to influence the minds of the lukewarm by appealing to sectional prejudices and the jealousies arising from slavery; so that, do or say what the Executive might, nothing could avail to allay suspicions, and satisfy the minds of traitors that the interests of the nation would be safe in his hands. To meet the expectations of honest men who differed on important issues was difficult; to satisfy those determined to oppose, was impossible. All that could be done was to pursue an honest but determined policy; one insuring not the gratification of a fractional minority of malcontents, nor the tame submission to the demands of an unpatriotic neutrality, nor yet the perfect affiliation with the extreme men who had aided in carrying the election, but a conservative course indicated by the wishes of every true patriot. Such, there can be no doubt, was the pur-

pose of the President; such, at least, the avowed intention of one who, by the course he has pursued, has extorted from many who admired him least the admission that he is honest and patriotic. Who now, at this stage of our national troubles, doubts for a moment that had the secessionists laid down their arms and quietly submitted to lawful authority, all the guaranteed rights of the states would have remained intact, and Mr. Lincoln would have administered the government with fidelity, exhibiting a due regard to the interests of the whole people? But when the malcontents raised the standard of revolt; when the plot was laid to assassinate the legitimate choice of the people, seize the capital with the archives of the nation, and on the ruins of lawfully constituted authority erect the creature of mob violence, and thus utterly destroy our free institutions; then nothing remained but for the President to defend the Government, as well as his own rights, by summoning to his aid all the forces which the Constitution and the common sense of self-preservation put at his disposal. As the head of the nation he could do no less, except he were the veriest poltroon in the land; yet for this he has been censured without stint by a venal press in our midst, and, as was to be expected, by the enemies of freedom abroad. Traitors in the North have vied with their friends in the South in reviling the President for that which the first law of nature dictates.

But it is deserving our closest attention that when the President called for help, he did not first turn to the radicals of his party, but to the conservatives of the whole country; and the policy which he tenaciously held was not that of extreme men; so that those of moderate views had it in their power, by rallying to his help, to have had the war conducted on those principles which they advocate, and which Mr. Lincoln had constantly manifested. However, in default of this support, which we in the border states, as well as the conservative men throughout the country, denied him, he was forced further to the extreme of his party than he evidently desired to go; for every public man, and especially in a crisis, must have the support of a powerful and well-agreed constituency; no lukewarm and vacillating helpers, but those who will give themselves and all they possess for the cause they maintain. The supporters of Mr. Lincoln have therefore been almost exclu-

sively those who affiliated with the Republican party; who, while most of them did not desire that slavery, though doubtless the real cause of the war, should be made the turning-point of its continuance, could nevertheless feel no desire to fight for its perpetuity. Nor was this feeling strange. For it must be borne in mind that the great majority of our people from the days of our independence, in common with most Christian nations, looked upon the institution as a moral, social, and economical evil; and while it had a recognized status by the law of the land, this was effected at the time we became a separate nation, through fear that the agitation of the subject might prevent the cordial union of all the states. But our people have always looked forward to the time when this stigma on our free institutions could, by all lawful and proper means, be destroyed. For it is perfectly clear from their words and acts, that the political fathers of our country, even those in the South—such as Washington, Jefferson and Henry—were wont to speak in such terms of the institution as would, in the days when chivalry was in full bloom, have branded their authors with the name of abolitionist, and caused a sudden appreciation in the price of pitch and feathers.

Nor can we blink the fact that most of our political troubles, from the day we became a nation, have arisen from the relations of slavery to the government; so that it is not the least strange that those who were careless as to its continuance, provided it did not carry its disturbing influence beyond its sectional boundaries, should look with an evil eye upon its existence, now that it is exhibited prominently as the destroyer of our peace. Doubtless wrong has often been intended by the abolitionists, and such wrongs as were keenly felt by us in the border states. While this was extremely distasteful to us as an interference with our vested rights, the most we could say was, that this was generally the result of individual madness and folly, as the deplorable John Brown raid; or, at most, the agitation of newspapers to make electioneering capital, and the unfriendly legislation of individual states. For the General Government has always, before this outbreak, been jealous of our rights, has invariably shown an accommodating spirit toward our wishes, not to say a truckling obsequiousness to our constantly increasing demands and arrogancy. The Supreme

Court had in fact became so completely subsidized to the interests of slavery, since the death of Chief Justice Marshall, that we could get any decision we desired. We could carry slavery into all the territories (the only real plea for secession ever offered), at the very time the war begun; so that, so far as the Government was concerned, we had nothing of which we could complain. It is true, we could not compel our brethren in the North to love and cherish the peculiar institution; we could not make all our own people, either the laboring classes or the more intelligent, believe precisely as our political leaders would have us in the divinity of the system. We can not reasonably expect, therefore, that a system, which from the first depended on sufferance for its existence, and which had been the source of so much political acrimony, when it had, in the estimation of the majority of our people, continued its encroachments until it produced insurrection, could be otherwise than hated by those who came from the free states to fight our battles. As reasonable men, therefore, we must bear these facts in mind when we account for the course which the Government has been compelled to take since it was assailed, and had to call the people to its relief. If it be replied that the assumption of slavery being the cause of the war is a false one, this avails nothing against the argument. For a deep-seated conviction, whether true or false, is equally strong in influencing human conduct; and when a belief is universal we must take it into account in all matters which it influences, even though we can prove its falsity.

We must likewise remember when a nation becomes implicated in colossal difficulties, it is closely scrutinized by its neighbors. Hence, while free from trouble it might pursue its course regardless of friend or enemy, without much danger, yet when on trial for existence it must pay some deference to the moral convictions of civilized nations. For if all things do not move on in harmony with the sense of justice obtaining among neighboring governments, other powers may interfere in the internal policy of the one jeoparded by civil strife. As no man can live entirely by himself, so neither can a community or nation. Nothing was more dreaded by our people at the commencement of the civil war than foreign interference, and such fear was not without reason. For those European states with

which we had most intercourse, having abolished African slavery in their own dominions, had been officious in their zeal that we should follow their example, and showed an unmistakable hostility to us for refusing. This was often far more the result of hostility to us, than of moral sentiment or desire for the welfare of the parties concerned; so that when our domestic troubles seemed fair to make us an easy prey to their power, there was every reason to apprehend trouble from this source. Now, if we take the tone of the foreign press and statesmen which are truly friendly to us as a criterion, we may safely hazard the assertion that Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, however distasteful it be to loyal slaveholders, has done more to gain favor for us among foreigners, and ward off from us the intervention of England and France, than all other political measures together. For the sentiments of those nations are determinedly hostile to slavery; and however unfriendly those powers themselves are to us, yet the sympathy of the common people with the emancipation movement, has rendered it impossible for the governments to take part with those who, in the words of Alexander Stephens, make slavery the corner stone of their political fabric.

These considerations have doubtless had their weight with the President in shaping his emancipation policy, and the wonder is that all combined have not given a greater preponderance than they have. Nothing but the most unflinching integrity, combined with the tenderest regard for the rights of loyal men in the slave states, could have prevented more aggressive movements on the part of the Executive. For, however startling the measures advocated in several of Mr. Lincoln's proclamations appear to us, we are too prone to look at them as something which has occurred in time of peace, when there was no pressure brought to bear upon him by the necessities of the hour. We should contemplate them from a war stand point; as something which the military condition seemed at least to the Government to demand, in order, by every available means, and at the least sacrifice of life and treasure, to weaken the power of the enemy. We moreover forget that these measures were not intended to injure Union men, since provision is made for their indemnification when their property is taken; that traitors only are sought to be weakened; and in truth are the only ones perma-

uently affected. But in our zeal lest our rights be invaded, we assume as our own the wounds inflicted on the disloyal; forgetting the labors and dangers of our friends, while commisserating the punishment which traitors have brought upon themselves while essaying to compass our destruction. If our attention was more fixed on the great interests of our Government now jeoparded, and our sympathies brought into livelier action for the sufferings which this unholy rebellion has brought upon the defenders of freedom; if all would acquiesce more heartily in the punishments which befall secessionists, as the natural outworking of their own wicked schemes, and reserve our complaints against the President for invading our rights while this is merely prospective, it is clear that we would act more the part of patriots, and sooner witness the entire subversion of treason.

But to advance one step farther. Suppose our institutions have been trampled upon in some degree by the General Government, and we are actually in danger of losing part of the rights we once enjoyed. Admit that the people of the North are not willing to accord to us the immunities which the laws of our common country grant to slave property, still it does not follow that we alone suffer, or indeed more than our neighbors across the river, in any other sense than as being made the theater of hostilities. This is surely a great grievance, but arises solely from our geographical position added to our complication with the prime cause of the war. The status of the whole country must be changed by a contest of such magnitude, and it is idle for us to expect our condition to remain the same after this universal commotion. Immense amounts of wealth are always destroyed in war, which are so much capital taken from the industrial resources of the country, and the people must be impoverished to that extent. This may, it is true, be represented mostly by the Government debt; but however it be expressed, there is as much less property in the country as has been consumed by waging war; and this sum will make itself be felt in our future condition, in the form of increased taxation. From the greater amount of productive capital in the North, this must chiefly be met there. Accordingly, while all loyal people must feel the pecuniary burdens growing out of the war, we may expect to suffer with them.

But if we experience losses in our slave property, our case is not singular, for the Government takes away forcibly from all loyal citizens the means to support the war, which, so far as can be seen, would never have arisen except for the existence of that species of property we feel to be peculiarly endangered. And it should ever be remembered whence this danger has arisen For if the South had been content with the guarantees which the forbearance of men in the convention of 1787 gave to the institution, and which subsequent legislation had continually strengthened, no occasion would have arisen requiring interference. We in Kentucky and other border states suffered far more than those farther south from hostility to slavery, yet we were satisfied with our condition; well knowing that our peculiar institution was unpopular with our northern neighbors, and with their sentiments toward it our slaves could not be wholly secure. But the Congress of the United States, as if to take away every ground of complaint, and calm every fear for the future, passed, by an overwhelming majority, a resolution effectually guaranteeing perpetual immunity from interference on the part of the General Government; so that there was in this respect again, no excuse nor specious pretext for the secession movement. So we see that it is secession which has brought all the danger upon us; and if we complain let us bestow our grumbling on the proper party. But now that the war has been inaugurated by the traitors, it brings incalculable evils on all parts of our country; so that, in an economical point of view, the debt entailed upon us, even if the war be closed this year, will not fall short of two thousand million dollars; three-fourths of which will have to be paid by those who were opposed to slavery and derived no direct advantage therefrom. This sum, to be paid by those who did not participate in the institution, is sufficient to buy every slave in the country, paying the enormous rate of five hundred dollars per caput. Why then, we repeat, should our people murmur so loudly if they do lose their slave property? It is, to say the most, no more valuable than any other kind. Or, if we must find vent to our sense of wrong, why not against those who forced the Government to engage in a war the effect of which, with any method of conducting it, must be to endanger the status of slave property, as all civil wars have a tendency to do. We should, then, if the

alternative comes, as good patriots submit to those measures which our Executive has tried earnestly and perseveringly to avoid, but which the sentiments of the great body of the loyal people, or the exigencies of the times, may force him reluctantly to take. It is a fact strangely overlooked by our Union friends in the North, and their armies who come to fight our enemies, that there are many thoroughly loyal men who are pro-slavery from sentiment. Such men can not understand why they should be made scapegoats for the sins of the secessionists. For in the midst of persecutions, at a time when it cost a man something to stand up for the Union, they have held firm, and given themselves and their sons to fight for their only acknowledged country. They can not understand why they, who have always opposed the traitorous movements of fire-eaters, should now be included in an indiscriminate proscription, as is frequently done by thoughtless and wicked men who come to our state fully possessed of the idea that there are no loyal men here. While these are great and just grievances, we ought to remember that such conduct is not by the order of the Government, nor countenanced by it; but war turns loose many lawless men, who are only too glad for an opportunity to run riot with those passions which the restraints of peace kept chained. Besides, if others forget that we are loyal, we must never ourselves forget that fact; and therefore it behooves us to submit to the losses and endure the abuses which we sometimes suffer; for while undeserved and grievous, they are still of the same kind which all who maintain the cause of the Union have to endure. Hence, if called to suffer still more in the subjugation of the enemy, and surrender, as the result of a military necessity (the only case we are satisfied in which this can occur), our rights in slave property secured to us by the faith of our Government; it by no means follows that we ought to prove recreant to our country, which did protect us in all our rights while in its power to do so, when, through necessity growing out of the present crisis, it invades any of our institutions. The only case where the Executive has done any thing to which true men could object, or where there is any ground of apprehension in the future, is that where slave property is involved. After we have poured out our treasure like water, after we have surrendered our homes to be desolated by war, after we have given our sons without

grudging to lay down their lives, shall we falter? Shall we hesitate to yield that which has been the cause of our troubles; which the civilization of the world disapproves; and which we as emancipationists would be glad to be rid of? Surely we are not prepared as the disunionists are to accommodate the language of a noted secessionist—*Skin for skin, all a man hath will he give for his—nigger!*

It is sincerely to be hoped that the General Government will never present the issue of taking away the slaves of loyal men. On the contrary, we trust that the President and his advisers, by attending to that which seems to us their legitimate duty, will be able to end the war successfully and let us manage our municipal affairs in the way which seems good to us; and which we at least think we understand far better than our neighbors. But if the alternative be presented, to yield to interference or turn against our country, and give our aid to those whose principles we hate, and who have plunged us into all our evils, the course for us is plain. It would perhaps be very humbling to our pride, and certainly unjust to our patriotism; but preferable to treason and in the end more satisfactory. For while as patriots we had better suffer wrong than to be guilty of injustice; so also, as a matter of pure selfishness, it is better to permit the Government to do that which, if it does at all, will do reluctantly to us as friends, and therefore with some regard to our prejudices and interests, than by becoming enemies compel it to do the same by violence. For we are well assured the Government will triumph, whichever way we go, and it will thoroughly accomplish all it finds necessary to the complete subjugation of its enemies; so that our only safe as well as loyal course lies in obedience. Moreover, no man who is not blind can fail to see that slavery is destined to perish as one result of this insurrection. The secessionists see and acknowledge now, what Union men in and out of the border states foretold would be the effect of their mad course. In the words of the *Richmond Whig:* "Slavery has sinned against itself; it has bitten itself to death; it has committed the unpardonable sin, and must die the death." Now this being acknowledged as the inevitable consequence (and brought about by the insurgents themselves), what can it avail the border states to hold on to this system to their own undoing? Why should

that which must die out of natural decay as soon as there is a cordon of free states all around, be made the condition of traitorous affiliation with our common enemy? By holding on to our Government we may safely cross the stream of civil war; but if for the shadow of slavery we let go what we have, and plunge madly after our *rights*, we will lose all and be lost ourselves. Added to this, it has been, as before shown, the desire of good and thoughtful men, even from our earliest history, to get rid of the institution by emancipation. For it is, to say the least, a social evil, a great disadvantage to the white race, as retarding the development of industrial resources; and degrading to labor by raising unnatural distinctions in society. There is very little doubt that, could a vote have been taken on the merits of the question, without intimidation or bribery by the slave interest, and without our jealousies being inflamed by outside interference, the lawful voters of every border slave state would have favored gradual emancipation. It is certainly true that this sentiment is strong in these states; and this change is looked forward to by the better class of men as one which is very desirable, and which must soon have taken place, despite the bolstering up of worn out politicians and a truckling press, even had secession not hastened it. So that it practically resolves itself into the time and manner of doing the work. But we hold that in both respects it is far better for the General Government to let us do our own work in the way our judgment dictates, both for the sake of master and servant. For the violent changes of society are always attended with evil to all parties concerned; a fact which the anti-slavery party in the North leave entirely out of view, and appear to consider nothing more to be necessary than universal and instant emancipation; whereas when this is *un fait accompli*, then the real difficulties of the case are just begun. Those negroes which the Government has already freed as the necessary result of the progress of the war, are more than can be provided for, as is witnessed by the terrible sufferings of this class, despite the assistance rendered from every quarter; and as the work of subjugating the traitors progresses, the master will run from, and the slave toward, the Union armies, until the entire servile population of the seceded states will require protection. To carry on the war successfully and provide for the wants of those

who fall into the Federal lines, is a task quite as large as the Government appears to be able to accomplish. However, if it be in any way necessary for crushing the rebellion that we suffer the inconvenience of a hasty and violent change, we must yield; and it is expedient for us in view of our present situation, as well as the part of loyalty, to do so cheerfully and heartily. For if our friends in the northern states are willing, in order to crush out a rebellion which *they* believe was caused by slavery alone, to saddle themselves with three-fourths of a debt of two thousand million dollars, and give a million and a half from the flower of their youth, we ought certainly, for the preservation of our country united, yield up that which has always been a distracting influence, and is in itself of doubtful expediency.

Such are some of the duties of loyal men growing out of our present condition, viewed with reference to our relations to the General Government on the one hand and slavery on the other. There are other duties more specific in kind, but more general in application, the consideration of which is equally pertinent to the times; but which are too often neglected by those professing themselves to be patriots. It is a self-evident truth that no government can be infallible; and hence, with the best intentions on the part of rulers, blunders and wrongs will be frequently committed, and that these are to be pardoned on the general ground of the infirmity which clings to all things human. So long as the legislator conserves the rights committed to his keeping with ordinary integrity, his minor defects are to be pardoned and concealed. In our democratic policy we have the oft-recurring and easy remedy of popular elections, if our public servants betray their trusts; and the danger is rather in the frequency of the change and unbridled licentiousness of condemnation, than in tyrannical impunity. It is far from being the purpose to advocate the screening of public servants when they jeopard our welfare; but it is necessary to be faithful to them while their purposes are right in the main. In peace these things can regulate themselves, and our liberties are quite as safe, being guarded by the Argus eyes of party, as the good name of our rulers is from unwarranted attacks. But when our country is involved, as at this time, in a struggle calling for the resources of the nation, the united energies of

the people are required for the undivided support of our Government battling for its existence. Party spirit must then be dropped, names forgotten, and side issues neglected in meeting the overwhelming dangers which threaten. For at such a time there ought to be but one party, but one interest; and can be except at our peril, but an homologous and undivided counsel. All that contributes to this result adds to the strength of the nation; all that opposes does but distract the counsels and weaken the chances for success. But in this hour of trial we find multitudes both North and South who can not rise above the mists of a groveling party selfishness, nor see in our present stupendous struggle anything more than an ordinary political contest. And because they possess no patriotism themselves, they can not credit the Government with any; and all its acts which do not quadrate with their own narrow selfishness are denominated tyrannical, because measured by their own traitorous standards.

This kind of opposition manifests itself under protean shapes, but usually can be reduced to two or three kinds. Of these the most common is the pretended danger of the Constitution from the encroachments of military power. The most blatant defenders of the inviolability of this instrument, those whose eyes have long been a fountain of tears, whose sorrow refuses to be comforted, appear to have made Richmond, Virginia, their especial haunt. From this precious nest of traitors we have had jeremiads which sounded like the wailings for a first born, "lest that time-honored document, the Constitution of the United States, might be endangered by that tyrant enthroned at Washington, and his hireling minions." One would think from the earnestness wherewith they lamented its supposed desecration, they were the special conservators of our palladium of liberty. But all these traitors really desired was to have the exclusive monopoly of rending the Constitution into a thousand fragments. Whatever they did, whether it be to steal the public property, to destroy the Government, and kill without mercy all who stood up for the country of their fathers, was right and constitutional; but the moment measures were taken for their punishment, either in person or estate, then, lo! the Constitution was violated; and they its very loyal supporters were very much alarmed lest *they should be pun-*

ished. This sore lamentation of the traitors at Richmond was immediately taken up in heart-rending notes, by all in sympathy with treason throughout the country, and one might justly suppose from the frequency and persistency wherewith secession sympathizers spoke of maintaining the inviolability of this instrument, that its guardians were numerous enough and sufficiently vigilant to defend it from all injury. But these same persons think it quite consistent with their loud pretensions to daily violate the oath they have taken to the Federal power; to aid the enemy by men and money; to refuse to support our armies engaged in suppressing an insurrection; and to openly express a desire for secession to succeed in dismembering and destroying our country. Out on such hypocritical regard for the Constitution. Away with all such fears lest Mr. Lincoln transcends his prerogatives when punishing those in manifest sympathy with rebellion. When we find any one exceedingly exercised lest some scoundrel be abridged of the liberty to utter treason, we are compelled to think "there is something rotten in Denmark," that is in the devotion which such men profess for the Constitution, and have no difficulty in telling the extent of his loyalty. For when any traitor like Vallandigham is cut short in his coöperation with the enemy, then a great hue and cry is raised that personal liberty is endangered. But personal liberty to do what? To raise and encourage insurrection; to resist the Government in its efforts to preserve its own existence; for what else did he desire, whither else did all his efforts tend? What influence do such men as Fernando Wood and Governor Seymour exert save to play into the hands of our common enemy? If we desire proof of this, take the utterances of the southern press, which always speak of these men as their friends; and show that the hope of ultimate triumph is based largely on the diversions which such disaffected leaders make against the Government. Moreover, we see unmistakably that our enemies abroad look to such miscreants as the means of weakening and finally destroying our Union. That mendacious publication, *Blackwood's Magazine*, which is clearly and unequivocally secession in its sympathies (not that it loves the South any better than the North; but sees in the success of the former the ruin of both), utters precisely the same slanders against our rulers and their supporters, that our

home traitors and their brethren in the South continually employ.

None cried out more lustily to be let alone than those wretches who began the war by firing on the starving garrison at Fort Sumter, unless it be the cowardly sneaks among us who were in sympathy. So fearful were they lest the Constitution might be endangered by Mr. Lincoln's call for volunteers, and thus sedition punished, that they would suffer its utter overthrow by an armed enemy in front, and the peace man in the rear. Surely this is straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel. But who that is truly patriotic, that wishes to see our Government succeed in crushing this rebellion, has suffered by the suspension of the habeas corpus act? Every true man is safe; and traitors in arms and their cowardly sympathizers deserve nothing but the gibbet, or the prison until they submit. Some, however, urge that while it is right for those who among us aid treason to be punished, yet this being provided for in a legal way, the military power should not interfere with the civil administration; but offenders should be tried by the regular courts and suffer the legitimate punishments. But those who utter such sentiments are either very silly or very treacherous. As well might Jeff. Davis be arraigned before the United States District Court for the District of Virginia, as Vallandigham before the court for the Southern District of Ohio. Here, among his own sympathizers (whom we know to be generally as disloyal as any man in South Carolina), with the right of challenging the jurymen, he could never be convicted; for care would be taken to have a packed jury; and the result would be either acquittal or prolongation of the suit indefinitely. Everybody knows this perfectly, and therefore the remedy proposed is simply none at all. It is absurd to think that the Government is to be left without any resource, the sport of its enemies and the scorn of its friends. If courts and the ordinary administration of the Constitution be sufficient, wherefore do we resort to arms? Send Chief Justice Taney, under a flag of truce, to Richmond to try Jeff. Davis for treason. Choose Benjamin for prosecuting attorney, with Humphrey Marshall and Wigfall for the defense. Empanel a jury from the persons who represent Kentucky and Tennessee in the Southern congress. Let the Constitution, as inter-

preted by those who have trampled it under foot, reign in all its glory, and then we would have traitors' carnival. But if we find this not to work well, and send our Grants and Bankses to try the traitors at Chattanooga and New Orleans, where is the difference if we send Burnside armed with "No. 38" to Dayton, Ohio. We certainly have the same right to fight the enemy at home as abroad; in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, as in Virginia or Tennessee; and, if need be, with the same weapons. For it is plain that the enemy put themselves out of the reach of the constitutional remedy in both places, either by annuling it or placing a false construction on its provisions; and whenever it is found insufficient in application, then we must resort to the arbitrament of the sword. It would be strange indeed if a people made an instrument like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable; and then when found inadequate to preserve the life of that people for whom it was formed, they must die politically; because, while able to save themselves by new expedients found suited to the exigencies of the occasion, they must, *nolens volens*, hold fast to that which is unable to deliver them. Mariners are often compelled to throw out part of the cargo, or even the ship's tackling in the midst of a storm, to save themselves and the vessel; or even abandon the ship itself when stranded among the breakers, and escape by swimming to the shore. The people were before the Constitution, and are therefore above it, on the principle that the man who built the house is greater than the house. They would survive if there were no Constitution, and could form another. But where is the use of a Constitution if there is no people for it to govern? Self-preservation is the first law of Nature, and we are permitted to make use of all expedients to effect this, except to do wrong. What is true of individuals is equally true of nations; and no one but the traitors who have left their country for their country's good, and are waiting and watching over the border, or their equally guilty confreres who yet live by the lenity of our laws to sow discord among us, complain of martial law for doing that which the civil law in its ordinary application is inadequate to effect. Far be it from any true patriot to desire to see the ordinary forms of law neglected or the Constitution infringed. On the contrary, all loyal men look upon these as the bulwark of civil liberty, and depre-

cate the terrible necessity of resorting to the martial process. But at the same time the punishment of traitors by extraordinary means does not affect us with particular grief; and until patriotic men are endangered, of which, at the present writing, there is not the least apparent danger, we can see no special reason for condemning the President for the course he has taken. In fact we have more tears for the thousands of brave men who are starving in prisons at Richmond as the result of a violated Constitution; we are far more distressed for the multitudes of sick and wounded men languishing in hospitals; for the homes made desolate throughout our country; for the hosts of noble fellows who, amid the snows of winter and the showers of summer, are fighting our common enemy, than for the apprehension and summary punishment of the sneaking cowards who are doing the work of their traitorous friends in the South. Truly loyal men will coöperate with the Government in punishing treason, whether by regular civil process or not. And indeed it is far better to save the life of a patient, even if this can not be done by rule, than that his death should occur though Hippocrates and Galen stood at the bedside.

The charge of venality and corruption is often brought against the Government as a sufficient pretext for our withdrawal from its support. Doubtless this is frequently a true charge—we have had corruptions under previous presidents. Mr. Buchanan's administration was not above suspicion, though he had as his supporters nearly all those who blame the present one. We have had defaulters in times of peace; contractors who made fortunes by swindling the Government; and such is likely to be the case to some extent in all places and times until the race of politicians is made of new material. If this can not be avoided in peace, much less can it in war; for then the regular working of the laws is deranged so that bad men can do their mischief and escape detection. Without the most manifest injustice this can not be charged to the fault of the Administration, unless it connives at abuses, nor in any condition be made a justification of disloyalty. We well know that officials in high places have been summarily ejected for their complicity in fraud; and the searching examinations made daily in every branch of service give assurance that corrupt men will not be tolerated after discovery. If we were justified

in standing aloof for such a cause, then surely there could be no patriotism in any land. But we forget that there was an Arnold in the Revolution. The English when villifying our Government for venality do not seem to remember Marlborough and Bacon. The Russian dominion is most arbitrary in its sway, and summary in the execution of punishments for unfaithfulness in office; yet peculation and malfeasance were, during the Crimean war, manifested to an extent wholly unheard of among us. Our Executive and his chief advisers can not justly be charged with lack of integrity in the management of the public funds; and if others who are trusted prove unfaithful, the employers should not be deserted; but it is rather the duty for those who discern the great abuses to rally to the support of the Administration, and by their honesty redeem us from our miseries. However, from the experience we have had with those who clamor most, when they once were in power, we do not desire to see their services accepted. Most of our departments have been managed with such wisdom during Mr. Lincoln's term as to deserve all praise, and have disarmed the slander of such as were not blind to justice. No prime minister of England had ever more perplexing tasks, or executed them with greater fidelity, than several of our secretaries of bureaus since the war began.

The charge which is constantly brought by disloyal persons against the present Administration, that it drags the war along in order to perpetuate its own existence, is an insinuation which carries falsehood on its very face. For the contrary course is so clearly the one to insure the lasting favor of the people, that if this war could be brought to a successful and speedy issue, Mr. Lincoln would at once secure for himself a position second only to that of Washington. Nothing in the gift of the American people would be too good for the President and his advisers who had brought us honorably and safely through this perilous war. On the contrary, the continuance of hostilities tries our patience, depletes our treasury, and destroys our best men. But we look for the struggle to be ended too soon. Few wars of half the magnitude have progressed as rapidly and successfully as this has done for the Federal arms. One year more such as the last, will utterly exhaust the resources of the secessionists. And yet this is a civil war, which is of all kinds the most tedious.

Even if the Government was guilty of great wrongs, greater than the opposition charge, it does not follow that it is the duty of the patriot to expose its misdeeds in such a way as to make capital for the enemy. The patriot may mourn in secret over the errors of that government he loves; and the more loyal he is the more will he lament its faults, as we grieve for the misdeeds of a friend just in proportion to the hold he possesses on our affections. The son who, when his father was on trial for his life, or his mother's good name jeoparded, would go into the court or among the gossips at the street corners, and disclose every idle word and venial fault of which he has been cognizant in their conduct, would not be considered as possessing natural affection or common sense. Nature teaches us by the holiest instincts of the heart to stand up for those we love, through evil report; and help sustain the burdens which their follies and sins may have brought upon them. History gives us one very noteworthy instance to the contrary; but the curse which is supposed by many scriptural advocates of African slavery to have followed the descendants of the offender, does not give much encouragement for us to follow the example if we have regard to the welfare of our posterity. But the son who went backwards that he might not see the shame of his father, and then threw the covering to hide the exposure from others, received a blessing; not that he approved the sin of drunkenness, not that he would encourage its repetition; but because the one guilty was his parent, and as a son he was jealous of his honor. So let us take warning for the guidance of our conduct, since our country is far more to us than the welfare of a father or the honor of a mother, however precious these be to every true son, as Socrates has well expressed: "Are you so wise as not to know, that a man's country is more precious, more venerable and sacred, and in greater estimation both among gods, and men that have sense, than mother and father and all other progenitors; and that one ought to reverence, yield to and soothe, one's country when angry, rather than one's father; and either persuade it or do what it orders; and to suffer quietly if it bids one suffer, whether to be beaten or put in bonds; or if it sends one to battle, to be wounded or slain; this must be done for it is just; and one must not give back, or retreat, or leave his post; but that both in war and in the civil court, and every where, one must

do what his city and country enjoins, or persuade it in the way justice allows."—*Plato, Crito*, 51 *B. C.*

There are, in truth, only two parties in our country, the Unionists and the Secessionists—there can be no middle ground, and those who are not for us in this struggle are against us. Hence every act and word, which weakens the hands of our rulers in their attempt to subdue our enemies, does but strengthen the foe. This can be done in no way more effectually than by withdrawing the moral support which a good name affords. It is therefore vain for any to say they are Union men, as may be heard any day among the copperheads of the North, or of this state, and at the same time perpetually attack the Government in all its measures. Those persons who say so much to the disparagement of the loyal Government, that they must, from time to time, make public proclamations that they are Union men in order for that fact to be even suspected, and make vehement asseverations of their patriotism as a kind of salvo for continual expressions of disloyalty—surely from such friends may the Republic pray to be delivered.

Closely connected with the foregoing in effect, if not always in animus, is the class of croakers, who are perpetually prophets of evil—birds of ill omen, who, whether they rise up on the right hand or the left, true to their native instincts, fly toward the South. We do not mean trimmers, who are precisely what the company is; who are for the Union or for Secession according to the prospects of the political horizon. These have no claim to loyalty, but it is a happy thought that they are harmless; for though, like the drone bee, they make a great fuss, yet they have no sting. Such persons are no help to either party, for they are too cowardly to fight and too weak to have any weight in counsel. They try to please all and therefore are trusted by none. But this is not the class meant. It is that one composed of those unfortunates who see nothing but disaster, where others see victory; who would not fight (not that they lack the courage, but) because they feel certain beforehand they would be whipped; who always have bad news, and rise up before day to tell it; and then, if it be subsequently contradicted forget to make the proper correction. Such persons magnify each advantage of the enemy into a decisive victory and belittle every success of our arms till it vanishes into air. When news

of different sorts comes they have "three ears" to hear the bad, but are deaf as the adder to the report of the good. And the same dispositions make them seers for the future. While continually uttering prophecies of adversity, of course something, from time to time, does, according to their fancy, prove true; and straightway they wear the hairy garment to deceive. Such persons gather around them those of like feelings, and weaken each other's courage until they utterly despair of the Republic; for the native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er by their pale cast of thought. Sometimes this rabies assumes the higher forms of criticism, and we have elaborate and, without exception, unfavorable dissertations on civil and military matters. For these critics feel themselves so thoroughly able to guide the State and hound on the dogs of Mars, that they are "the men;" and because they are likely to die without their sagacity being appreciated, the state will assuredly perish, since "wisdom will die with them." Such persons are so wise that they know by intuition more than others do by long years of persevering study; and much like the Greek sophists, are able to speak equally well on all subjects. They proclaim with the most complacent certainty that our generals are all fools, and our cabinet officers numbskulls. While our foreign relations have been conducted with so much prudence, amid many vexatious and dangerous complications, as to extort praise from inimical publicists of Europe; while our currency has been so successfully managed as to astonish us all, these critics go on berating our Government advisers without limit: never seeming to remember that their foolish predictions, of a year ago, have been utterly falsified by subsequent facts. If such would altogether hold their peace, this, at least, would prove their wisdom. Such persons are far more injurious than if they were in the ranks fighting against us. For if they were with the foe, unless their nature was entirely changed, they would spread dismay by their lugubrious vaticinations and disparaging criticisms. Possibly a man of this character may be loyal, but surely his loyalty is not of the kind to inspire confidence in the times which try men's souls. That loyalty which is worth the name never despairs. It accepts every vigorous measure against the enemy as an augury of good; supports the Government in matters of doubtful expediency, even for the sake of avoiding divided

counsels; and forsakes not the legitimate ruler because through frailty he may do wrong, or not achieve that measure of success hoped for. It considers the labors and perplexities, the anxieties and watchings which distract those high in authority; and affords honor and sympathy corresponding to their trials. It rises equal to the occasion, and if darkness surrounds, it can by its own faith strike out a light to dispel the gloom. That loyalty never doubts since it believes its cause right, and that God will maintain the right; and because he can save by many or few—this, and this alone, is worthy the name of patriotism—this, and this alone, revives the drooping spirits after defeat, and prevents the relaxation of sloth after victory.

ART. V.—DISLOYALTY IN THE CHURCH. *The Mt. Pleasant Church Case in and out of the Church Courts.*

DURING the summer of 1860, the writer was unanimously called to the pastoral charge of two churches in Harrison county, Kentucky: one of them located in Cynthiana, the county town, and the other about five miles distant from this place. Here he commenced his ministerial work, and was permitted to pursue it without any disturbance or dissension, and with much hopefulness, until the winter of 1861 and 1862, a period of a little over a year after the election of the present Chief Magistrate of the Nation. A majority of the people among whom he had been called to labor, from the beginning of our national troubles, were in sympathy with those who had revolted against the authorities of the land, and, as a consequence, early in the winter of 1862, symptoms of disaffection appeared among the disloyal members of the Mt. Pleasant church towards their pastor, because he would not surrender to a sentiment which regarded treason neither as a *crime* against the laws of the land nor as a *sin* against God. Measures therefore were inaugurated by disloyal persons, whereby the peace of that church was to be destroyed and the pastor to be sacrificed, because unwilling to coöperate in projects which neither his conscience nor patriotism could approve. To prevent such results and to resist such aggressions of disturbers upon the

peace and harmony of the church; the good of not merely this particular church, but of the whole church of Kentucky and of the border slave states, and his own personal character, exacted of him to stand firmly in his lot, no matter at what cost or suffering, and do in the midst of these perilous times what his Master required of him. With the rebel population of the county, rebel leaders in the county town, and some of the rebel office-bearers of the Presbytery to which the writer belonged intensely interested in the case, and ready, many of them, to coöperate with this disloyal movement, the history of the case and the principles evolved are matters of interest to the entire church in the loyal states. Now that the pastoral relation between the writer and the Mt. Pleasant church, at his own request, has been dissolved; and now that he has seen triumph in our church courts those principles for which he has struggled: he feels it due to the cause of truth and righteousness, for the guidance of others, to lay this whole case open to the public view. That the ministry and people of God in the loyal states may know and see the steps through which persistent and obstinate disturbers will lead or force them, the record of this case, the first in Kentucky where the disloyal element of one of our congregations, having assumed an organized form for the purposes of mischief and trouble, was resisted in and out of the church courts, is thus submitted, to the end that such results in the future may be averted.

Summary of Proceedings from Feb., 1862, to Spring Meetings of West Lexington Presbytery of April and May, 1863, and Papers Involved.

At the spring meeting of the Presbytery, April 14, 1862, at Cherry Spring, in Scott county, the *case*, by reference from the session, was first submitted to that court for adjudication. The release of Feb., 1862, indelicately submitted to the pastor of the Mt. Pleasant church by Elder T. D. Urmston, *drawn* up by him, and intended to entrap the pastor ere the conspiracy was discovered, together with the so-called *petition* of five members (with one withdrawn), prepared by the same elder, and submitted to them on the 13th of March, 1862, at a country sale, after the first project had failed, and the *sessional reference* of Sabbath, 23d of March, 1862, are all here appended in papers

A, B and C. In his *formal replication* to Presbytery of April, 1863, herein published, the pastor has stated all that is necessary touching these papers beyond what is embodied in the action of the Presbytery upon the case at its meeting at Cherry Spring. This action is here appended in paper D.

A.—*Release of Feb.*, 1862, *prepared by T. D. U.*

Where as I Rev Geo. Morrison was installed on the 3rd day of October, 1860, Pastor of Mt Pleasant church, the church or congregation, by a unanimous vote chose the members of the session to sign an obligation for them promising to pay me the sum of three hundred dollars as an anual salary to be paid in semianual payments & where as some of the members subscribers whose subscriptions have been liberal have recently *dide* (and others members of the congregation have declined giving support to the church), I here by do agree with the members of session T. Wornell, Wm Lowry & T. D. Urmston to release them from any and all obligations to pay me any thing more than they may get subscribed and paid to them by the congregation together with their own personal subscription given from under my hand this day of 1862.

B.—*Petition of March* 13, 1862.

To the West Lexington Presby. Having paid the Rev Geo. Morrison, all that we individually subscribed—also all that we could collect by subscription—being disabled by the death of some & the refusal of others for the makingup the salary promised & believing that the Pastoral relation between the Rev Geo. Morrison & the Mt Pleasant church ought no longer to be continued, we the under signed, Elders and Members of the affore said church respectfully request of Presbytery the dissolution of the affore said relation.

Wm. Lowry
Thos. Wornell
T. D. Urmston
James Gray
Sam. Allison

Withdrawal of Wm. Lowry.—On the 13 of March at Mr. Basset's sale at the request of Mr. Urmston I signed a paper requesting a dissolution of the Pastoral relation between Mr. Morrison & the Broadwell church—at that time I made objections to doing this, but was over-persuaded to sign the same—Being now convinced that such act was unwise and is illegal according to (chap xvii of fr of gov) I desire my name to be considered as erased from such paper.

(Signed) Wm. Lowry.

C.—*Sessional Reference of March* 23, 1862.

The session of this church are informed by the committee of the church to whom is entrusted the matter of raising the Pastor's salary, that there will be a deficiency for present year, as to the amount promised to the Pastor in the call & session being further informed that said committee feel themselves bound for the amount of said subscription, desire the Presbytery to direct what action shall be taken in the case to relieve said committee in behalf of congregation from such responsibility.

D.—*Presbyterial Action.*

1. In the matter of the Mount Pleasant church, the petition of five members of the congregation, of whom one had his name stricken off before the petition came to Presbytery, can not be considered an application *by the congregation* in the sense of Chapter XVII of the Form of Government.

2. That, so far as the Presbytery understands the facts of the case, the conduct of Messrs. Urmston and Wornell, ruling Elders in said congregation, has been in this matter unwise; unkind to their Pastor, injurious to the peace of the congregation, and without warrant in the constitution of the Presbyterian church.

3. The congregation of Mount Pleasant is hereby exhorted to be at peace amongst themselves, and to avoid all things that tend to confusion, disorder and schism; and the Elders of the church are directed to pursue such a course as will unite the people in the support and comfort of the gospel, and uphold and encourage their Pastor in his work.

4. The stated clerk is directed to send a certified copy of this minute to the Pastor of the Mt. Pleasant congregation, who is directed to read it from the pulpit of that church on the first Sabbath day there is preaching there after he receives said certified copy.

The above is a true copy of a paper passed by the Presbytery of West Lexington this 14th of April, 1862. J. K. Lyle, S. C.

At a meeting of this same Presbytery, held at the Mt. Pleasant church, September 9, 1862, when the state was occupied by the Confederate armies under Bragg and Kirby Smith, and when the pastor was within the Federal lines at Covington, the disloyal members of the church again renewed their efforts to consummate their projects, up to this time baffled. This Presbytery consisted of seven persons—three of them ministers the Rev. W. H. Forsyth, the Rev. D. P. Young and the Rev. Matthew Vanlear, and four of them elders, to wit: Glass Marshall, Charles Nichols (now dead), T. D. Urmston and J. W. Risk. Three of these elders represented the churches of the ministers present, and the fourth, T. D. Urmston, of the Mt. Pleasant church, sat without legal warrant. The Presbytery thus constituted received a paper at this meeting from said disloyal faction, and referred it to an adjourned meeting of the Presbytery at Versailles in Woodford county, September 25, still sitting within the lines of an invading and hostile army. This Presbytery, consisting of seven ministers and five ruling elders, granted the request of said petitioners, and appointed one of their number, the Rev. D. P. Young, to go into the Mt. Pleasant congregation and call and preside over a congregational meeting to oust their pastor in his absence and without his knowledge. The gentleman appointed to hold this congre-

gational meeting was ordered to report to an adjourned meeting of same Presbytery, to be held at Paris Oct. 9, 1862. Oct. 1, such meeting was held, previous notice having been given, not only by the Rev. F. G. Strahan (who occupied the pulpit of the Mt. Pleasant church on the 28th of September, 1862, without the invitation of the pastor), but also given by one of the disaffected elders to persons of the congregation at their homes. In the proceedings of that meeting but twelve persons took any part. At Paris, October 9, 1862, the Commissioner, the Rev. D. P. Young, who had presided over the above meeting, and who had been instructed to report at this meeting, was present. So also were the Rev. W. H. Forsyth and the Rev. F. G. Strahan, and the parties of the church who had so zealously sought to prosecute this matter to an issue during the reign of the Confederate powers, and yet the case was not formally submitted to that court. In a published notice of July, 1863, in the *Cincinnati Gazette* of the career of the Rev. F. G. Strahan, touching the affairs of this church, the writer has assigned two probable reasons why this case was not reported and acted upon. These were: 1. The presence of Dr. Breckinridge, a loyal minister; and 2. The probable defeat of Bragg on a previous day at Perryville. A third one, assigned by them afterwards, was that the temporary clerk was absent.

Such was the condition of things in the Mt. Pleasant church on the 27th of October, 1862, when the pastor returned to the state and reoccupied his pulpit. Thus matters stood until the spring meeting of the Presbytery at Nicholasville, April, 1863, the gospel being regularly preached by the pastor. The pastor being in feeble health, before going to said Presbytery, had drawn up a statement of grievances against this disloyal faction of the church, and against those who had been so conspicuous in promoting this conspiracy of these disturbers in that church, which grievances he had judged were grounds why he should ask a dissolution of the relation between him and said church. Such letter of resignation had been prepared. It was his desire no longer to have been subject to such encroachments as he had borne from those so determined upon trouble. But the opinion of those whom he had learned to respect, was that these encroachments should be resisted by every method of redress provided for by the laws of the church.

The peace and welfare of the church at large required this at his hands, and therefore to these ends he felt constrained to pursue a course different from the one contemplated ere the Presbytery had convened. The report of the Commissioner upon the congregational meeting of October 1, 1862, up to this time withheld, was at this meeting called for by the pastor of the Mt. Pleasant church, which was thereupon filed. Said *report*, together with the pastor's *replication*, also *then* filed at said meeting of Presbytery, the first after his return to the state, and the *statement* elicited by this from the Rev. F. G. Strahan, are herewith inserted in papers F, G, and H. Petition also of disloyal faction to Presbytery of September 9, 1862, above alluded to, is also here appended in paper E.

E.—*Petition of Thomas Wornell, T. D. Urmston and others.*

We, the undersigned members of the church and congregation of Mt. Pleasant church, respectfully present to the Presbytery of West Lexington the following statement of facts and accompanying petition:

The Rev. George Morrison was called to the pastoral charge of this church, in connection with the Cynthiana church and settled as pastor in October, 1860. He was not the first choice of this church; but the action of the church in Cynthiana having been taken without consultation with us, and precluding the possibility of our settling the man we wished, we did, upon the earnest counsel and advise of certain members of this Presbytery, and for the sake of peace and union, agree to the settlement of Mr. Morrison. It was very soon apparent that our new pastor was not an acceptable preacher nor calculated to give satisfaction to the people, and the dissatisfaction has been steadily increasing ever since. Last spring the elders of this church, thinking that there would be difficulty in collecting the amount of salary promised, and supposing that by the terms of the call they were personally bound for the whole amount, applied to Mr. Morrison for a release from the supposed obligation. This he promptly refused. They then asked him if he would join with the church in a request to Presbytery for a dissolution of the pastoral relation. He replied that he would if the people desired it, but peremptorily refused to call a meeting of the congregation to learn their wishes, stating as the ground of his refusal that it would introduce politics into the church. In this refusal he has persisted up to this time. In this state of things a petition was sent to Presbytery, signed by only a few names, for a dissolution under the supposition that it would lead to an investigation of the extent of the dissatisfaction in the church. The fate of that paper and the effect of the movement is well known to Presbytery, and we believe that the action of Presbytery at that time was owing to the not being in possession of all the facts in the case, and therefore we herein state them more fully.

On the 25th day of May last Mr. Morrison was requested by two of the elders to call a meeting of the session, which he arbitrarily refused to do, until assured that the sole object of the desired meeting was to grant certain letters of dismission. After the meeting was organized a petition for a congregational meeting, signed by a majority of the actual supporters of the pastor, was presented to him

by a member of the session who had not joined in the call for a meeting of the session. This paper he declared out of order and unconstitutional, and put it in his pocket and refused to give it up to the session whose property it was.

Seeing therefore no prospect of obtaining a meeting of the people to express our grievances to Presbytery in the regular way, and being profoundly and sadly impressed with the belief that the interests of the church are suffering greatly, and that this state of things is not likely to become better, but rather certain to become worse, we do earnestly petition and entreat Presbytery to interpose and at least to direct a meeting of the congregation to be called that they may express their mind in the matter.

We beg leave also to state here most explicitly, in order to throw off an imputation that has been most persistently cast upon us, that the politics of Mr. Morrison is not the cause of our dissatisfaction with him. Should our relation to him be dissolved we would have no idea of settling any other as pastor over us than one loyal and true to the Government under which we live.

July 13, 1862. Thomas Wornell, T. D. Urmston, James Gray, J. W. Urmston, Mary Gray, Nannie Gray, Maggie Gray, Minerva Gray, Martha E. Gray, Leah Webster, Rebecca Wornell, Helen T. Kimbrough, Sare McCluer, Margaret Millner, Mary Cook, Josie Urmston, Samuel Allison.

A true copy of a paper filed with me.

J. K. Lyle, Stated Clerk of West Lexington Presbytery.

F.—*Report of Rev. D. P. Young.*

Having been previously appointed by Presbytery to attend and preside over a congregational meeting at Mt. Pleasant church at such time as they might designate, I now report that duty performed. I presided over such a meeting October 1st, 1862. After preaching a sermon, I stated the object of my presence; that their delegate at the last meeting of Presbytery stated it was the desire of the majority of their session, as well as many of the congregation, to have a congregational meeting with a view of ascertaining whether they would continue the pastoral relation existing between themselves and the Rev. George Morrison; also that they desired some brother might be sent to preside over such a meeting. I stated I was present for that purpose, provided previous notification had been given such a meeting would be held. I was informed such notification had been given by the Rev. F. G. Strahan twice on a previous Sabbath at the church, that they also had notification thereof by one of the elders at their homes. I then requested some member to state to the congregation what action they desired to take. Whereupon it was moved that we now test the sense of this congregation, whether they desire that initiatory steps be taken at the next meeting of Presbytery for a dissolution of the pastoral relation between Rev. George Morrison and themselves. I then read to them the steps necessary in such a case. Upon taking the vote upon the question there were twelve votes in the affirmative—none to the contrary. I stated there were eighteen names to the petition sent to Presbytery, and as it was a matter of no little importance to a church to dissolve the pastoral relation, or take the steps initiatory thereto, it was the solemn duty each member of the church owed to himself and his church to vote yea or nay, inasmuch also as their vote must have some influence upon the mind of the Presbytery in its decision.

I stated inasmuch as I desired the true sense of the membership upon this subject, I would retake the vote, hoping each one would embrace the opportunity to express his mind by his vote. The vote was retaken with the same result as pre-

viously stated. There being no further business before the congregation the meeting was closed with prayer.

(Signed,) D. P. YOUNG.

A true copy, J. K. LYLE, S. C.

G.—*Replication of Rev. George Morrison filed with Presbytery at its Spring Meeting at Nicholasville, April*, 1862, *to proceedings of disturbers and of previous Meetings of Presbytery during his unavoidable absence from State.*

Sometime in the month of Feb. 1862, at an informal meeting of the members of the Session of the Mount Pleasant church, in my house, it was represented to me that there would be a falling off in the cases of a few who subscribed to my support in that church. At that time a paper drawn up by T. D. Urmston of that Session was handed to me by him with the request that I should sign the same. This paper was in the form of a *release*, and was in the custody of this Presbytery until returned by the stated clerk after the adjournment of the Spring Presbytery of April 1862, upon the private demand of Mr. Urmston. (*Stated clerk filed a paper explanatory of this to which Dr. Breckinridge filed a reply*). This paper recited a state of case which did not exist. It asked of me to do that which I had no power to do, in releasing Mr. Urmston from obligations which he had made with the Presbytery and in making covenant with new parties not known in the call and placed in my hands by the West Lexington Presbytery, and it also required of me to certify to a state of facts which I had no personal knowledge were true. I refused to sign said release, but said to Mr. Urmston that such persons as desired for any cause to withdraw their support from the church, when the case was properly presented, *these* persons I would release. If his representations were true the *method* I proposed was one by which he (Mr. Urmston) would be released from *responsibility* and I from a liability to censure for assuming powers which did not belong to me but to this Presbytery alone. And that the case should be fully understood, I repeated in a letter to one of the persons represented as disaffected, of the date May 17, 1862, what I was prepared to do, and authorized his use of that letter to the end that trouble should be allayed. I repeat, representations were made to me of a probable falling off of subscriptions to my support, which I then thought were *imaginary*, but which the subsequent conduct of Mr. Urmston and others furnishes proof that they have been efficient in trying to produce. Except the small deficit of $14 50, the pastor's salary has been paid up to September 1862, in that church, and the first persons also who made formal application to me, were Messrs. T. D. Urmston and Wornell and Gray, sometime in November 1862, with the notification that they did not *wish my services and would not pay for them.*

At that time, that is in February 1862, it was agreed, if there were deficiencies as represented, that the gentlemen so representing these things should make efforts to suppliment such deficit by new subscriptions from persons who had not heretofore subscribed. Under a breach of covenant these efforts were not made. The persons represented to me in February as *refusing* to pay, *did pay.* The persons who so represented this state of facts, in Feb. 1862, were two of the three persons (viz., T. D. Urmston and T. Wornell), who notified me as above stated. These persons not only failed to comply with their agreement of Feb. 1862, in regard to efforts to suppliment represented deficiencies, but about that time a new subscription paper was drawn up in the handwriting of T. D. Urmston, dating the time when the pastor's salary should begin one month later, than the time of the original subscription list. But to recur to other matters material

to the case. A *petition* drawn up by Mr. T. D. Urmston was presented to three of the members of my church, at the sale of Jonathan Bassets (deceased), on the 13th March, 1862, and to a fourth one at a subsequent day by Mr. Urmston, asking a dissolution of the pastoral relation between myself and the Mount Pleasant church. This petition states no grievances, and of its existence I had no knowledge, nor the slightest intimation thereof until Sabbath the 23d of March, 1862. On that day after I had seated myself at the stove in the church, I was requested to go to the door, when I was informed by Mr. Urmston that the session had determined to ask for a dissolution of the pastoral relation, and desired me to call a meeting of the congregation for that purpose. I then asked the question when that session had had a meeting and by what authority without the knowledge of the moderator, and remarked that there would be a meeting of the session for the purpose of appointing a delegate to the Presbytery, and if he or the session had any such matter to bring before them, there would then be an opportunity. The paper above alluded to at this meeting of the session, was called forth, and the following minute was adopted by the session, but has been *suppressed* from the sessional records of the church (Mr. Urmston acting as clerk), and for reasons which may appear obvious presently. "The session of this church are informed by the committee (this committee were T. D. Urmston and T. Wornell), of the church to whom is entrusted the matter of raising the pastor's salary, that there will be a deficiency for present year in the amount promised to the pastor in the call, and session being further informed that said committee feel themselves bound for amount of said subscription, desire the Presbytery to direct what action shall be taken in the case to relieve said committee in behalf of the congregation from such responsibility." (*This is the reference upon which action of April*, 1862, *was taken by Presbytery.*)

There had been no such meeting of the session, nor had the moderator of the session and pastor of the church been requested to call a sessional meeting for such purpose. From papers in my hands, the contents of which I am prepared to communicate to the Presbytery, it would seem to have been a foregone conclusion in the mind of Mr. Urmston and those who were prepared to aid him in his divisive course in that church, that the session had so decided—that there should be a dissolution of the pastoral relation. There is not the slightest evidence that any one ever entertained such a proposition until it became a necessity in his judgment that the testimony of a minister loyal to his Master should cease in the community of which he was a member, and Mr. Urmston an elder of the church becomes the willing agent through whom this is to be effected.

The proposition to call a congregational meeting to decide the question whether the pastoral relation should be dissolved, never did come before the session of the Mount Pleasant church, except in the way I have already designated, and again on the 25th of May, in a way involving censure upon the parties implicated. Nor was the pastor requested to convene such session for such purpose so far as he has any knowledge. From the interest exhibited by Messrs. Urmston and Wornell, and by others not connected with that church, I *now* have no doubt that the real design of a call, *one* bearing date April 7th, prior to meeting of Presbytery, but subsequent to the action of *reference* alluded to above, of March 23d, and *suppressed* from record, and *one* on the 25th of April, after the Presbytery had censured Mr. T. D. Urmston and others, had some connection in the minds of Messrs. Urmston and Wornell with such meeting. These calls, which are the only ones made to me, are in my hands, and from these taken in connec-

tion with other papers in my hands, it is obvious that the *avowed* objects of some of them differ from the *real* one.

But the difficulties in this case extend along a period of over 12 months. The *first* stage was ended with the case as it stood submitted to the Presbytery and adjudicated by this court, April 14, 1862, as is seen from the action of Presbytery at that time. The next stage of procedure begins with the above date and closes with the case as it now stands. The pastor of the church was instructed by Presbytery to read the action of the Presbytery, in the case of the Mount Pleasant church, from the pulpit of said church, on the first Sabbath day of preaching, subsequent to his receiving a certified copy of the same. This was Sabbath the 27th day of April. On the 19th of April, after my return home from Presbytery, I addressed a letter to Mr. Urmston. It was my wish, as it had been from the incipiency of the troubles, which Mr. Urmston was determined to precipitate upon the church, that they should be allayed. But a proposal to one under the censure of the church for such flagrant misconduct, prompted by a desire to restore relations disturbed by events during a few weeks preceding that time, and to relieve him of personal embarrassment toward me, is ignored so far as our personal relations are concerned. I went farther than this toward fostering a spirit of fraternal intercourse between the brethren of that church, by personal advances which were repulsed, and by public exhortation on the 27th of April. This last while the attention of the congregation was called to the facts, that the Mount Pleasant church during a period of 15 years (more or less), with an interval of 5 years (when the church had no minister), had had some nine ministers; That a membership of several hundred had been reduced to 40, when I became their pastor; That contention and strife had prevailed in their bosom for years, and while each member of that church was called upon to ask himself the question whether he had not some share in producing the state of case in the church; yet this was done in no censorious spirit. At the close of this exhortation the paper of Presbytery was read and no allusion was made to the state of facts upon which the Presbytery had made that declaration. If, in my judgment, silence from the pulpit upon this matter would conduce to the good of that people, I was willing to rest under whatever imputations the zeal of my enemies and the enemies of that church had been active to cast upon me, and while many things came to my knowledge, from that time until August when I was compelled to leave my home, because of the presence of an hostile army, *things* which showed the *bitterness* and *malignity* of those who were seeking my ruin and the ruin of the church, yet I made no public allusions to them, and abstained, moreover, from declaring from the pulpit of the Mount Pleasant church, what I, holding the word of God to be the *rule* of all duty, believe every man must accept, that *loyalty* to God exacts of every Christian *loyalty* to his country.

But the course of those determined to promote discontent, disloyalty, and general alienations in that church; the conduct of those who were ready to disregard pledges and vows solemnly made; of those ready to despise the authority, order, and ordinances of the church and her sacred courts, was in utter antagonism with this, and can not rest until their pastor, who in the midst of such defection around him stood firm in his loyalty to God and country, should be removed from that church. To effect this, the persons conspicious in this conspiracy do not hesitate to resort to measures, which, because of their immorality, demand the censure of this court of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I will briefly trace this conduct. Before the first preaching Sabbath after the adjournment of Presbytery, in defiance of the action of this court and before I had an opportunity to communicate to my congregation said action, John Urmston, son of T. D. Urmston, and a member of the church, was circulating a paper among the members of my church, and T. D. Urmston was in communication *personally*, and by letter, with several members of this Presbytery to effect the result of my removal from Mount Pleasant church. It will be borne in mind that the parties censured by action of Presbytery of April 14th, 1862, if they considered themselves aggrieved, had a method of redress by appeal or otherwise to a higher court. But this method seemed to commend itself neither to them nor their advisers. The existence of this new paper having the names of 14 persons upon it, and bearing date of April 25th, nearly all of whom are known to be disloyal, was kept from the knowledge of the pastor until within a few days before May 25th, when a sessional meeting was convened under the pretext of dismissing three persons from the Mount Pleasant church to the Beard church. The *real* design of said meeting appears to have been to bring that paper before the session, with a view to increase trouble in the church, and at the same time, as appears from what transpired *then*, compared with a statement in the memorial (of Urmston, Wornell and others to the fall meeting of this Presbytery), to entrap Mr. Lowry into a conspiracy directing all its energies to the ruin of the Mount Pleasant church and its pastor. Sometime early in May of 1862, a like but *unsuccessful* attempt was made to entrap this same gentleman, because he had asked his name to be withdrawn from a paper drawn up by Mr. U. and presented to him March 13th, 1862, and signed by him, because of representations made to him by Messrs. Urmston and Wornell. Touching this memorial to the session bearing date April 25th, 1862, there are some matters demanding your consideration. Of the persons who signed that paper; in one case known to us, she did it upon representations which were false; in another case where the person admitted doing wrong; in another case where the petitioner avowed his purpose to vote against the dissolution. Again, while Mr. T. D. Urmston has professed to know nothing of the existence of this memorial at the time of its being circulated, yet about the 19th of April, he furnished me, at my request, with a certified list of members; in one case among the 24 of those reported as attending church regularly, whose name appears upon the memorial of 14, I do not remember ever to have seen this person in the church since I have been pastor. Several names of regular attendants, known to be of a different mind from Mr. Urmston, are omitted from that class. The *list* appears to have been made to suit the case of the *memorialists*.

This *memorial* circulated in defiance of the order of this Presbytery, signed by a minority of those entitled to vote and circuitously placed in the hands of the moderator (and that too being done in a way to entrap an unsuspecting and pious elder) at a meeting of the session of May 25th, convened ostensibly for another purpose, was ruled out, because not signed by a majority of persons entitled to vote in the case and because in conflict with the order of the Presbytery and schismatical. From the meeting of the Presbytery in April, 1862, to the time of the invasion of the state by an hostile army in August, September and October, in whose lines a Presbytery constituted of a few persons, when the matter of the Mount Pleasant church was brought before that body, September 10th, in a memorial signed by T. D. Urmston and others, but *one regular* call for a meeting, of the session of the Mount Pleasant church was presented to the moderator. This was on the 25th of

April. The avowed object of this call as announced by one of the elders making such call and not dissented from by the other was a *different* one from what seems to have been its design as appears from other papers in my hands. On the 25th of May: The special case alluded to in a *memorial* received by the above-mentioned Presbytery September 10th, and acted upon September 24th, the pastor of the Mount Pleasant church convened the session. The *memorial* states that "on the 25th day of May last, Mr. Morrison was requested by two of the elders to call a meeting of the session, which he arbitrarily [refused] to do until assured that the sole object of the desired meeting was to grant certain letters of dismission." The facts of the case do not justify such a statement. So soon as the congregation had been dismissed by benediction (no previous intimation of such desired meeting having been given to me), Mr. Urmston, and he alone, called out to me from the aisle of the church, myself still in the pulpit, and requested a meeting of the session, causing a commotion in the congregation. The Book provides, ch. ix, sect. vii, how the session shall be convened. He not having complied with the requisitions of the book, and being under the censure of Presbytery, and instructed to study the peace of the Church, I requested him to state the purpose for which such meeting was desired. At this point T. Wornell stept to his side, and Mr. Urmston stated the object to be, to dismiss certain members to Beard church. The request of these persons was in the hand-writing of Mr. Forsyth. The session was convened. Its object as announced by Mr. Urmston and reaffirmed in the memorial, was to dismiss certain persons; and yet, from same memorial, the object of the call appears to have been a different one. It was at this meeting, that Mr. Urmston made such demonstrations, when Mr. Lowry failed to be entrapped in the case of the petition then presented, as persons present could look at in no other light than contemplated violence against Mr. Lowry.

So matters stood after that meeting of May 25th; so far as I had any personal knowledge, the means of grace being regularly dispensed, until the latter part of August, when this part of the state was overrun by the enemies of our country, and I was compelled to be absent from the field of my labors with a view to personal safety; safety against perils which the conduct of some of the elders of the Mt. Pleasant church, and some of that people had no little hand in producing, because of my loyalty to God and country.

During my absence of two months from the state, while an hostile army were in possession of it, my pulpit at Cynthiana and Mt. Pleasant had been occupied a part of the time by the Rev. F. G. Strahan of this Presbytery, and that too without my invitation. He was a member of the Presbytery which met at Versailles on the 24th of September within the enemy's lines, which ordered the congregational meeting, and was the person who gave notice to the congregation of the ordered meeting, and an appointment was made for him to preach at Mount Pleasant church on Sabbath Oct. 27th, nearly one month after such meeting. During this time also, a *memorial* signed by a minority of those entitled to vote was presented to Presbytery Sept. 10th, and of these signers, in one case, the person had been previously reported to me by Mr. T. D. Urmston as not attending church, nor does this person contribute any thing to the support of the church. Nor is this the only case of a similar nature. In some cases who are reported as signing this memorial, sooner than call in question their veracity, we are disposed to give them credit of signing what they had not examined, or the bearing of which

they were incompetent to see from the paper itself. In the case of a few of them they state and sign what they knew to be false.

Of these petitioners, the elders and others have absented themselves from the means of grace as dispensed in the Mt. Pleasant church by the pastor, from the time of the expulsion of the rebel army from the state in October, 1862, at which time I returned to my field of labor, until now.

Touching the case of T. D. Urmston, efficient in producing the state of case thus laid before you, I have this to say: under various pretexts from time to time he has prosecuted his course disloyal both to God and country; he has despised the authority, the order and ordinances of the church; he has disregarded pledges and ordination vows; he has not scrupled to say things which are untrue; he has neglected the public duties of religion and brought reproach upon the name of Christ; he has been conspicuous in promoting discontent, disloyalty and alienation, tending to trouble and confusion in the church where he has acted as an elder.

Touching the Presbytery of Sept. 10th, which received the memorial of a minority of the congregation in which they were sitting, and that of Sept. 24th, which treated the allegations as embodied in said memorial as true, when its allegations are absolutely or substantially untrue, without making the slightest inquiry about it; and this too being done when they perfectly well knew that the pastor of the church in consequence of his having taken an active part in the defense of his family and neighbours, against a raid of rebel marauders, in the month of July, and because of threats against his life, was compelled to be absent from his home and could not know what was going on: touching a Presbytery composed of a small number of elders, and a still smaller number of ministers (one of these elders being Mr. T. D. Urmston, who sat in the Presbytery without *legal warrant*, and of the whole body, not above one or two being loyal men), sitting within the lines of an invading rebel army, which received this memorial; and touching the adjourned Presbytery of Sept. 25th, still sitting within the lines of the rebel army, which granted the request of such petitioners, under such circumstances, and appointed a minister to go into the Mt. Pleasant congregation and call and preside over a congregational meeting therein, with a view to oust their pastor from the church in his absence, and without his knowledge: I have this to say with deference to the Presbytery which is over me in the Lord; that upon such principles and such proceedings as these, it is impossible to look for any thing but disorder in the churches, and the ruin of the usefulness of ministers, and impossible to reconcile such principles and proceedings either with the word of God, the constitution of the church, or with justice and fair dealing.

Touching the whole case as now submitted to this Presbytery, as it relates to what has occurred in the Mt. Pleasant church and elsewhere, since the action of the April Presbytery of 1862, I have this to add in conclusion, that these difficulties were renewed in the congregation, while Mr. T. D. Urmston was in communication with members of this Presbytery who were counseling trouble in the Mt. Pleasant church, in the face of the action of a majority of an unusually large Presbytery, and before the pastor had an opportunity to read as ordered said action to his congregation; and under counsel and advice Mr. Urmston and the Presbyteries of Sept. 10th and 25th, have aggravated them; while a different course on the part of Mr. T. D. Urmston, his advisers and abetters, would have saved the church and its pastor many troubles in these sad times, and the interests

of our Master, and of his kingdom been more effectually promoted, amid the abounding desolation and apostacy, which these times record."

GEORGE MORRISON.

H.—*Statement of Rev. F. G. Strahan.*

Mr. Morrison, in his replication to the petition of the Mount Pleasant church for a dissolution of the pastoral relation, has referred to me in such a form as makes it proper that I should state the facts in the premises. (See page 12 of replication.) At a meeting of Presbytery at Versailles, in September, 1862, the elders present there, Messrs. Urmston and Wornell, urged me to come down and preach for them at an early day. I finally consented to do so, and accordingly preached in that church on the last Sabbath of September, and by the request of the elders gave notice of congregational meeting ordered by Presbytery. This is the only time I occupied that pulpit in several years. At the same time Major Kimbrough, elder of the church at Cynthiana, was present, and requested me to preach for them at an early day. I positively declined to do so. He expressed very great desire, too, that I should do so. I again declined. He then stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Morrison a few days previous, stating that he could not say when he would return home, urging him to get some one to preach for them occasionally and do the best they could till his return. I replied, that being the case I would preach for them, and did so on the first Sabbath in October, and at no other time, although earnestly solicited to do so. While in Paris at the meeting of Synod I was again earnestly desired to preach at the Mount Pleasant church. I declined doing so, stating that no doubt Mr. Morrison would return home in a short time and would fill his own pulpit. Mr. Morrison says in his replication that "an appointment was made for him (the Rev. F. Strahan) at the Mt. Pleasant church on Sabbath, October 27th." The fact in the case is that I had no appointment at the Mt. Pleasant church, and Mr. Morrison had knowledge of this fact in my own hand-writing of earlier date than the Sabbath referred to. Thus much I have felt it proper to state in order that the statements of Mr. Morrison may be properly understood so far as I am concerned.

Nicholasville, Ky., April 16, 1863. (Signed,) F. G. STRAHAN.

True copy, J. K. LYLE, Stated Clerk.

The above replication was filed with the Presbytery at Nicholasville on the 15th day of April. Having been prostrated upon a bed of illness, in consequence of exposure in attending upon this meeting of the Presbytery, the pastor was unable to attend the sessions of said Presbytery after the second day. On the third day of its sittings the Presbytery took up this case, and, upon a motion which was carried, the pastor was cited to appear at the next meeting to show cause why the pastoral relation should not be dissolved. Such a motion upon such a case, which gave a complete triumph to the projects of the disloyal faction in the Mt. Pleasant church, was resisted by Dr. Breckinridge and others. The ayes and nays being called, the following persons voted against the citation: *ministers*—R. J.

Breckinridge, S. Yerkes, Bayless, Lyle, Henry, and *elder* G. W. Lewis. May 5th, 1863, during the sessions of Synod the Presbytery of West Lexington was again constituted according to adjournment. The pastor still in feeble health, was present at this meeting, though no citation had been served upon him, as was contemplated in the action of the Presbytery taken at Nicholasville some two weeks before. Had such citation been *served* the course of the pastor was marked out. The following paper was prepared and in his possession, to be submitted to the Presbytery, as an answer to said citation, and as containing such of the *grounds* and *reasons* for an appeal to a higher court, as the action of the Presbytery at Nicholasville upon the case had made necessary; provided this Presbytery at Paris upon its own motion or upon this answer to said citation failed to do what was satisfactory to the pastor and to those who were struggling with him for the triumph of principles so important to the church. But the Presbytery, having failed to cite the pastor, this answer was not submitted. Upon the failure of the Presbytery to follow in respect to the citation, the provisions of the Book, a new complication arose and the action of the Presbytery was such, that the pastor saw no reason to dissent from it. Paper I is herewith published as showing the views of the pastor at the time, in regard to the action of the Presbytery at Nicholasville in this case, even though the subsequent course of that body at Paris made it unnecessary for him formally to use the same. Paper K shows action of Presbytery. Thus by this action of May 5th are the projects of disturbers in the church, *disturbers* who under "various pretexts promote *discontent, disloyalty* and *general alienation*, tending to the unsettling of ministers, to local schism and to manifold trouble," defeated. Singular end this; and the more so, because no exception is taken to this action by persons heretofore so conspicuous in aiding those intent upon trouble. The conviction of the probable defeat of the rebel army at Chancellorsville by the Federal arms, which the earlier movements of Gen. Hooker seemed to warrant, no doubt, had much to do in bringing about the result reached and embodied in said action of Presbytery.

I.—*Proposed Answer to a Citation not served.*

"This Presbytery, at the close of its sessions at Nicholasville, on the 17th inst. (illness having prevented me from being present on that day), having cited me

to appear, at this meeting of the Presbytery, and show cause why the pastoral relation between myself and the Mt. Pleasant church should not be dissolved, I would respectfully represent the following state of case, upon which the Presbytery must decide what further action it will take.

I.—(1.) The constitution of the church (Form of Gov., chap. xvii), prescribes the methods by which the very solemn relation between pastor and people is to be dissolved. These methods are specific, accordingly as the pastor or the people may desire the dissolution. In *both* cases, before the Presbytery, as requested by either party, can cite the other party, it must be advised of existing grievances. This is the law of the church, and is the practice of every well ordered court of the Lord Jesus Christ. Now the party, as appears from the action of this court, who have applied for a dissolution of the pastoral relation in this case, are *certain memorialists*, as seen vol. IX, pp. 106, 110, 114, 122, 123, 124, 128, 129, and 130 of your Records; and it is here represented by the pastor, the respondent in the case, that this Presbytery, in citing the pastor upon a case where no grievances are alleged in a regular way by the party requesting the dissolution, has done so in *violation* of the law of the church, and *thereby*, in such times as these and upon such a case as this, has established a dangerous *precedent*.

(2.) If the Presbytery, upon an irregular course of one of the *recognized* parties in the case, justify their action in departing from the Book, and in assuming *extraordinary powers*, in thus citing the pastor of the Mount Pleasant church upon a case where no *grievances* are regularly alleged, and that, too, upon a vote of twelve persons of a reasonably large congregation, such justification must be found in the *case itself*, as presented to them, or their decision is one either of *prejudice*, *mistake*, or *injustice*. Your respondent represents the case as he has already elsewhere substantially done, as *one* in which T. D. Urmston, as prime mover, with others, has disregarded the warnings of this Presbytery and of the Synod of Kentucky, in their action of 1861, against divisive courses: as *one*, in which T. D. Urmston and others have treated the order of this court of April, 1862, upon this special case, and the warnings of the General Assembly of 1862, against proceedings tending to discontent, disloyalty, and alienation, with utter defiance; and the statement of facts made in *memorial* to Presbytery of September 10, 1862 (upon which has been predicated the subsequent action of Presbytery), signed by T. D. Urmston and others (a minority of the congregation), your respondent, as he has elsewhere substantially done, represents to be *absolutely* or *substantially* untrue.

Upon these grounds: (a.) Because the procedure is unconstitutional; and (b.) Because if powers are vested in the church by Christ, its head (which your respondent does not deny), to adjudicate cases submitted thereto, even though not in a regular method, the *case* itself that would justify such a departure from the written law of the church, must present an extraordinary state of facts; does your *respondent*, the pastor of the Mount Pleasant church, who thus represents the case of the Mount Pleasant church as not justifying a departure on the part of the Presbytery from the law of the church, and who further represents the *action* taken by the Presbytery after such departure, as not *justified* by the facts in the case, but the *reverse*, decline to unite with the minority of the congregation before this Presbytery, in asking for a dissolution of the pastoral relation between himself and the Mount Pleasant church.

II. The pastor, your respondent, feels called upon to state more in detail the

principles and reasons which have controlled and do control him in his action in the case.

If I had consulted my own feelings in the case, I would have asked Presbytery to dissolve my connection with this church at the spring meeting of this Presbytery of 1862. But in not allowing my judgment to yield to my inclinations in the case *then* and *subsequently*, I am now more thoroughly persuaded than ever that I have done my duty in my lot in the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, as she is passing through the fiery ordeal of these times of defection from her, and disloyalty to her. To me it has been a trial to be pastor of a church where a *factious minority*, and two of these elders in the church, through the course of some fifteen months, have done so many things unkind and repulsive to me personally, and so injurious to the peace of the church and the cause of my Master. A greater trial still, has it been that when I failed to yield to the disloyal sentiment which that faction represented in the Mount Pleasant church and community, and thereby placed my life itself in jeopardy, while I have persisted in witnessing for Christ and his glory, I have received so little sympathy at the hands of my brethren in the Lord of this Presbytery.

But these trials and sufferings I am willing to endure, whatever may have been, or may be, the action of this Presbytery in the case at present, and among the *reasons* which prompt me to this course I mention the following.

(1.) The pastor is unwilling to see the control of the spiritual interests of the Mount Pleasant congregation pass by such methods as have been pursued in this church into the hands of a *faction* such as the one under question, until he has exhausted without success the methods of redress provided in the Book.

(2.) He is unwilling to see the church property itself pass into the control of a *faction* whose conduct has been so notorious in the county of Harrison that the constituted authorities of the land could not, without self-stultification, allow the Mount Pleasant church to be used as a place of assemblage for such persons as would congregate under the auspices of this faction.

(3.) He is unwilling to see, without his dissent, the loyal people of that community who contributed to the erection of the church building, deprived of a convenient place of worship; and if it be the mind of this Presbytery to surrender the secular and spiritual control of the Mount Pleasant church into the hands of this faction, he feels called upon to leave no method untried which will *avert*, if only for the present, from the loyal members of that congregation and people, the *surrender* of themselves to the control of a faction disloyal to God and country (a calamity against which this Presbytery in the bounds of a loyal state and among a loyal people should have protected them), or the *alternative*, to wit, a renunciation of their authority over them.

(4.) He is unwilling, finally, in consequence of his relation as a minister of Jesus Christ to the numerous loyal families in Harrison county, the field of his labors, to see, without his dissent, the moral power of *those* thus strengthened, whom he and the church of which he is a minister regards as guilty of *sin* and *immorality*, and against whom, in his lot, for the sake of truth, righteousness, and the honor of Christ, he is called to bear his witness, to the end of their return to country, duty, and God, and the salvation of their perishing souls.

With these views and for these reasons I, the pastor of the Mount Pleasant church, the party cited by this Presbytery, decline to unite in requesting a dissolution of the pastoral relation between myself and said church, and as a member of this court, steadfastly in my lot, resist the *encroachments* of *disturbers* in

the church, upon the honor and dignity of a church, which loyalty to Christ on the part of his ministry and servants exacts of us to watch, lest *she* may become *disloyal* to her Head and King, as so many of her wayward children have become.

May 4, 1863. GEORGE MORRISON.

K.—*Action of Presbytery in this case at Paris, May* 5, 1863.

Regarding the whole matter of Mount Pleasant church in its relations to its pastor, Rev. George Morrison, in lieu of all its former action, the Presbytery adopts the following minute: Whereas, this matter has been before Presbytery for more than a year, and involves interests of vast importance, and in its present posture difficult questions, both as to the true state of facts and the interpretations of law applicable thereto; and hence it seems extremely difficult, if not impossible, to come to a conclusion entirely satisfactory to the mind of the Presbytery, as perfectly just and fair to all the parties concerned; and the Presbytery, regarding at the same time the interest and happiness of the pastor, the peace and prosperity of the church, and above all, the glory of the Master; therefore, Resolved, That all proceedings touching this matter, so far as they have been already initiated, be and they are hereby ordered to be stayed; and that all former action herein be and is hereby set aside, and shall be regarded and treated as of no force or effect. And further, that Mr. Morrison be earnestly recommended further prayerfully to inquire how he may best serve the cause of Christ in this matter; and the church also exhorted to make the matter a subject of serious meditation and prayer, in the hope that Providence may open up some peaceful solution of this unpleasant and deplorable difficulty.

This action is not intended, however, to interpose any obstacle to any regular and orderly proceedings which either of the parties may institute hereafter, in case they, or either of them, after due reflection and prayer, should desire a dissolution of said pastoral relation.

A true copy of paper B, adopted by Presbytery in session at Paris, Kentucky, May 5, 1863.

J. K. LYLE, *S. C., W. Lex. Presbytery.*

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS FROM MAY 5TH, 1863, UNTIL THE DISSOLUTION OF THE PASTORAL RELATION, NOVEMBER 17TH, 1863.

The action of the Presbytery at Paris given above, so far as that tribunal was concerned, ought to have secured *peace* and *harmony* again in the congregation. But such were not the results desired by those disloyal agitators whom it was intended to effect. During the summer of 1863, the pastor preached at the Mt. Pleasant church at such times as his health and the condition of that part of Harrison county, infested by a band of guerrillas, would warrant. September, 1863, the West Lexington Presbytery, which met at Salem, the pastor being absent for reasons sustained by said Presbytery, again *reopened* the case, when neither the congregation nor the pastor had requested the same. Against this, serious opposition was made, but to no effect. The following persons composed this Presbytery: *min-*

isters, Forsyth, Simrall, Yerkes, Cheney, Browne, Brank, Lyle, Hays, Young and Scott; *elders*, Skinner, Vanmeter, Coulter, Wornell, Crooks, Dodd, Boyers, Taylor and Trimble. Of the persons so particularly zealous for this (viz., the Rev. W. H. Forsyth and T. Wornell, *elder*, who sat without legal warrant), and of the circumstances under which done, the writer will here add nothing to what he formally has stated in his *complaint* and *appeal* to Synod of Oct. 14, 1863, against the *illegal* and *unjust* proceedings of the Presbytery which met in the Mt. Pleasant church on the first *Tuesday* of Oct. 1863, according to the resolution of adjournment, passed at Salem of September. This resolution is here given

L.—*Resolution of Presbytery at Salem, September*, 1863.

Presbytery having reason to believe that evils of a serious nature exist in the Mount Pleasant church. Resolved, that an adjourned meeting be held in said church on the first Tuesday of October, at 11 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of enquiring into its state and redressing any evils that may be found to exist. And the stated clerk is directed to notify the pastor and congregation of this action. A true copy. WM. B. BROWNE, *Stated Clerk*.

October 6th, 1863, the Presbytery met in the bounds of the Mt. Pleasant congregation. Present: *ministers*, R. J. Breckinridge, W. H. Forsyth, W. B. Browne, R. J. Brank, J. K. Lyle, J. S. Hays, D. P. Young, Geo. Morrison, M. Vanlear and F. G. Strahan; *elders*, J. C. Skinner, J. B. Temple, G. Marshall, D. J. Dodd, Jacob Boyers, D. W. A. Walker, Vance Lemons and T. Wornell. Objection being raised by the pastor of the church, two of the elders present were not allowed to take their seats as members of the court: upon the grounds of their not having been appointed by their respective sessions. These elders were Vance Lemons and T. Wornell.

The disloyal faction of the congregation were present, expecting to have a congregational meeting. The character of these sixteen persons present who appear to have been *ready* for the programme to be adopted, the pastor has described in his *complaint* and *appeal* to Synod. Those who were not posted and who were of a different mind from this faction, some of them having received no notice of said Presbyterial meeting; others wearied out, with the commotion and strife of this faction; some fearing the consequences, to their persons

and property, which a decided opposition would entail, were not present.

The resolution as given above, upon which the Presbytery had convened, having been read, the moderator, Rev. J. S. Hays, decided the proper course to be pursued in the investigation of evils, said by common fame to exist in the church, was as follows: "That the church be now called upon, *first the pastor*, and then the members of the church, to state whether they or either of them have any grievances, and if any, what? That the Presbytery then proceed to consider the case." We give the *opinion* of the moderator in his own words, inasmuch as such, forms an essential fact in the course of the proceedings of that Presbytery, as will appear in the sequel. We call it an *opinion*, and not a *decision*, for the reason, that there was no question of *form* at that time before the court, but one of *substance*, which it was not competent for the presiding officer of the court, but competent *only* for the *court* itself to decide. Considerable discussion here arose. The pastor did not concur with the moderator in his opinion as to the method of procedure, and at this early stage, *first* make *his* statement of grievances, and with such statement make the concession, afterward used in the manner it was by the Presbytery, as will be seen by a reference to *complaint* and *appeal*, section 3, under C of pastor, also section 6, of Breckinridge's *complaint*.

Pending such discussion, Elder J. B. Temple offered resolution (1), of paper M. The substitute (2) of Dr. Breckinridge, found in paper M, was rejected, by a vote of 12 to 4. Breckinridge, Lyle, Browne and Morrison voting for this, and the balance of the Presbytery voting against it. Thus, the Presbytery, if the right to come to that congregation under circumstances such as attended this case be ceded, deprived itself of the only legitimate way of "enquiring into its state, and of redressing any evils found to exist;" the purpose for which it had adjourned. The resolution of J. B. Temple was thereupon adopted. The Presbytery took a recess, and said *so called congregation* had a meeting on the afternoon of the 6th of Oct., the first day of the meeting of the Presbytery. The moderator of the Presbytery moderated said meeting, and the pastor attended it to see their proceedings.

On the morning of the 7th, the second day of the sessions

of Presbytery, the unfinished business was taken up. The moderator then presented in writing a report of the proceedings of the so-called congregational meeting over which he had been appointed to preside. Said report (3) will be found below in paper M. At the opening of Presbytery on the previous day there was no case before it for action. The pastor had declined being made a party to making a case, as was contemplated in the programme suggested by the moderator, early on the first day. In this emergency the *method* adopted is, instead of the pastor *first* making his statement and *then* the congregation, for the order to be reversed, and the so-called congregation *first* to do this. Thus matters had progressed on the second day towards making a case when there was none at the beginning, before the Presbytery. The pastor of the church had been deprived of his constitutional right to preside at a meeting of his congregation. A meeting had been held, and the report of it was now before the Presbytery. It is proper here to state that the paper submitted to this so-called congregational meeting and adopted as theirs, was drawn up by Elder J. B. Temple. Touching the contents of such paper, the pastor feels constrained to add, to what he has stated elsewhere in a paper (herewith published) submitted to Presbytery at that meeting, and also in his *complaint* and *appeal* to Synod, but this single remark—that, notwithstanding the emissaries and spies of this disloyal faction of the Mt. Pleasant congregation, upon various occasions and at different places in the county of Harrison and elsewhere, had watched and taken notes of their pastor's career, yet not one syllable, upon this occasion used to traduce him, can be alleged against his moral character. Touching the substance of the report of the Rev. J. S. Hays, and of his proceedings as moderator of so-called congregational meeting, the pastor has one or two remarks here to add to what he has said in his *complaint* and *appeal*, and to what has been said by Dr. Breckinridge in his *complaint*. These are: *First*, that the pastor of the church was *present* in the house inspecting the proceedings, when Mr. Hays sought information from one of the disloyal faction of the church as to what the custom of the congregation was in regard to voting. The pastor was ignored as a party, having no rights or privileges *there;* and *secondly*, that of the persons embraced in

one form or another in this report, *one* of them was a refugee from Price's rebel army of Missouri, a *second* one had taken his letter from that church to the Cynthiana church, and a *third* one would not in any form recognize such meeting as the congregation. These persons here described are not among those so minutely described in section 4 of the pastor's *appeal*.

So soon as the moderator had presented his report on the morning of the second day, as above alluded to, a resolution (4 of paper M) was passed, *requesting* the pastor at this stage to state any evils known to him to exist. This he did, and the substance of said statement, then verbally made, was at a later stage of the proceedings of the Presbytery reduced to writing and filed. At this point the Presbytery passed a minute expressing the full conviction that the pastoral relation should be dissolved; and this, too, when that question was not legally before the body. While the paper, the preamble of which had thus been voted on and passed, was pending, this amendment was offered: "*Resolved*, That the members of this church who absented themselves from the ministrations of their pastor, erred in so doing, and are censurable for such conduct, and that the church is morally and legally bound for the full amount of his salary to the time of his resigning of his pastorate." This amendment censured those who had refused to attend worship, those who had treated with contumacy previous orders of the Presbytery, and those who had not for more than a year paid anything toward the support of their church or the gospel; the same parties as are recognized in said so-called congregational meeting by the moderator, as the *congregation*, and it was ruled out of order by the moderator of the Presbytery. The decision of the moderator elicited by this amendment, declared that the petition of a portion of the congregation to have the pastoral relation dissolved, was not and had not been in the legal possession of the body. From this decision an appeal was taken, and the Presbytery sustained such decision and refused to allow the amendment or the decision and appeal to be recorded. It was true that neither the petition of a portion of the congregation nor the statement of the pastor, was in the legal possession of the house at the time of the passage of the minute above referred to, expressive of the conviction that the relation should be dissolved; but the moderator seemed not to have dis-

covered this until this vote of censure upon this faction of the church, is introduced. The paper above alluded to, a part of which was passed by the Presbytery, will be found in paper M, under (5).

In the dilemma a resolution was offered by Elder J. B. Temple "that the written report of the proceedings of the congregational meeting ordered be received and placed on file, and that Mr. Morrison have leave to file his statement in writing." This action ended the work of the Presbytery on that day, the 7th of October and the second day of the sessions.

On the morning of the 8th, Elder John B. Temple introduced the following resolution, which was carried, by the following vote: "*Resolved*, That in order to redress the evils found to exist in the Mt. Pleasant church, the pastoral relation existing between the Rev. George Morrison and the congregation of said church, which has been admitted by both parties to be neither desirable or profitable any longer, be and the same is hereby dissolved, and the church declared vacant." Vote for said resolution: *ministers*, Forsyth, Strahan, Vanlear, Young, Hays, Brank; *elders*, J. C. Skinner, David Coulter, J. B. Temple, G. Marshall, D. J. Dodd, Jacob Boyers, W. A. Walker. Against such: Breckinridge, Lyle, Browne and Morrison. Dr. Breckinridge gave notice of protest, complaint and appeal, with regard to the proceedings of Presbytery in this case, which were admitted to record. The pastor gave a similar notice, and lodged said complaint and appeal in the hands of the moderator of Presbytery on the 15th day of October, 1863. The *statement* of the pastor *requested* by Presbytery in a resolution of the second day, and at this stage reduced to writing, was now placed on file and is here published in paper N.

It is proper here also to state that Elder J. B. Temple and Rev. J. S. Hays were appointed by Presbytery to answer the *complaint* and *protest* of Dr. Breckinridge, filed with said body before its adjournment on the 8th of October, and the last day of its sittings in the Mt. Pleasant church. These gentlemen prepared such answer, and although said paper (because of its not having been placed in the custody of either the Presbytery or of the Synod until the case had been adjudicated by the Synod on the 19th of October, 1863), formed no part of the record in the case, still no opposition was made by the minority

of Presbytery to such paper being spread upon the minutes of said Presbytery. The *complaint*, etc., of Dr. Breckinridge, and the *complaint* and *appeal* of the pastor, is herein published in papers O and P. Before he passes to the next stage of this case, the pastor deems it necessary to make but one or two remarks additional, to what he has stated in his *appeal* and *complaint*, touching the grounds alleged in the resolution passed by this Presbytery, dissolving the pastoral relation; grounds alleged as reasons, for an act of the Presbytery so utterly subversive of law, of justice and of kind dealing toward the pastor, as this resolution embodies. 1. These were proceedings which gave complete triumph to a factious disloyal element in the Mt. Pleasant church; proceedings which established a precedent in our church courts that would encourage every faction of a similar character, whether in the minority or majority, in all of our churches in the border states, to inaugurate measures to get rid of loyal ministers; and therefore must be resisted and set aside if there were any justice in those who should constitute the higher courts. 2. As it had been his painful duty to resist these disloyal disturbers of that congregation, so it now became none the less sternly his duty to resist and have set aside the acts of the Presbytery, which had given triumph to such a faction.

Again, touching the contents of the paper of congregation, alleged as evils under (3) of paper M, and recognized by the Presbytery as evidence in their action of October 8, 1863, the pastor, (1) in his verbal statement before Presbytery, in his written statement marked N, and in his *complaint* and *appeal* lodged with Presbytery, all *before* this case was adjudicated, has alleged (and these allegations are undenied) that of such statements, some of them were absolutely *untrue*, some of them *frivolous*, and the balance were *perversions* of the truth or *misrepresentations* of it; and (2) That the evils which the pastor alleged, and which said same Presbytery recognized as evidence, but refused to investigate, were charges of a most serious character against the morality, piety and loyalty of the disturbers of the church in the bosom of a congregation, two of whose elders had defected, and from which congregation, the pastor desired to be released, so soon as the way could be made open.

M.—*Resolutions and Reports.*

1.—*Offered by Elder J. B. Temple.* "*Resolved*, That the Presbytery do now take a recess for so long a time as may be necessary to give the congregation of the Mt. Pleasant church an opportunity to present a statement of the evils, if any existing in said congregation, in proper form for the action of Presbytery, and that the moderator of Presbytery moderate said meeting."

2.—*Substitute offered by Dr. R. J. Breckinridge.* "*Resolved*, That all persons claiming to be members of Mt. Pleasant church are hereby directed to present themselves at the bar of this Presbytery to be examined before this body touching the matter into which the Presbytery had met to inquire."

3.—*Report of Rev. J. S. Hays.*—The Mt. Pleasant church in accordance with the direction of Presbytery was called to order by the moderator appointed for the purpose, and opened with prayer. Before proceeding to business, the moderator, upon being informed that the invariable custom of this church was to have the members of the church alone vote in such meeting concerning the pastoral relation, decided that the persons entitled to vote were all church members who, on the records of the church, are in good and regular standing, and against whom no charges have been preferred. He then asked for *any grievances* of any character whatever that the congregation might desire to present to Presbytery, upon which the following paper was presented of congregation.

Paper of Congregation.—At a meeting of the Mt. Pleasant church, convened in the house of worship of the said congregation, by order of the Presbytery of West Lexington to which said church belongs, the congregation respectfully beg to represent to the said Presbytery that they desire and respectfully petition that the pastoral relation existing between them and the Rev. George Morrison be dissolved, and they state the following as the grounds of the grievances upon which they base this petition, viz: The Rev. Mr. Morrison was not at the time he was called to the pastoral charge of this congregation its first choice, but as an act of concession to the wishes of the Cynthiana church, with which they had agreed to unite in the support of a minister to preach both to them and to us, the call was given in the hope that he might prove acceptable and useful in their midst. In this they have been disappointed, and he has become so unacceptable that a large proportion of the people, who have usually attended divine service in the Mt. Pleasant church, have ceased to attend.

He has refused to convene the session of the church when requested so to do, upon frivolous pretexts, and when notified that business of importance was to be transacted; that his bearing to elders of the church has been harsh and discourteous; that on account of dissatisfaction among the people, and by the death of one contributor, it is no longer possible to raise the amount of the salary promised by the congregation; that he has invoked the interposition of the military authorities of the country, and by military power taken from the proper keepers the records of the church, together with papers relating to its business and history, and he still holds them, as also the keys of the church; that the session has not been convened to present the letter of a member dismissed from another congregation, who had requested him to present this letter for admission to this church; that he refused to call a meeting of the congregation to consider the matter

of a dissolution of the pastoral relation when requested to do so, and that finally, from these causes and from the course pursued by their pastor in representing erroneously that disaffection has grown *entirely* out of differences in regard to the exciting political questions of the day, his usefulness in the congregation is at an end.

A division of the vote on the *paper* being called for, it was taken and stood as follows: Item 1, yeas 14, one person stating her dissent; item 2, yeas 14; item 3, yeas 11; item 4, yeas 14; item 5, yeas 14; item 6, yeas 15; item 7, yeas 11; item 8, yeas 13.

The moderator then asked for the information of Presbytery the names of all persons who voted in this meeting, which were given, and is as follows:—Thomas Wornell, T. D. Urmston, Samuel Allison, James Gray, Mary Gray, Margaret Gray, Nannie Gray, Minerva Gray, Helen Kimbrough, Mary Allison, Sarah Allison, Margaret Millner, Rebecca Wornell, Marion Cooke, Leah Webster, and Patsy Nisbit. For the further information of Presbytery the moderator also asked for the number of church members present, which was found to be 19. The question was also asked how many additional persons were present, who, although not church members, contributed regularly to the support of the church and submitted to its discipline? It was stated that two persons were present who would be in the future. The following resolution was then presented and unanimously adopted: "*Resolved*, That the congregation of the Mt. Pleasant church have full confidence in, and are fully satisfied with the course of our elders Wornell and Urmston in regard to the difficulties between themselves and the church and their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Morrison."

The meeting then adjourned. Attest: J. W. Urmston, *Secretary*.
J. S. Hays, *Moderator*.

4.—*Resolved*, "That the Rev. George Morrison be requested now to state any evils known to him to exist in the congregation of the Mt. Pleasant church in such manner as he prefers."

5.—(*a*) "The Presbytery having heard the grievances of both parties, the church and the pastor, in the case, without entering into any further examination of the case, or undertaking to decide any of the questions at issue between them, believing that such a course would not be productive of good, is yet satisfied that such is the state of things in the church, alienation so incurable between the pastor and the congregation, as renders the continuation of the pastoral relation no longer desirable, (*b*) Therefore, *Resolved*, The pastor of the church be cited to appear at our next meeting (Frankfort), to show reasons why the prayer of the church should not be granted and the pastoral relation dissolved."

Part of paper voted on.

Part to which amendment was offered.

N.—*Statement of grievances of Rev. George Morrison, filed with Presbytery, October* 8, 1863.

The Presbytery by resolution having requested the pastor of the Mt. Pleasant church to make known to them any evils existing in said church of which he has cause to complain, he would respectfully submit the following paper, as embodying briefly some of the grievances under which he is suffering.

This Presbytery, at its meeting in Paris of May 5, 1863, having placed the case of the Mt. Pleasant church, which had then been before them for a year, in a pos-

ture where both pastor and congregation (in case difficulties could not otherwise be adjusted), could in a regular way come to this court for redress, and said case having been reopened by the Presbytery determining to visit said church upon representations made by one of the disaffected elders of the church at Salem, who sat in said court without legal warrant; and this having been done before the pastor (partly because of ill-health) could ascertain what his duties were in the case; he represents that through a period now extending over eighteen months a series of evils have existed in the bounds of said congregation, caused by a disaffected minority. Among these evils are:

(1.) The fact that one of the elders, Mr. T. D. Urmston, required of me to sign a written release presented to me in February, 1862, which paper required of me to certify as true, a state of facts which I had no knowledge were true, and which subsequent events have shown to be untrue, and required of me to do that which would have made me liable to censure by this court if I had so done; and then he and others made my refusal to do this, a ground of disaffection in the church.

(2.) The contumacy with which the order of the Presbytery of April, 1862, in this case, an order censuring two of the elders, Messrs. T. D. Urmston and T. Wornell, and enjoining upon them and upon the members of the church peace among themselves, was treated by this disaffected minority, who are now before this court by petition and complaint, in circulating and signing a paper whose end was trouble, the existence of which paper was kept from the knowledge of the pastor until about the 25th of May, 1862; further:

(3.) The utter defiance with which said order, which was in full force, was treated by these parties from October 27th, 1862, after they instituted further proceedings in and out of the Presbytery, while Kentucky was occupied by the Confederate army, and their pastor known by them to be within the Federal lines and treated by them as if dead; in seceding from the church; in taking the keys and records of the church with them, and holding the same; in absenting themselves from October 27th until now from the ordinances of God's house as administered by the pastor, and in their utter disregard of vows and obligations.

(4.) The persistent efforts by which these troubles have been crystalized and agitated in the congregation by this factious minority, by renewing and pressing in one form or another these troubles (which themselves had produced), to the discomfort of the pastor and the discomfort of the church, in papers submitted at various times to this Presbytery and otherwise, and in one now submitted to this meeting of Presbytery in the form of grievances, and a petition; the substance of which former papers I have elsewhere alleged to be substantially untrue: the substance of this paper now submitted, embodying personal reflections prejudicial to the pastor, and statements substantially untrue: are steps prompted by factious disturbers in the church, the direct result of which is (unless rebuked) disloyalty, alienation, schism and impiety in this church.

Under this state of facts the pastor desires Presbytery to institute such proceedings in the case that the pastor may see his way clear, as he long has desired to ask for the dissolution of the pastoral relation between himself and this people.

O.—*Dr. Breckinridge's Paper.*

The proceedings of this Presbytery (West Lexington) are excepted to, protested against, complained of and appealed from, in the matter of the visitation of the Mt. Pleasant church by said Presbytery.

(1.) That the refusal of the Presbytery to call before them those claiming to be members of the Mt. Pleasant church to give testimony and inform the Presbytery of actual evils, if any existed in the congregation, deprived the Presbytery of the natural and only effective method of being properly enlightened upon the very matters the Presbytery came to Mount Pleasant to investigate, and the adoption by the Presbytery of the order for the meeting of the congregation of Mount Pleasant church to be constituted under the moderator of the Presbytery, instead of the pastor of the church, in order to obtain a general statement, was unwise and illegal and calculated to organize disaffection, instead of procuring evidence or aiding Presbytery in healing difficulties or redressing evils.

(2.) That the mode of conducting said so-called congregational meeting, and the nature of that meeting, were of that kind that made it perfectly evident that said meeting was not the congregation, but only that portion of it which had for more than a year previous, absented themselves from all divine worship in the Mt. Pleasant church; who, during the same time, contributed nothing to the support of the pastor or the proper expenses of the congregation, and had, by the two ruling elders (Urmston and Wornell) who were acting with them, notified the pastor more than a year before, that they would neither attend public worship nor contribute to his support. In point of fact, not a single person of them (ranging from eleven to fifteen votes) was in such a sense a member of the Mount Pleasant church as to be a legal elector of a pastor or a legal voter in asking for a dissolution of the pastoral relation.

(3.) That the refusal of the Presbytery through the act of its moderator, sitting by its order as moderator of the said factious and seceded minority calling itself the Mount Pleasant congregation, to permit any one to vote but members of the church, and to allow all claiming to be such to vote, is illegal and contrary to the express decision of the General Assembly; for the stated contributors are entitled to vote even by the decision of the Assembly, where there is no distinct rule and practice to the contrary, and there is no good evidence that any such contrary rule or practice exists in this congregation. On the other hand it is notorious and undenied that the persons here persistently called the church and the congregation by the Presbytery, have so refused for a long course of time to give proper evidence of being entitled to vote for a pastor or for his removal; that they have escaped the possibility of discipline by the rebellious conduct of their leading coöperators, Ruling Elders Urmston and Wornell, in breaking up the church session. Moreover these persons thus treated and named as the congregation, the church, etc., are not only wholly disqualified as above shown, but the records of this congregation and of the Presbytery, and of the General Assembly, show that they are a clear minority of this church, being as 15 to 39, independently of stated contributors ruled out in all these proceedings.

(4.) That the attempt of the said factious minority to use a visitation of the Presbytery, to traduce and insult their pastor, and force a dissolution which they had failed in obtaining after a year of incessant agitation in and out of Presbytery to bring about, ought to be censured instead of approved, even indirectly, and it is unwise and illegal in itself and cruel to Pastor Morrison for the Presbytery to countenance or allow of such doing, under supposition that the dissolution of a pastoral relation can be effected by means of visitorial proceedings in this way.

(5.) That the Presbytery erred and decided illegally and injuriously by pass-

ing a minute expressing the full conviction that the pastoral relation should be dissolved, not only without that question being legally before the Presbytery, but when the moderator had decided that the petition of a portion of the congregation to have that relation dissolved was not and had not been legally in possession of this body. Moreover, while the said resolution above alluded to was depending before Presbytery, an amendment was offered to it, declaring that the Mount Pleasant congregation was bound to pay the salary of the pastor, which has been withheld for a year, and that they who had refused to attend worship acted improperly, which amendment the moderator decided to be out of order, and the Presbytery on appeal sustained his decision, and then the body refused to allow the said amendment or the decision and appeal to be recorded: The whole of which proceedings taken altogether are unfair and unjust to the pastor, and without legal warrant.

(6.) After this the next step taken was the resolution offered by Elder J. B. Temple, and adopted by Presbytery, dissolving the pastoral relation between the Rev. George Morrison and the Mt. Pleasant church and declaring the church to be vacant, which action of the Presbytery under the circumstances in which it is taken, is illegal, unconstitutional, injurious to the congregation, subversive of the principles of morality and all church peace and order, and gives complete triumph, if it is sustained, to a factious minority, which has kept this congregation in trouble for a long course of time. The allegation of the Presbytery, as a chief ground of its action of the alleged virtual consent of Mr. Morrison to propositions drawing after them this action, is an act of which due respect to the Presbytery forbids the undersigned from saying more than that it is a great perversion of the real state of the case.

(7.) The undersigned offers the foregoing paper as a protest against certain proceedings of this Presbytery in the matter of the Rev. George Morrison and the Mount Pleasant church, and as the reasons of complaint and appeal to the Synod of Kentucky, if the Presbytery shall have the proper records before that tribunal at its next session, and if not, then to the General Assembly.

Mount Pleasant, Oct. 8, 1863. ROB. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

P.—*Complaint and Appeal of Rev. George Morrison.*

Appeal and Complaint in the case of proceedings of the West Lexington Presbytery, touching the Mount Pleasant Congregation.

1. Your appellant the pastor represents the following state of case in the Mt. Pleasant congregation. In February, 1862, a release from obligations for salary in the call, written by Mr. Thomas D. Urmston, one of the elders, was handed to me by him, with the request that I should sign the same. This I declined, for the reasons, that he required me to certify as true a state of facts which I had no knowledge were true, and which subsequent events have shown to be untrue, and required me to do that which would have made me liable to censure by my Presbytery if I had so done. Such refusal he and others made the pretended ground of an organized disaffection in the church. The order of the Presbytery of April, 1862, which passed censure upon the parties implicated, to wit: two of the elders and a few of the members of the church, so soon as the case, in a regular way, was brought to the knowledge of the Presbytery, was treated with *contumacy* and *defiance*, by this factious minority, and instead of said disaffected party regarding the warnings of the Presbytery in this special case,

and of the Synod in 1861, against divisive courses, and the injunctions of the Assembly, they persistently prosecuted a course whose end was aggravated trouble. Their conduct in absenting themselves from the house of God from Oct. 27th, 1862, and the ministrations of their pastor until now; in disregarding their vows and obligations, in seceding from the church, and in taking the keys and records with them, upon the expulsion of the Confederate army from the state in October, and this too while the pastoral relation remained undisturbed by any motion of the pastor, or any action of the Presbytery, was that which tended only to the discomfort of the pastor and of the people, and were only successive steps prompted by factious disturbers in the church, the direct result of which (unless rebuked) is *disloyalty*, *alienations*, *schism*, and *impiety*, in the church.

2. Your appellant further represents, that proceedings were renewed in the congregation, in September, 1862, and pressed at several meetings of the West Lexington Presbytery, which sat within the Confederate lines, when the pastor was driven from his home, because loyal to his Government, in the progress of which proceedings the pastor had been treated as if dead; all of which said proceedings this same Presbytery cancelled and set aside in May, 1863, at Paris, and the posture of the case was thereby such that either pastor or congregation in a regular way, provided difficulties could not otherwise be adjusted, could come to the Presbytery for redress.

Upon the motion of a member of this Presbytery, who had been conspicuous in promoting these complications in the church, after representations in open Presbytery, from one of the disaffected elders, who sat without legal warrant in said Presbytery (the pastor being absent), the Presbytery at Salem, Sept., 1863, determined to reopen the case upon the following resolution: "Presbytery having reason to believe that evils of a serious nature exist in the Mount Pleasant church, *Resolved*, that an adjourned meeting be held in said church on the first Tuesday of October, at 11 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of enquiring into its state and redressing any evils that may be found to exist, and the stated clerk is directed to notify the pastor and congregation of this action."

3. Your appellant, while he judges the above determination on the part of Presbytery to visit the Mount Pleasant church, under the circumstances, to have been unwise, does not deny but that the Presbytery has the clear right under the powers vested in her by the King and Head of the church, of visitation for the purpose of enquiring into the state of congregations in their bounds, and redressing in a regular way any evils that may have arisen (chapter x, section viii, of Form Gov.) But when the Presbytery had convened for this purpose, as alleged in the above resolution, and the pastor requested the Presbytery to institute such proceedings in the case as that he might see his way clear (as he has long desired) to request the dissolution of the pastoral relation, and when said Presbytery by a vote of 12 against 4 had decided that they would not cite persons claiming to be members of the Mount Pleasant church to appear before the court to be by them examined touching the very matters about which the Presbytery had met to enquire, and then without such an investigation, by resolution, declare the pastoral relation dissolved and the church vacated; your appellant, the pastor, can not but see in such action the ends of justice defeated, and from said action he feels constrained to appeal to this court of Jesus Christ for redress, and for these *reasons*:

(A.) *Such decision is contrary to the express provisions of the Book.* The Form of Government of this church, provides by special enactment, chapter xvii, for

the dissolution of the pastoral relation. Upon a statement of grievances from the pastor, who may desire to resign, which may commend itself to the mind of the Presbytery, the Presbytery can cite at its *next meeting*, the congregation to appear, to show cause why such relation should not be dissolved, and so in case of congregations desiring this (*mutatis mutandis*), a similar process must be pursued. In either case the other party must be cited at the *next meeting*. Now even though it be assumed that the Presbytery found evils to exist, as is alleged in the resolution passed by the Presbytery dissolving the relation, when they had refused to enquire if such evils existed, the action itself is *illegal*, in that the Presbytery *then* and *there* declared such relation dissolved, an act in which that body transcended its power, and did that which was directly contrary to the express provisions of the Book.

(B.) *Upon the mode of procedure adopted in the case it was incompetent for the court to adjudge evils as existing; and the method of redress adopted upon a contrary assumption, should have been a method not prejudicial to the pastor, even by indirection as in the resolution passed, but should have been prejudicial to the factious minority of the congregation.*

The Presbytery is a court of the Lord Jesus Christ. It had convened there for the purpose avowed in the resolution under which it had adjourned, to wit: as a court of *inquiry* and *redress*. It was competent for said court to take testimony in the case. This it refused to do. It was not competent after such a refusal to adjudge a case as if such testimony had been taken. But if the competency of the court be *admitted*, as is assumed in the resolution passed and excepted to, then your appellant alleges that such court, even upon the character of the evidence before them, should have adjudged a method of redress involving censure upon persons claiming membership in the church, who had absented themselves for more than a year (and which had not been denied), from the ministrations of their pastor, and who had, moreover, broken their vows and obligations both moral and pecuniary, rather than a *method* which even indirectly approves of such rebellious conduct of church officers and church members.

(C.) *The improper use made in the act of Presbytery of a concession of the pastor, and such concession in the resolution passed being made a ground for such action.*

Because of the original hostility against me, because loyal to my country, it has long been my desire, so soon as I could see my way clear, to resign the pastoral charge of this church. But one of the great obstacles in my way of this—an obstacle which involved a grave question of duty with me as a teacher of divine morality—was whether I could consistently surrender the secular and spiritual control of this church, and of the loyal persons who worship there, into the hands of a rebellious and disloyal faction. In a written statement of grievances submitted to the Presbytery, and also in a verbal statement made in open Presbytery, growing out of a proposition made to me by the moderator of the Presbytery, who, also, moderated the so-called congregational meeting—a proposition which carried with it on the part of those for whom made a result very different from the one announced in the resolution, I stated what I here repeat, that I was prepared and anxious to resign so soon as the Presbytery would make the way clear. Certainly it did not make the *way clear* for me to resign, for the Presbytery to make use of such concession in the form in which it appears in this resolution, and upon this as one of the alleged grounds to take an action, which action carries with it the complete triumph of this faction of the church—who now for more than eighteen months have kept the church in trouble—instead of their *deserved censure*.

4. Your *appellant* and *complainant* would moreover petition to this court, not

only a reversal of the final action of the Presbytery, but also a reversal of other and all actions of same court in this case, by which grievous injustice has been done to the pastor and the laws of the church thereby subverted. In the early part of the proceedings it was resolved by Presbytery to take a recess, that the congregation might have an opportunity to meet and present a statement of the evils, if any, in proper form to Presbytery, and the moderator appointed to preside. This procedure was illegal, arbitrary and unkind to the pastor. The modes prescribed by the Book, under which a congregational meeting can be held in a church, where there is a pastor, are three: (1) Such meeting can be held as called by the session, of whom the pastor is the moderator; (2) It can be held and presided over by such minister of the same Presbytery as the pastor, with the concurrence of his session may invite; (3) It must be held where a majority of those entitled to vote in such case shall petition so to be done. But neither of these is adopted. Among the powers of Presbytery, it can not be claimed as one which the Head of the church has vested in her, without charges against her ministers, one of His ascension gifts to his bride, the Church, thus to cut them off from the privileges and powers vested in them. When the Book provides a method by which all parties suffering grievances shall seek redress, that was a strange procedure of the court, which proceeds to take steps to make a case when there was no case before them, and a regular way by which the case could come if grounds for the same. After such meeting had been ordered, and the moderator ordered to preside, the proceedings of such meeting, when convened, were no less singular, unjust and illegal than what preceded. Of the persons composing this so-called congregational meeting, consisting, as reported, in all of 17 persons, *one* in the early stage of the meeting left the room, publicly stating, as she rose, that she was for Mr. M. but would go home. Of the 16 remaining, *two* had not contributed to the support of the gospel nor attended divine worship in the house, so far as the pastor has knowledge, since he has had charge of the church. Of the remaining 14 but six of them have contributed anything to the support of the gospel at any time since the pastor has been settled among them. And of these six, three of them (two of whom were ruling elders, Urmston and Wornell), had notified me a year ago they would contribute nothing, and a fourth refused to contribute Since October 27, 1862, the first Sabbath I occupied the pulpit after my return home and the expulsion of the Confederate army from Kentucky, none of these 16 persons have either attended church or contributed any thing, according to their obligations, to the support of the gospel. The persons at the meeting who were willing to take any part in its proceedings, exclusive of contributors, were as 16 to 39 of those reported as members of the church. Of the members of the church who were absent, all of whom, with perhaps one or two exceptions, were of a different mind in regard to our national troubles from this factious minority: Some of them received no notice of the meeting: others were wearied with the continuous commotion and strife of this active faction, or feared for their persons or property, the consequences of a decided opposition to the programme of these disloyal and factious disturbers of the church.

Now such was the nature of the proceedings of the Presbytery leading to this so-called congregational meeting, and such were the persons treated by the Presbytery as the congregation, when not one of the 16 was a member of the church in such a sense as to be a legal voter. This so-called congregation, composed mainly of disloyal disturbers and their accomplices, in a paper reported by the

moderator to the Presbytery, made said meeting the occasion of traducing their pastor; the statements of which paper your appellant represented to the Presbytery were absolutely or substantially untrue, and that he was prepared to furnish the proof to this effect, and yet the Presbytery, notwithstanding this, took action in the case, which action was based upon this paper as one of the chief grounds.

Your *appellant* and *complainant* states to this court that the statements and charges of such paper are statements and charges of a disloyal faction against a minister because loyal, some of which are *frivolous*, some of which are *untrue*, and the balance of which are *misrepresentations* or *perversions* of the truth, and he represents that the action of the Presbytery in the case, based upon such, is *illegal*, *unjust* and *unkind*, and should be reversed and the Presbytery censured.

Some of these charges in said paper I will enumerate: Charge A: "*That Mr. M., at the time of his call, was not the first choice of the congregation.*" The records show this to be untrue. Charge B: "*That I had become unacceptable*," etc. To persons disloyal to their country, who are prepared to make their pastor's loyalty the ground of an organized hostility against him, I do not doubt but that a loyal minister is unacceptable. In violation of his ordination vows T. D. Urmston (elder), and his accomplices have been active in trying to effect this result.

Charge C: "*That he refused to convene the session when notified that business of importance was to be transacted.*" Since the meeting of the session of the Mt. Pleasant church on March 23, 1862, at which time the pastor discovered the conspiracy in the church, which has cost him so much trouble, when the session passed a minute of reference of the case to Presbytery, which minute was suppressed from the sessional book (Mr. Urmston acting as clerk), until the time of the defection of two members of his session from the church, but two calls for a sessional meeting were regularly made. In one case, that of April 7, 1862, the object of the meeting was not stated to the pastor, but he authorized notice to be served for such meeting to be held. In the other case, that of 25th of April, 1862, after the request was made, upon the motion of the same party who made the request (one of the two disaffected elders), it was recalled, when reasons as alleged for calling such meeting, were reasons which, upon evidence in my possession, any sane man would conclude were not the *real* ones. Charge D: "*That he has invoked the interposition of the military authorities.*" The leader of this disloyal faction, Mr. T. D. Urmston, seceded from the church with the expulsion of Bragg from the state in 1862. He took with him and held in his custody the keys and records of the church. Upon application by a note from the pastor for the records and record book, bearing date November 1, 1862, he refused to deliver them into the hands of those to whom they rightfully belonged. Said person holding both keys and records, and then defiantly insulting, and that too while he remained in the Federal lines, persons loyal to their country, who desired to worship in that church, application was made to the *Provost Marshal*, an officer created under an act of Congress and as much one of the constituted authorities of the land in time of war as civil officers are in time of peace—the person from whom redress for such outrages, as in this case, was to be sought, and by said officer, said keys and records were placed in the hands of those to whom they rightfully belonged.

So of the statements and charges in said paper, and so-called petition of the

so-called congregational meeting, not herein enumerated, I allege that they are either frivolous, or misrepresentations, or untrue, and are, mainly, with those enumerated, a recapitulation of what had been embodied in a petition from the same factious minority, upon which proceedings had been instituted in September, 1862, by the West Lexington Presbytery, while said Presbytery sat within the Confederate lines—proceedings which were afterwards cancelled by the same Presbytery in May, 1863.

Your *complainant* and *appellant* comes to this court upon this state of case and for the above reasons, for redress of grievances so grave as those involved in the irregular, illegal and unkind proceedings of the Presbytery of West Lexington in the case of the Mt. Pleasant church, and in this paper embodies the grounds and reasons for complaint and appeal to the Synod, if the Presbytery shall have the proper records before that body at its next meeting, and if not then to the General Assembly.

GEO. MORRISON.

Cynthiana, October 10, 1863.

On the 15th day of October, 1863, six days after the rising of the West Lexington Presbytery, which sat in the Mt. Pleasant congregation, the *complaint and appeal* of the pastor and that of Dr. Breckinridge were lodged in the hands of the clerk of the Synod and on the 19th day of the month, the 5th day of its session, the Synod, by a vote of 28 to 3, *reversed* and set aside the action of the Presbytery—*reinstated* the pastor—*made* the way *open* for him to carry out his *purpose*, made formally known to Synod and entertained for more than a year, of resigning the pastoral charge of the Mt. Pleasant church—*censured* those members of the church who had disregarded the ordinances of God's house and required them to perform obligations which they had renounced. The *method* by which the keys and records of the church are taken from the possession of the seceded and disloyal faction by the military and constituted authorities of the land (while the right to such keys and records, as claimed by the pastor in his appeal, is not questioned), is *disapprobated*. The action of Synod in the case is given below in paper Q. The ten days not having expired, after the rising of Synod on the 19th, during which time an appeal might be taken from its decision by either the disloyal faction of the church or by the majority of the Presbytery, the pastor could do nothing more at the adjourned meeting of the Presbytery held in the Horeb Church, Fayette county, on the 21st of October, than what is embodied in paper R, from the records of the Presbytery. At the meeting of the Presbytery, adjourned to meet in Lexington, November 17, 1863, to dissolve the pastoral relation of the

Rev. J. K. Lyle, between himself and the Horeb church, requested by him because of disaffection in that congregation on account of his loyalty,—the pastor of the Mt. Pleasant church carried out his long cherished purpose of asking for a dissolution of said relation. The action of the Presbytery is given below in paper S.

Thus ended this matter, and though no formal dissent was made to an irregularity of dissolving (at that meeting) the relation as requested by the pastor, instead of at the (next meeting) as required by the book, and for which similar act the Presbytery had been censured by the Synod, yet if the regular way had been pursued the pastor would have lodged with the Presbytery a paper, signed by the loyal *members and supporters* of the Mt. Pleasant church, vindicating his course and *disapprobating* the course of those who, for a period of eighteen months, promoted trouble, alienation and disloyalty in that church. But after the triumph of the principles which he had so sternly advocated in these sad times for so long a period, thereby incurring the displeasure of the disloyal among whom he lived, he did not feel that either the honor of his Master or the dignity of truth required further sacrifices at his hands, in the way of such further embarrassments as would follow upon a formal dissent from an act of the Presbytery which, though irregular, yet accomplished what he desired.

Q.—*Action of Synod.*

The appeal and complaint of Geo. Morrison and the complaint of R. J. Breckinridge, are so far sustained as to set aside the act of the Presbytery of West Lexington, dissolving the pastoral relation; but it appears from all these papers that the further continuance of the pastoral relation would be unprofitable. The Synod therefore enjoins on the congregation to pay Mr. Morrison the salary due him, and advises Mr. Morrison thereupon to carry out his purpose of voluntarily resigning the pastoral charge. The Synod further expresses its disapprobation of the course of those members of the Mt. Pleasant congregation, who have voluntarily absented themselves from the ordinances of God's house. The Synod also disapproves of the course of Mr. Morrison in invoking the interposition of the military authorities in order to obtain possession of the keys of the house of worship and the records of the session.

A true copy from the records of the Synod of Kentucky.

S. S. McRoberts, *Stated Clerk.*

R.—*Extract from Records of Presbytery of 21st of October.*

A certified copy of the judgment of Synod being found in the hands of a member of Presbytery; therefore,

Resolved, That the certified copy of the judgment of Synod be ordered to record.

Thereupon, Rev. Mr. Morrison expressed in open Presbytery his intention of complying with the judgment and advice of Synod, and at the same time he desired that the church, in good faith, comply with the judgment of Synod and perform the acts required of them by Synod; and that the stated clerk be requested to furnish the elders of the Mt. Pleasant church a certified copy of the judgment of Synod, and notify them that there will be a meeting of Presbytery on the third Tuesday in November, at 11 o'clock, A. M., in the first church, Lexington, at which time Presbytery hopes they will comply with their part of the obligation.

A true extract from the minutes of the West Lexington Presbytery.

WM B. BROWNE, *Stated Clerk.*

S.—*Action of the Presbytery of November* 17, 1863.

The business of the Mt. Pleasant church was then taken up, upon the call of the pastor, and the following minute was adopted:

The church of Mt. Pleasant, through their committee to raise the pastor's salary, appeared in Presbytery and settled in full the salary due Rev. Geo. Morrison, according to the injunction of Synod. Whereupon Rev. G. Morrison, according to his purpose previously made known to Synod, voluntarily asked for a dissolution of his pastoral relation with said church.

On motion the request was granted and the Mt. Pleasant church declared vacant.

W. B. Browne was appointed to preach in the Mt. Pleasant church and declare it vacant.

A true copy from the minutes. WM. B. BROWNE, *Stated Clerk.*

Passed November 17, 1863.

SOME SPECIAL REMARKS UPON THE ACTION OF THE SYNOD, AND SOME GENERAL REMARKS TOUCHING THE CASE.

It will be observed that the writer while he found in the action of the Synod as a whole, the redress and satisfaction which he sought and therefore made no formal dissent to any special point in said action; and while he has submitted to and carried out the will of the Synod in the case; yet with all deference to the decision of that tribunal, the pastor thinks the Synod *erred* when it *disapproved* of the method to which he resorted to recover to the use and custody of the proper keepers, the keys and records of that church; and to protect himself from lawless aggression. After this disloyal faction had seceded from the church, there was still a congregation left. Of this congregation, the writer was the pastor, in fact and in law. This congregation had a legal right to the use of that church, and a legal right to the custody of its keys. Said con-

gregation had also a legal right to the records which had been with the *keys* carried off by the seceded faction. There were several methods by which the question of who were the proper keepers of these *keys* and *records*, might have been determined. Here it is assumed that said right was with that part of the congregation and the pastor, who had not seceded. These methods were by means of: (1), spiritual tribunals, (2), civil tribunals, and (3) military tribunals. They resorted to violence, and were stopped.

It was competent for the Session, constituted of the pastor and the elder who had not defected (provided such elder would act), to have arraigned and suspended the two rebellious elders, one of whom held the keys and records; or equally competent for them to have *declared* under the circumstances, such suspended (*As. Minutes*, 1825, p. 255) from the church. It was competent for a higher court than the Session to have done this. But had either of these methods been pursued, and had the spiritual courts adjudged, as we have assumed they must, that said right was with that portion of the church which had not seceded, and ordered such keys and records to have been delivered into the hands of those to whom they rightfully belonged, there is every reason to believe that said order would have been treated by these *insurgents* of the church with the same contumacy, that previous orders of said spiritual courts had been treated. What would have been gained, then, by this process, in the way of securing to the pastor and congregation, their rights and privileges of worshiping in the Mount Pleasant church? To have recovered such keys and records from these insurgents, resort must have been made either to the civil tribunals or to the military tribunals, for an order for said keys and records to have been delivered over to their rightful keepers. But the delay incidental to a protracted litigation before the spiritual tribunals, and the further delay after such case had there been adjudged, incidental to a protracted litigation before the civil tribunals; with such keys and records still in the custody of the insurgents, would have defeated, practically, the very end in view, the *speedy* and *effectual* resistance of these disturbers and disorganizers. To prevent such delay, and to effect the desired results, resort was made to the *Provost Marshal* of this military district,

an officer as much the creature of the law as the judge or sheriff—an officer not only competent to do what was needed to be done, but one whose duty it was to see that such of the citizens of his district as were loyal to the Government should be protected in all their rights and privileges, and among these, by no means the least of assembling in their house of worship. It was his duty to see such protected against the outrages of the disloyal, whether such were out of the church or in it, and if they in defiance of law and order, so persistently manifested their rebellious conduct, it was the duty of that officer of the law, to see that they should be deprived of the means of doing this, and that those citizens who were loyal, whether in the church or out of it, should be protected and encouraged in their attempts of doing good, in the midst of a rebellious community. The Synod, could hardly mean that they who are prevented by violence from statedly worshiping God, should not seek protection in a lawful manner? May not the law suppress illegal violence?

Now it is this which is disapprobated by the Synod in its action, to wit: "The course of Mr. Morrison in invoking the interposition of the military authorities in order to obtain possession of the keys and records of the session." The question as to who were the proper and legal keepers of these keys and records, the pastor here has not attempted to argue; he has assumed that they into whose hands they were placed by the constituted authorities of the land, for the use of that part of the congregation which had not seceded, and who remained loyal to the church and their country, were such proper and legal keepers. This right, claimed by the pastor at the bar of both the Presbytery and of the Synod, is not questioned, nor are the facts upon which claimed, denied by either tribunal. The writer has pointed out briefly the methods which might have been pursued, and he has shown what would probably have been the result of any other course than the one pursued. If the Synod therefore, either as a matter of policy or of expediency, decided as it did when it disapprobated the course of the pastor touching said keys and records, then the Synod erred in not approving instead of disapproving a course which was one dictated by wisdom—with a purpose to prevent a breach of the peace—to conserve the interests of a loyal church and with

a view to defeating the projects of disloyal disturbers in her bosom. (Deliverance of Assembly, 1862, p. 625, sec. III.)

But there is an aspect of this question, in which, to the casual observer, it might appear that the Synod decided right in this behalf. The powers of the church are spiritual. Her government is a government by tribunals. Had the session or a higher court ordered these insurgents to have delivered such keys and records into the hands of their rightful keepers, and said insurgents refused to respect such order, there was no power of *force* in said courts to have them wrested out of their hands. For either of such courts to have exercised *such forcible power as a legal right*, or for either of them to have claimed as an inherent right and exercised it as such, the right to order either the civil or military authorities to have executed by force their orders, this would have been *Erastianism*. And if the case decided upon by the Synod had been one similar to the ones supposed, then would her decision as given, in this particular, also been right. But the case was not similar. If the rights of the pastor's property or person had been invaded—were a man or men threatening vengeance against the pastor's life, because loyal to his country, with a drawn deadly weapon, to place themselves at his door and allow him entrance and egress at their pleasure, no man would judge him guilty of any impropriety in seeking relief or redress from such of the authorities of the land, as was competent to give him the desired aid and protection. Were he upon his circuits, in the discharge of his ministerial duties in this county, whence so many men and so much aid has been given to the enemy, having discovered some conspiracy by which great personal harm should befall any loyal citizen, to request the interposition of the military authorities to prevent the same, no one would judge him as having done wrong. So in this case, if the pastor of the Mt. Pleasant church, in his capacity as a *citizen*, upon his individual responsibility (and that too as a *citizen, whose oath* of allegiance is upon file in the office of the county clerk, as required by the laws of this commonwealth, ere he can perform all of the duties pertaining to his ministerial office,) asked the authorities of his country to protect the loyal members of that church and himself against the outrages of a disloyal faction, upon the case

presented to them; for so doing he wishes his brethren to *approve* rather than *disapprove* of such course.

One other remark, and the writer will conclude. The pastoral relation is a solemn one. Ere a minister assumes the pastoral charge of a people, he ought to see the hand of God in putting him there. It is none the less his imperative duty to see the same hand in taking him away. For eighteen months the pastor of the Mt. Pleasant church continued in said charge beyond what his own personal wishes would have dictated, and now that he believes he has seen the hand of God in the way of opening for his release, he asks his brethren and the people of God in candor to examine his course and to decide whether in his trusts, as a minister of Jesus Christ, as a member of society, and as a citizen, through much suffering and personal peril as this record shows, he has not been in these sad times faithful in his allegiance to his Master and to the "powers ordained by Him."

Art. VI.—*The Men of Danville.* No. 1.

It is our purpose briefly, in two or three successive numbers, to give biographical sketches, partly from historical documents and partly from personal knowledge and recollections, of the eminent men who laid the foundations of, and aided in building up, the Presbyterian churches and the literary institutions of Danville. This record is due to them—will not be without interest to the present generation, and will be valued by those who come after us. Indeed, such a record can not but be of interest to our present readers; many of whom know little of those who have preceded in laying the foundations of institutions which, we trust, are destined, in the good providence of God, to exert a still greater and more useful and blessed influence on the generations to come. We shall not, however, begin at the beginning, but near the close, with the name of the man, who above any other has contributed to this work.

A Biographical Sketch of the Rev. John C. Young, D. D., late President of Centre College. *Appleton's Cyclopedia, Vol. XVI.*

The New American Cyclopedia published by the Appletons, contains a short notice of Dr. Young, but wholly unworthy of that distinguished man. John Clarke Young, D. D., late President of Centre College, Danville, Ky., was born in Greencastle, Pennsylvania, August 12, 1803. He was the youngest of two sons of the Rev. John Young, minister and pastor of the Associate Reformed Church in that place, and of Mary (Clarke) Young, both probably of Scotch-Irish descent. Though his father died while yet quite a young man, he was an eminent preacher, and his biography will appear in a forthcoming volume devoted to the lives of the ministers of the denomination to which he belonged, from the graceful pen of Dr. Sprague; who has made the present age as well as posterity, so greatly his debtor by collecting, at such immense labor, and transmitting to the future, the names, the memories, and the deeds of so many good, and of some very great men, which would otherwise have perished in the ages; and which posterity will the more value, because these memoirs will give an insight into the interior of the past, which we in vain seek for in the lives merely of the intellectual giants who have overtopped all their contemporaries, and the shadow of whose fame alone ordinarily reaches beyond their own day.

Being a posthumous child, Mr. Young was brought up entirely under the direction of his mother, a wise and judicious woman; who lived to see her only surviving son rise to the highest position of usefulness and eminence, and for many years to enjoy the gratification. Dr. Young was another striking example of the fact, that eminent men, in great part, owe their mental and moral characteristics to their mothers, and have their influence largely impressed upon their lives. He was a most affectionate son, and cherished his widowed mother to a venerable age. She, together with his two widowed sisters, elder than he, resided with him many years. She died some eight or ten years before him—her last end being that which Balaam so passionately invoked for himself. Her last words addressed to her son were—

Goodness and mercy all my days
Have surely followed me;
And in God's house forevermore,
My dwelling place shall be.

One of his sisters also died before him—the younger, Mrs. Jane Ramsey, since his death and recently. The writer seizes this opportunity to record the merits of a woman, who, though not coming under the caption of this article, was one of the *women* of Danville—who, in no mean degree, aided in building up through a generation, the churches and institutions of Danville, and richly deserve to be remembered by a grateful posterity. Amiable, intelligent, and active in every good work, she will be long and affectionately remembered by all who knew her.

Dr. Young obtained his classical education under Mr. John Borland, an eminent teacher in the city of New York—was three years a student in Columbia College in that city, and was graduated at Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, in 1823, under the presidency of Dr. John M. Mason. He had already united with the church by profession, and now determined to prepare himself for the ministry under the guidance and advice of Dr. Mason, of whom he had been a favorite from childhood; having declined the most tempting offers to enter the profession of the law under the auspices of his maternal uncle, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Esq., at that time an eminent lawyer and politician, and for many years Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States. He was a tutor in the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, for one or two years, and simultaneously in the spring of 1824, entered the Theological Seminary there, in which he remained four terms. While at Princeton he was the contemporary and intimate friend of Drs. Hodge, Dod, and the two Alexanders, Addison and James, all then young men, and enjoyed the high opinion of Dr. Archibald Alexander as will be seen below; by whose advice he was guided in his course of life as long as that wise and venerable man lived. In the spring of 1827, he was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New York. After preaching in several eastern cities, where he was strongly solicited to settle, he visited Lexington, Ky., and was elected and installed, in 1828, pastor of the McChord Presbyterian Church in that city. In the fall of 1830, the presidency of Centre College became vacant by the resignation of Dr. Blackburn, and Dr. Young, then only enter-

ing his twenty-eighth year, was unanimously elected to that office by the Board of Trustees. Though so young, and having been in the state but a short time, he had already attained to the first rank as an able and eloquent preacher, and a man of varied and accomplished acquirements. His election was largely owing, however, to a letter written by Dr. Archibald Alexander to the Rev. James K. Burch, a member of the Board of Trustees. "If your inquiries," said Dr. Alexander, "relate to the president of a college, there is no man within my acquaintance better qualified for such a situation than John C. Young, who is already among you. It is a mistake to look out for old men if you can get young men who are qualified; the first must be going down, but the latter will be improving for a long time to come. You may depend upon it, that Young is a first rate man, of extensive acquirements, and of a pleasant but decisive temper."

For nearly twenty-seven years, and until his death, he amply and successfully fulfilled the expectations and promises of eminence and usefulness thus excited in his early youth. He entered the Institution when it was in a very low condition, and left it at his death, one of the most prominent schools of learning in the South-west. During his residence in Lexington, he married, Nov. 3d, 1829, Frances A. Breckinridge, the eldest daughter of Cabell Breckinridge, Esq., and grand-daughter, by her mother's side, of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith; by whom he had four daughters, all now married, three of them to clergymen—two of them, we are grieved to say, residents of the rebel states, and now bitter sufferers in the wretchedness brought on by this mad, wicked and most atrocious rebellion. What would have been Dr. Young's course, had he unfortunately lived to see the sad days in which we survive, no one who knew him can for a moment doubt. But he seemed through all his life and in all its events and circumstances, to have been a special favorite of Heaven, and was graciously removed before these days of sadness, trial and temptation came, in which so many whom he loved have fallen—some to rise no more. His wife died in 1837; and in 1839 he was married the second time to Cornelia Crittenden, daughter of that late eminent patriot-statesman, John J. Crittenden; by whom he had six children, three sons and three daughters. The two oldest of his sons

were graduated in Centre College; and the first, having passed through a course of three years in the Danville Theological Seminary, is now preaching the gospel. The second is still a member of the Seminary. All of his children survived him and are still living. Few men have been so happy in their domestic relations—he was eminently kind and affectionate as a husband, and his two wives were models of every female excellence.

In 1834 the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Kentucky, at its annual meeting held in Danville, passed some very decided resolutions favorable to the gradual emancipation of the slaves, and appointed a Committee to present and advocate their views before the public. A very able address from the Committee was published, written by Dr. Young, which attracted great attention at the time, and had an extensive circulation. It has been, more than once since, republished—very recently by the American Tract Society in connection with Wilberforce and Fox's speeches on the slave trade and other anti-slavery documents. These resolutions were gotten through the Synod by a large vote, chiefly obtained through the influence of Dr. Young and the late John Green, Esq. They could not perhaps have passed, had the body been meeting in any other community in Kentucky; and certainly not in the absence of these two gentlemen. This effort would, in all probability, have been eminently successful, had it not been for the violent agitation for the immediate, unconditional and reckless *abolition* of slavery which commenced soon after in the North, and has been continued with increasing virulence to the present day, culminating, in combination with the *fire-eating* pro-slaveryism of the South, both alike

More fell than tigers on the Libyan plain,

in the present condition of our unhappy country. These two demons, both sprung from the bottomless pit, have taken *possession* of portions, originally small, of our people in the two great divisions of our country, and have been permitted by an all-wise and all-gracious but inscrutable Providence to involve the whole land—to which five-sixths of the people in each division were utterly opposed—in a most bloody, most destructive, most suicidal civil war. Utter madness, raving insanity, has ruled the hour, and men born to be brothers have fallen to cutting each

other's throats, and destroying all that each held valuable; and, as a matter of course, the *persons*—over whom and about whom this deadly contest is waging (or, to use the fashionable and awkward solecism, "is being waged"), as every sane man foresaw would be the case,—every man whose mental vision was not put out by the fierce spirit of hate to the North, and the fiercer spirit of zeal for *liberty* based on *slavery*—are likely soon, between the two fierce contestants, to slip their shackles, and stand before the world free-men without the preparation necessary for freedom. The South will have lost all for the *possibly* contingent loss of which she madly rushed into civil war, and the North will have won the *elephant*, which it will hardly know what to do with when obtained. But "shall there be evil in a city and the Lord hath not done it?" "I form the light and create darkness: I make peace and create evil: I the LORD do all these things." And out of "all these things"—all this dreadful "evil," we doubt not He will bring good—good, which in its abundance will make the evil to be forgotten to our children and to our children's children, if not to us. These reflections and this faith, if it will not bring back the *dead*, will at least comfort those who have suffered, and bled, and agonized, if they have souls large enough to comprehend and to realize them.

Dr. Young had subsequently an animated controversy with the Revs. Messrs. Steele and Crothers of Ohio on *abolitionism*, in which he set forth and vindicated the distinction between the anti-slavery views of the emancipationists of Kentucky and those of the abolitionists. The *spirit* that animates the two parties, at least the emancipationists and the extreme abolitionists of the Garrison and Wendell Phillips school, is the spirit of love and the spirit of hate; of good will towards the poor slave, and the desire, earnest and sincere, to do him good as fast and as effectively as it *can* be done, and as he is prepared to receive and enjoy it; it is the spirit of the gospel of Jesus, hearkening to the voice which said, "Do unto others as you would wish that they should do unto you." The other seems to be, as far as charity even can judge, not so much *love* to the slave as *hate* to the slaveholder. It is the gospel according to Jean Jacques Rousseau; it is the benevolence of infidelity; it is the humanity of Jacobinism.

Emancipation is practical, and favors the doing of what is right and *practicable*. Abolition is ideal, and runs the ploughshare of its theories through the actual and established institutions of society with reckless disregard of consequences. Emancipation would free the slave under circumstances favorable to his welfare and happiness, and endeavor to provide the requisites thereunto. Abolition seeks his freedom only, and leaves his welfare and happiness to take care of themselves. It says to him; "Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled." It is faith without works. Emancipation is actuated by the spirit of Jesus and his disciples through all ages—that divine spirit which has patiently encountered the evils in the world, and perseveringly labored for their removal through good report and through evil, in season and out of season. Abolition is the spirit of modern philanthropy, radical, impatient, reckless, fanatical, impracticable. Emancipation is the spirit that inspired Washington, Franklin and Jefferson and the Fathers of the Revolution; and, more recently, the great Kentucky statesman, Henry Clay, who would have attended the emancipation convention, held in 1849 at Frankfort, but for the officious interference of some of his pro-slavery friends. Pro-slavery and abolition fanaticism are twin sisters of common parentage. Both, like ferocious beasts on either side, have aimed at the life of the nation. She bleeds at every pore, but will survive, we doubt not, and crush beneath her feet both monstrous births. *Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*

> Monsters, misshapen, horrible, immense,
> Bereft of Patriotism, Honor, Sense.

Among the persons who united with Dr. Young in promoting emancipation in Kentucky was Mr. James G. Birney. But Mr. Birney soon *progressed* into extreme abolitionism, and became subsequently the abolition candidate for the Presidency. He was a native of Danville, was a man of education and high intelligence, and a Christian gentleman, amiable, upright and honest, but wholly unreliable in his judgment where his feelings were concerned. He *progressed*, in a short period, from a pro-slavery colonizationist to an extreme abolitionist.

Dr. Young continued to be till his death, the temperate advocate of gradual emancipation. He twice emancipated the slaves owned by his wives with their consent, and aided others

in obtaining their freedom by purchase, *standing* for them, as the negroes call it, in several cases, sometimes at very great and long continued trouble to himself, if not pecuniary detriment. In 1849, when the question of calling a convention for revising the Constitution of the state was discussed before the people, the emancipation question entered largely into the discussion. Dr. Young engaged boldly and ardently in public debate with two able men, the Hon. John Kincaid, of Danville, and President Shannon, of Bacon College, Harrodsburg, in support of inserting a clause in the new Constitution favorable to emancipation. He preached to his congregation, and published by request, in 1846, a sermon on the "Duties of Masters to Servants," which has been since, more than once, republished, and will no doubt continue to be republished as long as this unfortunate relation shall exist in this country. In 1831 or 32 he had delivered an able address before the Kentucky Colonization Society, which was published by the society. He promoted the instruction, moral, religious and *literary* of the slaves in the congregation to which he preached in Danville, which was mostly slaveholding; and through a long period he promoted their welfare in every possible way, in a wise, practical and temperate manner. A colored Sabbath school was maintained in the church for many years, and there is perhaps no part of the slave states where the slave population is so far advanced in intelligence and moral and general improvement, and enjoys so many privileges, and is treated with so much humanity, as in Danville and its vicinity, owing largely to his efforts and influence. This is abolition *a la* the gospel, according to Jesus and his disciples. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you *free*." "If the Son shall make you *free*, ye shall be *free* indeed." Do unto others as ye would wish they should do unto you." "Masters give unto your servants that which is *just* and *equal*; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." "Art thou called being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made *free*, use it *rather*." It seems even to have been the gospel in the days of Abraham. "For I know him [Abraham], that he will command his children and his *household* [servants] after him, and they will keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment." "And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and *all that were born in his house and all that were bought*

with his money [his servants], every male among the men of Abraham's house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin, in the self-same day, as God had said unto him." Abraham initiated his slaves into the Church of God by express divine command, and he trained them in the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment, and they and their descendants finally went down into Egypt with his grandson, and became part and parcel of the Israelitish nation. It was in this way that, in the course of a few centuries, the gospel largely extinguished slavery in the Roman Empire—one-half of whose population, about sixty millions, according to Gibbon, were slaves. In this way also the gospel, by its silent, steady, efficient influence on the hearts of master and slave, *abolished* slavery in the western nations of modern Europe. In *its presence* master and servant stand alike—they will be judged by one law, and have a common Master. Woe to the servant that "obeys" not "his master," and still greater woe to the master that withholds from his servant that which is "just and equal," especially the knowledge of the Bible of God—the words of eternal life to which he is equally and justly entitled. "Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them that have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. *Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in the day of slaughter.*" If this fearful denunciation lies against those who deprive the laborer of his just wages, how much more fearfully does it apply to those who refuse to their servants an equal participation in the knowledge of God's blessed Word; and, not only do not teach it to them themselves, but pass laws with heavy penalties against those who are willing to undertake the neglected duty, and rise even in *mobs* to prevent it. To the American people these millions of the children of Ham have been committed, not that they might live in "pleasure and wantonness" from their unpaid labor; not that "cotton might be king," but that He might reign to whom it has been promised and "decreed," that the *heathen* shall be given to Him for his inheritance and the *uttermost parts* of the earth for his possession. Now if we will execute the Lord's will—well; and if not, it *will* be executed whether we will or not. The decree "has gone forth"—it has been

recorded in the chancery of heaven,—let us beware how we "kick against the pricks:"—"Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." This digression does but express the sentiments and feelings which so long animated the life and efforts of Dr. Young.

The Presbyterian church in Danville had become vacant in 1834, and Dr. Young was invited by the congregation to supply their pulpit. He entered upon this double duty as an experiment, and continued its performance with unparalleled ability, acceptance and success till near his death, for over twenty years—in the first church until 1852, and then in the second church, a branch of the congregation, till 1857. The original congregation had grown under his ministry until its service had become too heavy a burden. A new church edifice had been erected in 1828, during the pastorate of Dr. David Nelson. It was so much larger than the wants of the congregation then required that some one, in astonishment, inquired of that eccentric and distinguished man for what purpose he was erecting so large a building. His reply was characteristic—for the millennium. Yet during the ministry of Dr. Young the house could not more than hold the ordinary assemblies on the Sabbath, and, on extraordinary occasions, it was crowded, galleries included, to its utmost capacity. During his connection with the first church, there united with it seven hundred and sixty-nine members, and a considerable number also united with the second church subsequently. Many of them were young men, students of college. A large number of the most useful and eminent ministers of the gospel now in Kentucky, and all the neighboring states, and some in more distant regions, are his pupils, as well as many eminent men in civil, political and social life. No man's influence in Kentucky and the western states has been more extensively useful. This long ministerial service was performed while he was, at the same time, executing, with eminent success, the varied and laborious duties of president of Centre College.

As a teacher, Dr. Young's ability was above that of even able men. Many men of fine acquirements fail to impart their knowledge with success; his attainments in the departments of moral and intellectual philosophy, were profound; and his knowledge was imparted with great clearness and facility.

There was a charm in his manner that failed not to interest the dullest youth. His intellect was subtle, and moral and intellectual questions were discussed by him *con amore*. Had his department been that of the ancient languages, his success and usefulness would perhaps have been still greater in imparting to our youth what is so much wanted in the west, a true taste for the Greek and Roman classics. Occasionally, as the exigencies of the institution required, he heard the recitations of the higher classes in the classics. A few weeks of instruction from him was often considered, by the young men, of higher value than months under ordinary good teaching. His attainments extended to every branch of interesting knowledge, and were large, accurate and elegant. As a disciplinarian he was kind and indulgent. He was obeyed rather from love than fear—his intercourse with his pupils was familiar and parental—he was always accessible, always ready to give advice and aid, and especially to indigent young men, who never failed to receive his fullest attention. No indigent and pious young man ever left the college for want of means to complete his course. Though indulgent, he was firm—though kind, he could make a perverse student feel to the quick, the lash of his good-humored but effective satire.

In 1839 the degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by the College of New Jersey, without his solicitation, or that of any of his friends, we think we may venture to say. The title was hardly ever applied to him at home, and while it was not rejected, was, in a measure, at least ignored. Some on whom it has been conferred, would hardly, we opine, consider it a compliment if they knew *how* it was conferred. By Centre College, under his direction, this and other literary titles were bestowed sparingly, and even then not always with his approbation. It would be well if the practice were wholly discontinued. Really able men are not elevated by them, while a factitious importance is thereby sometimes given very undeservedly.

As an extemporaneous preacher, always instructive, interesting, and eloquent, he had few equals any where. After a ministry of more than twenty years in the same congregations, his people greatly preferred to hear him to any occasional minister who filled the pulpit, however eminent. The church being in a central position of influence was frequently visited by

distinguished men from different parts of the United States. Persons who may have heard him preach occasionally from home, would not perhaps concede the eminence here ascribed to him, and which was universally so ascribed by his steady hearers. He no doubt often disappointed their expectations—he was in no sense a *star* preacher—there was nothing sensational about him, no glare of brilliancy, no special effort at the sublime or the beautiful or the profound. He had no memorized sermons. When he went from home, it was to obtain rest, and not to produce a sensation or to acquire reputation. As to preparation or effort, it was less perhaps than usual in his own pulpit; he was nearly, therefore, sure to disappoint them who, from his reputation, looked for what is usually esteemed eloquence, i. e., sensational brilliancy.

A peculiar interest was imparted to his discourses by apt illustrations, drawn from history and other sources. He possessed a special power in presenting and applying a narrative for illustration. He was eminently a practical preacher—aiming to make his hearers wiser and better. Doctrinal instruction he interwove into his sermons, but seldom made it the sole topic of one. While as a preacher he was not distinguished by peculiar profoundness, nor learning, nor elegance of phrase or delivery, and, in all these individual respects, was excelled by some men; yet no man of his age or country and hardly of any other, excelled him in all the united excellencies of an able, instructive and interesting preacher—one who could *wear*—who was listened to at the end of the year with as much interest as at the beginning, and so for a decade of years. He was learned without being pedantic—instructive without dullness—logical without subtlety—interesting without loss of dignity—ardent without enthusiasm—occasionally lofty without becoming tumid, and eloquent without meretricious ornament. His discourse was a continued and beautiful stream, always clear and equable, sometimes expanding into grandeur, occasionally swelling into sublimity, but never overflowing its banks nor losing its limpid and uniform beauty. He always preached extemporaneously from short notes.

His Wednesday evening lectures, commenting on successive paragraphs or chapters of several books of the Scriptures, were surpassingly luminous and instructive. Every difficulty van-

ished, every obscurity was removed. The meaning was placed in so simple and perspicuous a light that the dullest and most ignorant could not fail to understand. They were extemporaneous expositions, but if *reported* would have constituted a most valuable popular commentary on the sacred text. As a theologian he was both orthodox and liberal. He held firmly to all the doctrines of the Church to which he belonged, but presented them in a form and language at once scriptural, true, and acceptable even to the captious.

Dr. Young was eminently a wise and practical man. He attempted nothing impracticable, and desisted when he saw more evil than good was likely to be accomplished. All his efforts were directed by a cautious, wise, and temperate policy. Previously to the division of the Presbyterian Church in 1838, his ecclesiastical sympathies had been strongly with the New School party. He disapproved more particularly of the manner in which the four Synods were exscinded from the Church. After the division, however, living in the midst of an Old School Synod, he calmly and wisely acquiesced in, while he did not approve, the action of the General Assembly, and coöperated thenceforward with the Old School party cheerfully and heartily. There was nothing in his own views, ecclesiastical or theological, that prevented his doing so; and he was practically too wise a man to destroy his usefulness or disturb his peace of mind by cutting himself loose from the Church to join the exscinded or seceding party, merely because the General Assembly had committed, in his opinion, an unconstitutional, or, at least, extra-constitutional act. The more especially was he disposed to this course, when at the same time, he was strongly opposed to many of the measures and doctrines of the New School party. He did not regret that the Church was rid of the four exscinded Synods, but disapproved of the manner in which the act of excision was accomplished. By nature and policy he was opposed to all violent action. Some of those who voluntarily separated from the Church on account of the supposed unconstitutional act of the Assembly, and severely censured him for not joining them in their course, have lived to renew the ecclesiastical connections from which they withdrew, and for remaining in which they so strongly blamed him.

Dr. Young was personally a large donor to all the benevolent

operations of the Church, and to every other cause of charity. His example and his teachings raised the congregation to which he ministered, to be among the most liberal contributors to every benevolent agency in the state. His single congregation gave more to these causes than all the rest of the large and wealthy Presbytery of Transylvania, the first organized this side the mountains. While it was not in his power to do much ordinary pastoral work, to this part of it he paid special attention, and always saw that every member of the congregation who was absent when a subscription to any of the regular agencies of the Church was made, was personally called upon, and that the subscriptions were afterward collected and duly forwarded. The powerful influence of his example and attention to this important matter is sadly seen in the falling off of the congregational contributions, in both of the Danville churches, since his death.

The large amounts raised in the Danville congregations for the endowments of Centre College and the Danville Theological Seminary, were the direct consequence of his example and training. Without these they never would have been obtained.

In 1853 he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly and presided over that venerable body with distinguished success. His ready and perspicuous elocution was noticeable in the addresses he made to the representatives of corresponding and foreign Churches.

In private life he was eminently social; he delighted in social visitation among his flock, and was always welcome, and alike imparted and received enjoyment. In this connection it would be improper not to mention a social and literary club consisting of sixteen gentlemen, who meet alternately at the houses of the members semi-monthly, and spend three or four hours of the evening in festive and social entertainment and intellectual discussions. This club, which has quite a local celebrity, furnished him, for fifteen or sixteen years, a large amount of the highest and purest enjoyment. It was an element precisely suited to his social and intellectual character, amid

The feast of reason and the flow of soul.

Every subject, of every possible character, was here discussed by men of ability. Dr. Young never failed to speak nor to throw interest and light around every subject he handled. His

occasional absence was always felt, and his death was an irreparable breach in an association, which has been to its members a source alike of intellectual improvement and social pleasure. In his character, manners, and tastes, he was singularly simple. He eschewed all ceremony and parade—was free, accessible, easy, and yet refined and dignified. His health required recreation and exercise, and these he sought not unfrequently in the ball alley and even the marble yard with the boys, and seemed for the time to be utterly absorbed in the play, so much that a stranger would hardly have recognized, in the eager contestant in the game, the philosopher and divine. For the same object he took weekly bird hunts, and was a certain shot on the wing; and like Byron, who valued himself more for his success in swimming the Hellespont than for his poetry, he was at least apparently more proud of his skill as a sportsman than of his eloquence as a preacher. His pointers were privileged characters in his house, and stretched themselves before the fire with a full sense of their importance.

As remarked by Dr. R. J. Breckinridge in his funeral discourse, his life was eminently favored of God—his first charge was in a church in which he had been preceded by more than one eminent man; he was removed to an Institution the foundation of which had been laid by others, the more easy superstructure of which he raised, in which he had willing and able coadjutors; he spent the greater part of life among a people intelligent and refined, who yet retained the simplicity and generosity of character of the early settlers of Kentucky, by whom he was universally beloved and respected; he was successful in all his labors; his domestic relations were singularly happy; his own temperament inclined him to enjoy all that was pleasant in life, and to cast off and pass by, with as little mental trouble as possible, all that was unpleasant: he was a practical optimist. No overwhelming calamity befell him in any of his relations, public or private; his pecuniary means were sufficient, and his health, though not stout, was good up to the last two years of his life. Few men have lived so usefully and happily, or died so regretted. His last illness, under which he languished nearly two years, was a disease of the stomach. The immediate cause of his death, which occurred June 23, 1857, was a hemorrhage of blood from the stomach. He died, as he lived, cheer-

fully and piously; some of his last words were addressed to his wife—"I shall see my father in heaven; shall I know him?" [He was a posthumous child.] "He was a better man than I, yet he had, on his death-bed, some doubts for a time." "But you have none?" was her inquiring reply. "No," said he, "I have not a cloud. My pathway has always been clear and bright, and the Lord has done more for me than I could have dared to ask of Him." A handsome monument, a shaft of marble, fifteen feet in height, with suitable inscriptions, has been erected to his memory in the beautiful cemetery of Danville by the citizens, professors, alumni, and students of Centre College. The following is the inscription on one of the panels from the graceful pen of the Rev. Dr. Humphrey:

To the Servant of God full of the Holy Ghost,
To the Associate and Teacher,
To the Pastor and Friend,
Able, faithful and true,
This Monument
Is erected
By his Colleagues and Pupils,
And by his Brethren and Neighbors,
Who trusted and loved him.

His publications were few, the chief have been referred to; he published a few sermons besides, and delivered an address at the inauguration of the Professors of the Danville Theological Seminary. A sermon on Prayer has been published since his death, by the American Tract Society. Composition was to him exceedingly painful. It may be admitted that oratory was his forte—that his intellectual powers were in the fullest exercise while on his legs, and that like Fox and Clay and many other able men, he was abler as a speaker than a writer.

Since his death a fund of fifty thousand dollars has been raised to build a new college edifice to be called by his name—an enterprise which he had set on foot previously to his death and bequeathed to his friends to accomplish. The Board of Trustees have procured and determined on an eligible plan, and its erection only awaits quiet in the country.

Art. VII.—*New Testament Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.*

To meet current error, and to aid the Church in its present conflict with it in a particular form, we propose to make a plain, popular exhibition of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, such as any earnest student of the word of God might at least verify by an appeal to the Scriptures. Our purpose is not to discredit sacred learning, or the different and more common methods of teaching such truths, but by this to corroborate what is elsewhere and otherwise taught, and to encourage the study of the sacred Scriptures as a whole; and as far as we can to illustrate what strength there is in combining in one continued presentation, the many scattered utterances found in the word of God, on any one subject.

As the settlement of the authenticity, genuineness, inspiration and integrity of the sacred canon, stays the mind of the Christian immovably firm against artful attacks, cavils and quibbles of infidels on minor points; so we think a full and connected declaration of any fundamental doctrine of the sacred Scriptures, in scriptural words, is immeasurably comforting to the child of God, and destructive of error. For the sake of argument with those who prefer it, and in order to be brief, we shall confine ourselves for the present to the New Testament, and proceeding step by step will exhaust our collection of texts, in arranging under separate headings such quotations as we intend to use. And while on the one hand we do not depreciate the value of such exercises as go to explain the use of the neuter or masculine article in connection with the word *spirit* in Greek, or the absence of both, or such as decide the authority of 1 John, v:7 and 8; and while we tell the biblical scholar that we intend to make our quotations from the common English version, the whole of which has been twice read and the notes of each reading carefully collated for this purpose—believing in the general substantial correctness of the version and the force of combined expression; on the other hand we say to the English reader that every passage has been diligently compared with the original, and also written out in Greek. And therefore, as we would not confuse him with a simple show of learning, so also we intend to employ all we have,

and will not knowingly make the version teach him what we do not believe the original means.

The name of the third person of the Trinity is used over two hundred and twenty times in the New Testament. He is called the Spirit, the Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Jesus, the Spirit of the Lord, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the Spirit of God, the Spirit of truth, the Spirit of grace, the Spirit of life, the Spirit of promise, the Spirit of adoption and the eternal Spirit. More than one hundred times he is called the Holy Spirit; the term Holy Ghost being used in the New Testament in all instances in our version, save four, though in the Greek the words are the same. The inferences from these terms are easily drawn, and we proceed to our first head:

1. The Holy Spirit is God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory with the Father and the Son. When we say we prove such a doctrine as this, we mean merely that we cite the passages of Scripture in which it is asserted or assumed, or from which by fair inference it may be drawn. Much that is revealed in Scripture can not be said to be proved in any other sense, rests only upon the authority of God's naked word, and is received by faith alone.

On one occasion Christ healed one possessed with a devil, blind and dumb. The Pharisees charged that he did it by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils. Part of Christ's reply is: "But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God then the kingdom of God is come unto you." And part of the same answer contains the fearful declaration, that whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.* In another place a similar account is given, where the same charge is made, and the equivalent expression used by our Saviour is: "But if I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you."† If this work done by the Spirit of God, may be truly said to be done by the finger of God, and to charge that it was done by the prince of devils is the highest form of blasphemy, and an unpardonable sin, surely the Spirit is God.

* Matt. xii: 22-32. † Luke, xi: 14-20.

Again: "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God."*

Who is this Spirit that can so search the deep things of God, and in his infinite proportion be so familiar with the infinite mind of God, as your Spirit is acquainted with your own thinking and affairs, but God the Holy Ghost?

Paul says of the people of God, "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are."† And in another place, "What! know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?"‡ Again, "In whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God through the Spirit. So that to say your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, is equal to saying ye are the temple of God. The Church of God is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets; they are God's dwelling; they are the habitation of God. He inhabits them; but they are the habitation of God through the Spirit. That is, they are the habitation of the Spirit, and the Spirit being God, they are the habitation of God.

Peter said to Ananias, "Why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? While it remained was it not thine own, and after it was sold was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thy heart? Thou hast not lied unto men but unto God." So to lie unto the Holy Ghost was to lie unto God, for he is a divine person, and is so declared.§ So also the question he asks Sapphira, implies as much, "How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out."‖ And the sudden destruction which came upon them both, illustrates the authority, dignity, and power of the being to whom they lied.

* 1 Cor. ii: 9-11. † 1 Cor. iii: 16-17. ‡ 1 Cor. vi:19. § Acts, v: 3, 4. ‖ Acts, v:9.

In the following three parallels, the Spirit occupies his place of equality with the Father and the Son.

"Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood, *even* Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son. He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself: he that believeth not God, hath made him a liar; because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son. And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son."*

The three that bear "record" (or "witness," the Greek word is the same) in heaven, are here declared to be one. They are the Father; the Word, the same Word that was with God and was God, and was made flesh, the only begotten Son of God; and the Holy Ghost, or Holy Spirit. Then the three witnesses in earth are the Spirit, the same as above, the water, which is the ordinance of baptism; and the blood, which is the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But these are not said to be one, but to agree in one. If the Scriptures then are so careful as not to put the water and the blood on an equality with the Spirit, while witnessing to the same thing: so also they would have distinguished between the Spirit and the Father, and the Son, if it was not designed to teach precisely what is claimed and said; and these three are one. The real witness-bearer that gives efficacy to the testimony of the other two in earth, the water and the blood, is the Spirit. It is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. He that rejecteth the witness of the Spirit, is he that believeth not God, and hath made him a liar; because he believeth not the "record;" that is, "witness," testimony that God gave of his Son.

So again in the commission, Christ sends forth his disciples

*1 John, v: 5, 11.

with this charge, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."* Consequently we are baptised in the name of the Holy Ghost as well as in the name of the Father, and the Son: and the meaning is the same. This is our God who saves us, and whom only we agree to obey and love—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The benediction of Paul to the Corinthians can not be without the same significance, when he says "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen."† All else that is written, taken as a whole, seems to go to establish this proposition, but we proceed to divide and arrange according to our plan.

2. The Holy Spirit is the Author of the Scriptures.—All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.‡ And we learn that this inspiration of God, is the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. For Peter says "knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."§ Paul, also, quoting the Old Testament says, "Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers."‖ So Peter said, "Men and brethren, this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas."¶ The testimony of Christ is the same, when he applied the Old Testament Scriptures to himself and said, "For David himself said by the Holy Ghost."** So again Peter says, "Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace *that should come* unto you: searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow."†† So John, in Revelation, gives great weight to that

* Matt. xxviii: 19. †2 Cor. xiii: 13. ‡2 Tim. iii: 16. §2 Peter, i: 20, 21. ‖Acts, xxviii: 25. ¶Acts, i: 16. **Mark, xii: 36. ††1 Peter, i: 10, 11.

part of Scripture, by repeating seven times the call to attentive listening in these words, "He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."*

So also the language quoted by Paul (Acts, xxviii: 25, 27), is attributed to the Holy Ghost, though in the original, Isaiah, vi: 8, 10, it is said to be spoken by Jehovah. And so in Heb. x: 15, 17, what Paul said the Holy Ghost said, Jeremiah, xxxi: 33, 34, says Jehovah said.

3. THE HOLY SPIRIT'S RELATIONS TO JESUS CHRIST UPON EARTH.—God is said to be the former of his body.

Wherefore, when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me:
In burnt-offerings and *sacrifices* for sin thou hast had no pleasure.
Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God. †

But Matthew and Luke both tell us that he was born of the Virgin Mary, and his body came not in the way of ordinary generation, but was formed by the power of the Holy Spirit.

And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.‡

And this is so far from derogating from the proper divinity and eternal sonship of Christ, that even his human nature was to be called the Son of God, because formed by the power of the Holy Ghost, who is very God.

At the entrance of Christ upon his public ministry and induction into office as the great high priest, being inaugurated with baptism administered by John, the Holy Spirit manifested his presence and participation, as well as the Father and the Son. Matthew says:

Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him.
But John forbade him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee and comest thou to me?

* Rev. i: 10; ii: 7, 11, 17, 29; iii: 6, 13, 22; See also Heb. ix: 8. † Heb. x: 5,
‡ Luke i: 35; Matt. i: 18–20.

And Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer *it to be so* now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him.

And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him:

And lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased.*

Mark says:

And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in Jordan.

And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens opened, and the Spirit like a dove descending upon him.

And there came a voice from heaven, *saying*, Thou art my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. †

Luke says:

Now when all the people were baptized, it came to pass, that Jesus also being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened,

And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.

And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age. ‡

John says:

The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!

This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man which is preferred before me; for he was before me.

And I knew him not: but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water.

And John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him.

And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.

And I saw and bare record, that this is the Son of God. §

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* Matt. iii: 13–17.
† Mark, i: 9–11.
‡ Luke, iii: 21–23.
§ John, i: 29–34.

We learn from these accounts, not merely that the Spirit manifested his presence on this great occasion, but that *the Spirit, the Spirit of God, and the Holy Ghost*, are different, yet synonymous designations of one and the same divine person, dictated by himself.

Immediately after the baptism, came the temptation, and John says:

Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness,

Being forty days tempted of the devil.*

Mark says:

And immediately the spirit driveth him into the wilderness.

And he was there in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan; and was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him,†

And Peter says, "God annointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power."‡

So again after the temptation, Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee.§

Paul, speaking of Christ's great sacrifice, tells not only the nature and effect of it, but shows also that the Spirit bore some important relation to him in his crucifixion.

But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building;

Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption *for us*.

For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh:

How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?||

Peter says, "whom they slew and hanged on a tree; him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly."¶

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* John, iv: 1, 2. † Mark, i: 12, 13; Luke, iv: 1; Matt. iv: 1.
‡ Acts, x: 38; Luke, iv: 18–21; John, iii: 34.
§ Luke, iv: 14. || Heb. ix: 11–14. ¶ Acts, x: 39, 40.

And in another place he says:

For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit. *

Paul says: "We have testified of God that he raised up Christ. † Again he says, "For though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God." ‡

After the resurrection the Spirit still is with him, for Luke says:

The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach.

Until the day in which he was taken up, after that he through the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto the apostles whom he had chosen. §

And finally, Paul says,

Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory. ||

4. The Holy Spirit's Relations to the Apostles and Men who looked for or were engaged in the Opening of the New Dispensation; Preaching the Gospel; Writing the New Testament, etc.—Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, "was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied." ¶

Of another it is said,

And behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name *was* Simeon; and the same man *was* just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Ghost was upon him.

And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ.

And he came by the Spirit into the temple. **

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* 1 Pet. iii: 18; i: 3, 21. † 1 Cor. xv: 15.
‡ 2 Cor. xiii: 4. Heb. xiii: 20. Eph. i: 19, 20. § Acts i: 1, 2.
|| 1 Tim. iii: 16. ¶ Luke, i: 67. ** Luke, ii: 25.

As it was predicted of Christ, so was it fulfilled. "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."*

Christ says to his disciples:

And when they bring you unto the synagogues, and *unto* magistrates, and powers, take ye no thought how or what thing ye shall answer, or what ye shall say:

For the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say.†

For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.‡

But when they shall lead *you*, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.§

Our Saviour continues his promises, and says further to his disciples:

These things have I spoken unto you, being *yet* present with you.

But the Comforter, *which is* the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.‖

But when the Comforter is come whom I will send unto you from the Father, *even* the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.¶

Nevertheless, I tell you the truth: It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.

And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment:

Of sin, because they believe not on me;

Of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more;

Of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged.

I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.

Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, *that* shall he speak: and he will shew you things to come.

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* Matt. iii: 11. Mark i: 18. Luke, iii: 16. Acts, i: 5; Acts, xi: 16.
† Luke, xii: 11–12. ‡ Matt. x: 20. § Mark, xiii: 11.
‖ John, xiv: 25, 26. ¶ John, xv: 26.

He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew *it* unto you.

All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall shew *it* unto you.*

Consequent upon these promises, was the injunction of our Lord, "tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high."†

He commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, and said "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you."‡

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place.

And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.

And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them.

And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven.

Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language.

And they were all amazed, and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak, Galileans?

And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? §

Paul also was qualified in like manner for his office. Ananias said to him:

Brother Saul, the Lord (*even* Jesus that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest) hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight and be filled with the Holy Ghost.‖

This expression is repeated; Peter was said to have been filled with the Holy Ghost. Stephen being full of the Holy Ghost. Barnabas full of the Holy

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* John, xvi: 7–15. † Luke, xxiv: 49. ‡ Acts, i: 3–8; ii: 16–18.
§ Acts, ii: 1–8; ii: 33. ‖ Acts, xix: 17.

Ghost,* did thus and so, as related. Agabus signified by the Spirit that there should be great drought throughout all the world, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar.† A certain prophet, named Agabus, made a prediction concerning Paul which he began by saying, "Thus saith the Holy Ghost."‡

The Spirit speaketh expressly, says Paul, in reference to apostacy.§

We find the apostles confirming the words of Christ, by showing that his promises concerning the influences of the Spirit were all fulfilled. Paul says:

Now we have received, not the spirit of the world but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God.

Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.‖

But the Holy Spirit not only dictated the words which they spake, and called to their remembrance the words of Christ; but he also gave power and efficacy to the words spoken by the apostles:

Paul says his preaching was "in demonstration of the Spirit, and of Power."¶

For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost.**

While Peter preached, the Holy Ghost fell on them that heard him, and hence they believed.††

And the word of God is declared to be the sword of the Spirit.‡‡

The Holy Spirit also controlled the movements of the apostles in their ministrations of the gospel. He directed to some places and forbade their going to others. In regard to the Gentiles, Paul says;

For this cause, I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles,

If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given me to you-ward:

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* Acts, iv: 8; vii: 55; xi: 24; Luke, i: 15; i: 41; Acts, iv: 31, xiii: 9. †Acts, xi: 28. ‡ Acts, xxi: 11. § 1 Tim. iv: 1. ‖ 1 Cor. ii: 12, 13. ¶ 1 Cor. ii: 4. ** 1 Thes. i: 5. †† Acts, x: 44; vi: 11, 15. ‡‡ Eph. vi: 17.

How that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery, as I wrote afore in few words;

Whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ,

Which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit;

That the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel.*

In the case of Philip:

Then the Spirit said unto Philip, Go near and join thyself to this chariot.†

And then again:

The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, that the eunuch saw him no more: and he went on his way rejoicing.

But Philip was found at Azotus: and passing through, he preached in all the cities, till he came to Cesarea.‡

In the case of Paul and Silas:

Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia;

After they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not.§

Paul and his company landed at Tyre, says the inspired writer,

And finding disciples, we tarried there seven days: who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem.‖

5. The Holy Spirit's Relations to the Church.—There is the visible and the invisible church. There are outward signs and inward grace. There is an outward profession of Christ, and an inward faith in Christ. There is a baptism with water, and a baptism of the Spirit by which we are made members of the body of Christ, and which can not be effected by water baptism.

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* Eph. iii: 1, 6. Acts, x: 19. Acts, xi: 12. † Acts, viii: 29. ‡ Acts, viii: 39, 40. § Acts, xvi: 6, 7. Acts, xiii: 4. ‖ Acts, xxi: 4.

For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also *is* Christ.

For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether *we be* Jews or Gentiles, whether *we be* bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.*

The Spirit selected ministers for the Church.

Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul.

As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them.

And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid *their* hands on them, they sent *them* away.

So they being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia; and from thence they sailed to Cyprus.†

The Holy Spirit selected the ruling elders.

And from Miletus he [Paul] sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church.‡

And he charges them to

Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.§

The Holy Spirit qualified the deacons too, for the twelve decided that they must be men full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom; and only such did the church select.‖

So also the Holy Spirit bestows all qualifying gifts, for membership or office, and distributes them according to his own will.

For Paul says:

Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.

And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord.

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* 1 Cor. xii: 12, 13. Eph. iv: 3, 4. † Acts, xiii: 1, 4. ‡ Acts, xx: 17. § Acts. xx: 28. ‖ Acts, vi: 1, 6.

And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.

But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.

For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge by the same Spirit;

To another, faith by the same Spirit; to another, the gifts of healing by the same Spirit;

To another, the working of miracles; to another, prophecy; to another, discerning of spirits; to another *divers* kinds of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues:

But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.*

And again:

Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.

And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.†

Again: An Assembly at Jerusalem, composed of the Apostles and Elders with the whole church, or, as they represent the same, as the Apostles, and Elders, and brethren; decided a grave question, and sent down their decision to the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia. They say "it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," etc., showing the relation of the Holy Spirit to the matter.‡

6.—The Holy Spirit's Relations to the Individual Christian. Paul tells the Thessalonians,

God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth.§

Peter says:

Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.‖

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* 1 Cor. xii: 4–11. † 1 Cor. xii: 27, 28. ‡ Acts, xv: 28.
§ 2 Thes. ii: 13. ‖ 1 Peter, i: 2.

The Spirit reproves the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment.*

The Spirit and the bride say come.†

He is not only elected, reproved, and invited; but though dead he is brought to life, by the Spirit of life.‡

God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us,
Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; (by grace ye are saved.)§

But

It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, *they* are spirit, and *they* are life.‖

Changing the expression, we are are said to become the children of God by being born of God. And John says:

Christ came unto his own, and his own received him not.
But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, *even* to them that believe on his name:
Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.¶

But John says also, such are born of the Spirit.**

Paul enumerates the sins of some, and then says to the Corinthians:

And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.††
Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost;
Which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour;
That being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.‡‡

The Spirit not only justifies, sanctifies, and regenerates him; but he gives him liberty from the bondage of sin, and conforms him to the image of Christ; as Paul says:

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* John xvi: 8. † Rev. xxii: 17. ‡ Rom. viii: 2. § Eph. ii: 4.
‖ John vi: 63. ¶ John i: 11–13. ** John iii: 5, 6, 8; Gal. iv: 29. John, ii: 29. †† 1 Cor. vi: 11. ‡‡ Titus, iii: 5–7.

Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord *is*, there *is* liberty.

But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, *even* as by the Spirit of the Lord.*

In his approaches to God the Father, the Christian is aided by the Spirit.

For through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.†

And the direction is to pray in the Holy Ghost.‡

And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.§

For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.

For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. ¶

And the Spirit gives both aid and instruction that he may pray aright.

Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.

And he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what *is* the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints, according to *the will of* God.**

And the Spirit is promised to him, and he is encouraged to ask for him, that he may be aided by him.††

And God hath given the Holy Ghost to them that obey him.‡‡

So also whatever good there is in him, is produced by the Spirit, and is therefore called the fruit of the Spirit.

But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith,

Meekness, temperance: against such there is no law.

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* 2 Cor. iii: 17, 18. † Eph. ii: 18. ‡ Jude, 20; Eph. vi: 18.
§ Gal. iv: 6. ¶ Rom. viii: 14, 15. ** Rom. viii: 26, 27. †† Luke, xi: 13.
‡‡ Acts, v: 32.

And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts.*

For the fruit of the Spirit *is* in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth.†

For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.‡

Such are "manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart."§

He is led by the Spirit.‖ He walks in the Spirit and after the Spirit.¶ He overcomes in the conflict with sin, and mortifies the deeds of the body through the Spirit.**

His soul is purified, and he is enabled to obey the truth, and love the brethren, through the Spirit.††

He is strengthened with might by the Spirit, in the inner man.‡‡

He sows to the Spirit, and minds the things of the Spirit, and of the Spirit reaps life everlasting.§§

God gives him the earnest of the Spirit.‖‖ The love of God is shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost which is given unto him.¶¶

Through the Spirit, he waits for the hope of righteousness by faith.***

Also the Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit, that we are the children of God.†††

He is sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise,

Which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory.‡‡‡

And he has this assurance given him, that

If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.§§§

So John says,

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* Gal. v: 22–24. † Eph. v: 9. ‡ Eph. ii: 10. § 2 Cor. iii: 3. ‖ Rom. viii: 14. Gal. v: 18. ¶ Rom. viii: 1, 4. ** Gal. v: 17. Rom. viii: 13. †† 1 Peter, i: 22. ‡‡ Eph. iii: 16. Rom. xv: 13. §§ Gal vi: 8. Rom. viii: 5. ‖‖ 2 Cor. i: 22; v: 5. ¶¶ Rom. v: 5. *** Gal. v: 5. ††† Rom. viii: 16. ‡‡‡ Eph. i: 13, 14; iv: 30 §§§ Rom. viii: 11.

And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed *are* the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.*

With such an array of Scripture testimony, it would seem impossible for any one who believes and reads the Scriptures, to doubt concerning the proper divinity, and personality, and office work of the Holy Spirit.

As Paul found some at Ephesus who had been baptized with John's baptism, who said "we have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost, and whom Paul instructed, and who afterwards received His influences: so we trust there are others who though now ignorant, may yet come to the knowledge of him.†

But Stephen said to others,

Ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers *did*, so *do* ye.‡

The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know *them*, because they are spiritually discerned.§

And while living in the dispensation, or ministration of the Spirit more glorious than that of Moses,‖ yet men need to be reminded not to quench, or grieve, or do despite to the Spirit of Grace, lest they perish.¶

And they who professing to be ministers of Christ, take occasion to ridicule this doctrine so clearly and fully taught in the Scriptures; and they also who receive such teachings from them, may well tremble lest they blaspheme against the Holy Ghost and go beyond forgiveness. For Jesus, who bore all manner of contradiction of sinners against himself, declares in Matthew,

Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy *against* the *Holy* Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men.

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* Rev. xiv: 13. † Acts xix: 1–6. ‡ Acts vii: 51. § 1 Cor. ii: 14. ‖ 2 Cor. iii: 8. ¶ 1 Thes. v: 19; Eph. iv: 20; Heb. x: 29.

And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the *world* to come.*

In Mark:

Verily, I say unto you, All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme:

But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation:

Because they said, He hath an unclean spirit.†

In Luke:

And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven.‡

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* Matt. xii: 31, 32. † Mark iii: 28–30. ‡ Luke xii: 10, 12. (On the subject of the sin against the Holy Ghost, see Dr. R. J. Breckinridge's *Knowledge of God Objectively Considered*, Bk. III., chap. xvi., sec. 4, pp. 254–259.

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Art. I.—*The Bible not a Text Book on Natural Science.*

That the Bible was not intended by its author to discuss and explain the various topics of Natural Science, will be admitted by most, if not all, of the careful readers of its pages. Any elaborate discussion of the subject, briefly, though imperfectly, stated in the heading of this article, is therefore unnecessary. Yet, objections are urged against this book because its scientific allusions are not more technical and in detail. Now, if it can be shown that it does not, and can not, consistently with its professed character, enter into scientific details, the objection disappears. The principle which underlies this discussion is, that the Bible uses the facts of science, so far as they are pertinent to its main design, without any attempt to explain the laws of the facts. This principle will be found to have an application to other subjects than scientific ones. Any one, who chooses to pursue the investigation, will discover that it is adhered to in the Bible upon every subject with singular tenacity, and is a marked characteristic of the work. A fuller recognition of this principle would save much unreasonable clamor and needless disputes. The Bible teaches plainly and explicitly what it most concerns us to know, but it does even this with wonderful brevity.

This article may prepare the way for another, showing what rule of interpretation should be adopted in explaining those subjects in the word of God, which involve scientific questions.

It is obvious, if it be the design of Revelation to instruct men in the laws and phenomena of Science, that the investigation and

explanations should be absolutely exhaustive, for nothing less would be in keeping with its claims. Any thing short of this would be held an imperfection, and so charged against the Bible. It must be in advance of man's possible knowledge in all time to come, otherwise its claim of perfection would be discovered to be a cheat.

Let us examine for a little, and see what method the Bible does pursue upon scientific subjects.

When God, in the thirty-eighth chapter of Job, propounds a variety of questions—most of them of a scientific nature—He offers not the slightest explanation of any of them, though so numerous are the natural phenomena referred to in that chapter that a partial elucidation, even, would fill many volumes.

"Where is the way where light dwelleth," is inquired, but no information is given; and yet here is the place, had God so designed, to instruct us as to the origin and nature of light.

Which of the two great theories of light is true, might have been settled forever by a single sentence from its Creator. "Hast thou perceived the breadth of the earth?" we listen, but not a word in reply is given as to its size and form.

"Who hath divided the water courses?" and still no answer. And to the present time geologists are discussing the formation of hills and valleys.

"Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?" is asked; but neither the nature, distances or uses of the bodies embraced in these constellations, are stated. Many valuable facts are indeed implied, and it is an interesting item of history that the stars were grouped into constellations at that early day.

That inimitable illustration, by the growth and adornment of the lily, of God's care of even trivial objects—hence much more of intelligent, responsible man—gives no phytological explanation of the laws of growth, or botanical classification of the lily; or of the principle which governs its harmony of colors; or why such a beautiful adaptation of its colors and our tastes to each other. A great fact, however, far more important than any scientific laws of growth in plants and animals, does lie nestled in this beautiful figure. It is that Nature's laws, as we sometimes irreverently call them, are but modes in which God works in the material world. They are recognized as laws by us, because of their

uniformity and constancy. And how the human mind can so readily stop at modes of working, and fail to see, perhaps may even deny the existence of the worker, is a puzzle, or rather would be, were there not also revealed certain great facts touching the tendencies of that mind.

When God, after the Deluge, assures Noah that a like catastrophe shall not again visit the earth, and gives the "bow in the cloud" as a seal to His promise, He leaves us in utter ignorance as to the manner in which the bow is produced. There is not even a hint that light is the agent concerned. Nor does He inform us whether the bow did or did not exist before that time. We are at perfect liberty to settle the question by determining whether the same conditions of rain and sunshine existed before as after the flood. The wonderful longevity in ancient times, and the causes which have reduced the term of human life to threescore years and ten, and the average to half that, are great scientific facts which we long to know; but which, if produced by secondary causes, lie hid from us in the mysteries of our being. Physiologists may assert that the present length of human life is necessarily the result of our constitution; that laws of growth and decay must reach their climax and decline in about seventy years; in fine, that the body is so constituted that it must wear out in about that period; and that though great care and moderation may adjourn the hour for a little when its beautifully adjusted forces shall cease to play, and its consummate mechanism shall be shattered beyond the power of any but the Divine Architect to restore, yet that its life could extend to a thousand years, is impossible. To all this the Bible deigns no reply. It leaves its simple statements of scientific facts, or its allusions to them, without proof or argument. As a man, conscious of his truthfulness, never asserts that he is no liar, but, in dignified silence, bides his time; so the Bible leaves its facts to be believed or disbelieved, as the reader may choose. Amid the heavings of human passion, and giant struggles of human intellect, it awaits the decisions of time. Those heavings and struggles may beat against its wall of adamant, but they find it unmoved and immovable. The account of the Deluge exhibits the same, we might say, studied avoidance of every thing which would appear like instructing the scientific engineer in the deep mysteries and physical laws of that terrific ruin. "The fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the rain was

upon the earth forty days and forty nights," is all the scientific explanation which God gives of one of the greatest epochs in human history.

That gush of waters which thrilled with unutterable agony the hearts of all earth, and stifled the breath of a world, remains to this day an inexplicable mystery in science. A few verses record, with unaffected symplicity, the most terrible catastrophe, excepting the crucifixion, which ever darkened the earth's surface. It is natural, nay it is hard at times not to wish that some brief explanation had been given of the means by which the result was attained. But it is best as it is. Something far more valuable is bestowed than the most elaborate unfolding of the physical operations concerned in the Deluge. The statement as it stands in its simplicity, singleness of purpose and conscious truthfulness, secures the confidence of every impartial reader. We enter upon no investigation here, whether the terms expressing the universality of the Deluge were or were not used by the writer in the sense we generally attach to the corresponding terms in our translation.

That is a question for philologists to settle. If they, after careful investigation, decide that the original words apply as often to a part as to the whole of a thing, then we are at liberty to consider the Deluge partial or universal, as future investigations may, if they can, determine. No Christian need perplex his mind about it. Let him accept the great fact of the overthrow, for the purpose assigned, of the world which then was, the Bible taxes his belief no further. With a wisdom, very significant, it binds us to no philosophical theories in physics, but rises above them in its sublime generalizations. It invites and challenges the fullest and freest research in the rich fields of Science. It is, indeed, a generous-hearted old Book, inviting to the largest liberty of thought and action consistent with holy living, strong in its conscious truth and abiding power. It utters great principles, not in morals only, but even in its incidental allusions to Science, and then bids the intellect and heart search and find in God's great domain of truth.

But let us glance at another of those singular phenomena, at which some have scoffed. We refer to that strange occurrence when the sun and moon stood still at the command of Joshua. We have nothing to say to those who make it highly-wrought figurative language. To such the event presents no difficulty. But,

viewing it as a scientific fact, though miraculous, we find the same absence of any design to instruct in physical laws. "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou Moon, in the valley of Ajalon," is an expression of remarkable brevity for so remarkable an event. The language is undoubtedly phenomenal; it merely states the occurrence as it appeared to an observer on the earth. The Sun and Moon retained apparently the same place in the heavens for about the space of a day. Not the slightest clue is given to aid us in deciding how the apparent progress of the Sun was suspended for a season. The solution of the problem, as far as physical laws are concerned, is a legitimate inquiry of Science.

It is not within the design of this article to explain this event. It may not, however, be amiss to remark briefly, that if any of the laws which govern the relation of the earth to the sun were used in this miracle, the suspension of its axial rotation seems the most probable. The objection, often urged, that it would be impossible to do this in a short time without ruin to all movable bodies on its surface, is valid only on condition that the arresting force should be applied to the solid earth alone, and should act, not with a gradual increase of intensity, but in full power at once, and should be so great as to stop the rotation almost instantly.

Allow the objector to fix these his own conditions, and the effects stated would follow. Movable bodies at the equator would rush to the east with a velocity of nearly one thousand miles an hour. The principle which governs problems of this class is, that the time and force necessary to give to a body, starting from rest, any required velocity, but so gradually as to produce no shock, will, if employed to stop the motion, bring the same body to rest, also, without shock or violence. If the force be applied, not merely to one portion of the body, but to every particle within and upon it, then the conditions of the problem are quite simple enough to admit of a solution. A man may fall toward the earth, and were there no atmosphere to resist his rapidly increasing velocity, no shock would be felt. There would be no tendency to pull the body in pieces, for every particle would be urged downward with equal force. Except by comparison with other bodies, he would not know that he was in motion, or that it was increasing to a frightful degree. The aeronaut, floating in his balloon at the rate of sixty miles an hour, seems to himself, unless the earth be visible, to be suspended at rest in mid air. The

velocity of the earth at the equator is about one thousand miles an hour, and a body falling toward it would, if not resisted, acquire that velocity in forty-five seconds. The same force which can give that motion without violence, is capable of destroying it in the same time without violence. If then a force, sufficient in degree, were to act in a direction contrary to the earth's rotation, upon every particle of matter within and upon it, its motion would be arrested without shock in forty-five seconds. Of course, it is not for Science to say in what way the occurrence was produced, but it may remove objections, and show that this or that mode is possible.

The important fact bearing upon this discussion is, that the Bible, in its statement of the miracle, utterly ignores all explanation.

A scientific fact, mentioned in the Bible, whether miraculous or not, is naturally left to Science to interpret. It comes within the scope, not of the word, but of that other volume, not written, but seen daily in Nature's laws and operations. Miracles, if without the pale of known laws, are inexplicable. We see nothing but the fact; its antecedents, if there are any between it and God, are hidden from view. It is a mistake to suppose that no event is miraculous, unless it involves a suspension of the ordinary laws which govern matter and mind. There may be higher laws which occasionally step forth into the wide arena of God's providences, produce their results, and then disappear from us in their grand cycle of revolution. New combinations of known laws may produce effects unattainable by any other means. The miracle, then, consists in the combination. Or the occurrence may be strictly natural in the means used, but miraculous as to time and circumstances. The cloud which rose from the Mediterranean, at the prayer of Elijah, and watered the parched land, was formed probably as all other clouds are, but its happening at that particular juncture, and in answer to prayer, was more than a mere coincidence—it was miraculous. True, those events which are ordinary in their nature, but special in time, we sometimes call particular providences. To our view they may seem miracles of a lower order than others; and it may, in some cases, be difficult to determine whether they are or are not mere coincidences. In God's view, however, they may be just as miraculous in their adaptation to time and circumstances, as the raising of Lazarus from the dead. We may be altogether too skeptical as to God's interpo-

sition at the present day in man's behalf. We are not prepared to say that He works no miracle now for the benefit of His people. Unreasonable skepticism is quite as bad as unreasoning credulity. A fuller sense of God's ever-abiding presence and activity, even in secondary causes—less of readiness to shut out all recognition of a Divine agent, by substituting a law for the agent—would connect our own age more closely with the Apostolic. Perhaps we have assented too readily to the prevalent idea, that God has ceased, except in a very general and roundabout way, to interfere and coöperate in man's affairs. Ordinary agencies are his messengers as truly as extraordinary; and their constancy and uniformity by no means divest them of their intimate relation to Him. Why should the constant turning of the earth on its axis make it any less a Divine work, than if it were to turn but once? And yet while the world would stand awe-struck at the latter, it finds no difficulty in accounting for the first by a law of Nature.

The account of the creation, in the 1st chapter of Genesis, follows the same general course, in merely stating facts, as the cases already cited. It is not our business now to interpret the language of that remarkable history. Whether the terms "create, make, and let there be," denote arrangement, or absolute creation; whether the word translated "day" means, in the original, a common day of twenty-four hours, or a period of great but indefinite length, must be settled mainly on philological grounds. If the terms admit of either interpretation, then the geological record may be appealed to to decide which shall be accepted. So far as the language in which the statements are made can be shown to admit of but one meaning, then adopt that. Let doubtful points be held as such, till some new light from the Bible or from Science shall remove the doubt. In the mean time it is plain from the narrative, that the arrangement of the world in its present form is claimed to be God's work, and that certain portions of the whole were allotted for execution to each of the six periods. Whether any, and what portion was accomplished by ordinary physical agencies; whether the first verse states the fact of absolute creation of the heavens and earth, while the others denote the arrangement of the materials in their present form; whether the periods are twenty-four hours each, or ages, may, perhaps without detriment, be held *sub judice*, till Science and Philology shall have made greater advances.

While the Bible leaves us in no doubt as to the Being who has constructed and beautified this, our habitation, it gratifies no curiosity as to the mode. This we are at liberty to find out, if we can. If such a discovery should prove to be beyond the reach of our minds, then we can reverently admit our inability, and adore the profound mystery of the work. The Bible does reveal, in Science as well as Theology, some of the most astonishing facts ever presented to the human mind. But any explanation of them it wisely leaves in obscurity. They are great problems, on which we may task our powers, if we do it in a proper spirit. What God has revealed more or less perfectly, is not too sacred for our investigation. We best honor the Revelator by searching into those deep things to which he has given us the clue.

The Christian, who is startled at the assertion that the Bible does not explain scientific phenomena, even to the extent our text books do, should estimate the consequences if its adherence to that which forms the grand burden of its message should be departed from.

Suppose we allow the Geologist to bring forward his claim. He insists that God should have given and explained in the Bible the great facts of Geological Science; the age of the world; the remarkable changes through which it has passed; the appearance and disappearance of the gigantic and strange beings that have vexed its surface; and the preparation, by the action of the physical forces through interminable ages, of the earth for man's advent; and, finally, the ushering him in, with a majesty suited to the occasion, as lord of this lower creation. With equal propriety might the Astronomer urge, that an impartial Being could not overlook that noblest and grandest of all the Natural Sciences—Astronomy; that the law of gravitation should have been communicated to Adam; that it is very singular that man should have been permitted to remain for fifty-seven centuries in ignorance of that force which sweeps universal space with its energies, and holds all matter in common brotherhood.

If these claimants are satisfied by compliance, then we see not why the mechanical philosopher may not plead that a brief treatise should have been inserted upon the nature and action of the physical forces, the mechanical powers, the construction of machines from the simplest to the most complex. Besides, as mere descriptions of machines are nearly useless. Divine Power could as

readily, and therefore should, have constructed models, from imperishable materials, of all machines that ever have been or can be useful to man. To render the whole accessible, He might have dug out the granite heart of the Himalaya and lighted it with a few volcanoes, and in this, as a great patent office, might have been deposited more than the human mind could ever invent, and all that it could ever use. To this—more than a Mecca—might the world have resorted for all mechanical knowledge. Then the race would not have groped its way in darkness, till old age had furrowed its visage, without even the common instruments of civilization within its reach.

But if improvements and inventions, pertaining to matter only, should have a place in the sacred volume, much more should those subjects pertaining to mind and morals, and to governments. Why should not the Divine pen have written out a complete analysis and classification of the different mental operations? Why not have settled those vexed questions, whether the will is self-determining, or is controlled by some power lying back of it? Why not have explained how God can govern and man be free? How the Divine can be associated with human nature; indeed, how mind can be associated with matter at all, and each exert an influence upon the other? Why not have given the best form of government for different stages of civilization, with the various offices and the functions belonging to each case? Historically, several different forms of government are mentioned in the Scripture narrative, but no obligation is imposed upon nations to follow expressly either or any of them. Moral principles, also, are established on a foundation as simple as it is grand and immovable. While the 20th chapter of Exodus does record something more nearly like a system of morals than is found elsewhere, and the Sermon on the Mount constructs a perfect character upon that system; yet there is very little of detail. Great principles are thrown out, so comprehensive in their grasp, that no details in human life or relation can fall without their pale. A more sublime generalization is not on record than our Saviour's summary of all duty in the comprehensive precepts, Love to God and Love to man.

The *history* of the Bible is made to bend to the same unswerving purpose—man's redemption.

It is fragmentary or continuous, or sketches in masterly outline, just as the necessities of the case may demand. How full must

the sixteen centuries before the flood have been of startling events, exhibiting the depravity of man, the forbearance and the justice of God! But what is the historical record of that period? Simply the creation of the earth and of the first pair; their fall, and expulsion from the Garden; the birth of Cain and Abel; the murder of the latter; the probable apostasy of Cain, and the corruptions from intermarriage with his descendants; the translation of Enoch; a genealogical table; the announcement of the flood, and the command to build the ark. Brief directions are given as to the construction of the ark; but the one hundred and twenty years of Noah's labor upon it, and of his preaching, are passed without comment. And the terrible engulphing of all life in the gurgling waters with its untold horrors, is expressed in a few verses. Not a relic of those times has been handed down along with the old coat of Treves and the Virgin's milk, to gratify the curiosity of the new world, or to excite the wondering gaze of the faithful. The history of that period stands in majestic outline, quite enough to show the ways of God to man, but no more. From Noah down to Abraham there are snatches of history. A covenant is made with Noah; the dispersion and settlement of his descendants is stated; Nimrod is pointed out as the founder of a great monarchy; the tower of Babel rises; confusion of tongues arrests the work and plants the germs of many nations. All is again silent; centuries flee; and the Assyro-Babylonian monarchy, the head of gold in Daniel's historical image, and the first of his four beasts, looms up on the great sea of time, flashing in gold, and again it is gone. Like some noble man-of-war, it is seen to rise on the crested wave, its white sails gleam in sunlight, the foam is hurled from its sides, and it sinks in the troubled waters. Time sweeps onward; the Medo-Persian rides the wave, its silver light dazzling for the time all beholders. The silver arms and breast of the image, and the bear, the second of the beasts, have received their fulfillment. But it, too, has passed, and the Greek, the classic, the tasteful, the polished Greek, the brazen belly of the same image, and the eagle-winged beast, follows next in order, and it also disappears. And well it might, for behind there comes slow moved, but in terrible might, overshadowing and crushing, and absorbing into itself, every thing along its pathway, the Roman Dominion, shadowed forth by the massive iron legs of the image, and by the fourth beast, diverse from the others, having

iron teeth and claws of brass. But look again: the eleven hundred years of its dominion and corruption have passed without a word to mark its progress, when a little stone appears. It breaks forth from the mountain without hands; onward it sweeps; the iron image boldly plants itself across its path; the shock shakes the earth, and the iron and the brass are ground to powder, and scattered like the chaff of the summer threshing floor. And now the little stone becomes a great mountain, and fills the whole earth. Such are the statements of the Word of God with reference to the grand events of time—prophetic once, now historical—symbolized in such masterly touches, that the philosopher and the barbarian can alike understand them. Even the confused tongues of Babel can all translate them. True, there are brought together things remote in time and place; but the only object is to give the relations of the events to each other, and the length of the periods is unimportant for this purpose. We, by our industry, may fill up some of these chasms, these long and apparently silent periods. But the Bible, in what it has done, has accomplished its work with the strokes of a master. Injustice may be done to it by claiming that its graphic outlines and sketches of history constitute a full and complete narrative.

Upon many of its brief and majestic statements, much light may sometimes be thrown by profane history. The correctness of what it does say of the governments and personages of ancient times, is more and more confirmed by modern research.

From the plains of Shinar many witnesses are rising up to bear testimony with Daniel and Isaiah and John. And the laws of Nature, when truly interrogated, fall into line with the scientific facts of the Word. Its historical voices are the mingled roar of some distant battle. We know little of the strategy, or of the movements and counter movements of the strife; but we do know that mighty forces are moving on to victory. Its brilliant but scattered lights are the light-houses which border the ocean of time, revealing its lofty headlands and resistless currents. But of the murmurs of wave and city, which are ever rising from its rock-bound coasts, and of the mysteries of its profound depths, nothing is revealed. But unless we falsely interpret the known, it can never conflict with the unknown. Allow, then, human research to fill up that great outline of history wisely left in blank. It will be but the fitting of pictures in a frame-work of gold.

In investigating the relations which the Bible bears to Science, two classes of errors are to be guarded against: One is, claiming for it what its Author never intended it to be—an expounder of Science, or even of the history of the world in full. This view compels him who adopts it, to reject much of Science and history which the mind has discovered and collected.

It makes him fearful of every advance in Science; fearful of the testimony which its laws bear in behalf of their Author, lest they should conflict with his interpretation of the Bible, and reveal some truths not found in it. Geology is considered almost a profane subject, because it seems to state facts in regard to the progress of life upon the earth, about which the Scriptures may be entirely silent. The Natural Philosopher, in his reverence for the grand laws which control the universe of matter, is regarded as a semi-idolator. A distinction is also taken between the revelation of God's character in His Word and works The former is truly held as worthy of all acceptation; the latter may be neglected, if not decried, with impunity. True, all that concerns our moral relations to God is of paramount importance; but this, by no means, implies the right to treat other relations scornfully or even lightly. We dare not speak or think contemptuously of the great record of past events, which lies folded in the earth's crust. The leaves of that magnificent volume which were deposited beneath us, as they fell from the hands of Deity, graven with the records of the mighty past, challenge our admiration. Men may put foolish interpretations upon, or foist their foolish notions into the revelations of God's power in earth and sky—so they have done and still may do the same in the revelation of His Word; but that shall not shake our confidence in either. Man's follies are separable from God's wisdom, and it is not necessary to nurse the folly to save the wisdom. Even Christians sometimes speak as flippantly and discourteously of Science and its laws, as if it had been assigned to some malign being to arrange and control, for the express design of thwarting the Divine purpose. These are the men of narrow minds; good men, it may be, in the main, as good at least as they know how to be, but who can never rise to the conception of lofty truths and extended generalizations.

The other error arises among those who take advantage of the claim made informally by the friends of the Bible, that it is an

encyclopedia; but finding that it does not correspond to this description, nor even pretend to, they reject it altogether.

Perhaps they are not so much to blame for this as those who present the false issue, for they only accept an advantage unwisely tendered them by the friends of Revelation. Nevertheless, it should be plain to the most common apprehension, that it is an excellence in any author to pursue his main design without being turned from it by any allurement. Still more should this excellence be recognized when it is seen that pearls, which he is not now seeking, are strewed all along his pathway, but that his unfaltering march is nowise delayed by the temptation to gather them. He shows his appreciation of them by scattering them in showers whenever it suits his purpose, but he neither stops to analyze their properties nor to state their value. Moreover, when these persons speak of Science in general terms, they strictly conform, in their mode of expression, to the scientific language of the Bible. Why they should think a certain form of expression proper and truthful when used by themselves, but improper and untruthful when employed in the Bible, is hard to tell. It seems very strange, too, that they can not see that this book stands illustrious among all the writings of ancient and modern times in the singleness of purpose with which it works out its majestic problem. Stranger still that those very traits which do place it immeasurably above all human compositions, should be charged as faults which render it unworthy of confidence. Besides, it does seem that there is an eagerness, not usual in the sincere searcher for truth, to find conflicts between Revelation and Science. At times they adopt, with a readiness unbecoming a philosopher, theories in Science which are very crude, and rest on the smallest modicum of evidence; and often these theories are held with a tenacity proportioned to the scantiness of the testimony.

We do not blame one for believing any fact in Science when proved beyond reasonable doubt. It is not so much the belief in well ascertained facts in Revelation and Science that gives rise to controversy between the professed friends of each, as the wrong interpretation put upon the facts. Galileo was right in asserting that the earth turned on its axis; and the conflict between his views and those of the Roman Hierarchy was not between Revelation and Science, but between Science and their interpretation of Revelation. Christians might be a little more careful not to

insist too positively, in doubtful cases, upon a meaning which the text does not absolutely require.

In the mean time let them adjourn such scientific questions pertaining to the Bible, as are yet involved in doubt, until the laws and facts touching them are firmly established.

They may rest assured that, under a proper interpretation of these two Revelations of God's will, no conflict can occur. Both are His work and dear to His heart. Both shall survive the malice and the assaults of foolish men, and to both shall finally be awarded the honors of a magnificent triumph.

Many of our difficulties, in harmonizing truth from various sources, arise from our inability to survey the whole field at once. Even partial success is attained only after we have taken different stand-points, and compared and grouped together the leading thoughts which make up the whole. We may stand on the seashore; a boundless waste of waters lies before us, ever heaving majestically under some mighty force, ever dashing in sullen murmurs, and ever dying along the shore. Are there not a multitude of ideas, all of which are necessary to fill out this sublime conception of the ocean? Is it the mere water which lies within our limited horizon? Does not the mind wander to the cliffs of old Albion, where the surges are forever fretting away their life in vain attempts to blot out this gem of the ocean? Do we not stray among the ice crags of the poles, or pass quickly over the tropics scorching and gleaming like molten brass? And then do we not plunge down into its depths, where no storm ever reaches, away from the conflicts which chafe its surface? And do we not linger here in this splendid mausoleum of its innumerable tribes, which give honorable burial to the helpless, and utters one continued requiem over the lost? Now there rises up before us the ghosts of the old Phenicians, and Troy, and Carthage and Tyre; and sweeping down to the present, we hear the roar and the dash of the proud leviathans that now fill every sea. And then, and not till then, will the grand conception of grand old ocean fill the heart well nigh to bursting. Need we apply this figure? So that mind which, according to its ability, has swept with keen glance the whole field of knowledge, feeling that there is nothing so minute as to be despised; nothing so lofty that it may not be reverently approached; that mind obtains a view of God as much above the common lot, as the conception of the ocean, just described, sur-

passes that of the child who hears the rivulet babbling by its own door.

If men would examine the teachings of Revelation and Science, with this large comparison of all their subjects, and with childlike docility, there would be masters in Science, and masters in the mysteries of Redemption, who would be free from the narrow views of the bigot on the one hand; and on the other, from the poisonous and chilling imaginings of the infidel. No mind can ever rise to the glory of which it is capable, till it can cheerfully submit itself to all the teachings with which God has surrounded it.

Art. II.—*The Bible considered as Cause to an Effect; or Means to an End.*

Our argument here will not be with Atheists, but Theists. The doctrine of cause and effect is intuitive to the human mind. It is among the first developments of human thought. Nor does time nor culture add much to the strength of this original perception; and it is upon this original and intuitive perception of reason that the human mind bases its necessary ideas of a Creator. Cause and effect considered, not metaphysically, but in fact, constitute a large portion of the ideas and knowledge of mankind. All Divine and Natural causes have three invariable qualities. They are. *permanent, efficient, and adapted to the end.* But, if this be true throughout the material universe, is it equally true in regard to the Bible? We assert that it is so, to the utmost jot and tittle. Wherever the Bible goes, its uniformity, efficiency and adaptation are as manifest in its effects as any thing can be. And if, by a necessity of reason, we attribute the operations of Nature to an infinitely wise, powerful and good God, by what perversion of judgment are we to refuse or to avoid the same conclusion in regard to the Bible? If the laws and operations of Nature lead us back to a Divine origin, then also, and inevitably, we are conducted by the same argument to the same conclusion in regard to the Bible.

We have, then, a plain argument. *Uniformity*, *efficiency*, and *adaptation* of means to ends, are the proofs in Nature of Divine origin. But the Bible has the same proofs, and must, therefore,

be attributed to the same cause. It is upon these fixed principles of Nature that the hopes of the husbandman, the success of commerce, the triumphs and perpetuity of inventions, discoveries, and the whole utilitarian progress of mankind depend. A change in any one of these great natural causes would overthrow the whole. Instability in the operation of cause and effect would stop the plowman in the furrow, the fleets of commerce in mid-ocean, or tie them up to rot upon the shores of the world. The discoveries and inventions of to-day would be worthless upon to-morrow; all motives depending upon the permanence of the laws of Nature would pass away, and the world would either come to ruin or to a dead stand-still. The colors would fail on the brush of the painter, and the needle, in the nightly tempest, would no longer prove faithful to its trust. The printer could no longer depend upon his liquid die to impart the usual impression to his page. Food, and air, and water, and light, would fail in their reviving qualities, and possibly turn to pains or poisons. The steam-horse, that now proudly dashes past all competitors, would be heard no more. The telegraph, that greatest and most wonderful of all monuments to human sagacity, would pass away as the memory of a dream. How little do men think of what and how much they owe to the stability of the laws of Nature!

The permanence of these not only leans to, and assists the great inventions of the world, but it secures the perpetuity of all the gains of the arts, sciences, discoveries, inventions, and philosophies of all ages. No good can be lost which is based upon the changeless decree of natural law. This is the method in which God speaks to man through His works.

Another well known law in Nature is, that similar causes produce similar effects, physical causes produce physical effects, and intellectual causes produce intellectual effects, and moral causes produce moral effects; and all these have their special and well defined boundaries. Hence the deep philosophy of the question, "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" Hence, also, "the blood of bulls and goats could not take away sin." And upon the same inexorable law, water-baptism can not take away sin, the cause and the effect being totally dissimilar. The cause being physical and the effect being spiritual, it is impossible to be in the nature of things. It is reversing the laws of Nature, contradicting the testimony of Scripture and of facts,

when men make water-baptism either a direct cause, or an essential and invariable accompaniment of regeneration.

The dream called "Apostolical Succession," is of the same nature. Unflawed succession, if it could be proved, does not stand in the relation of cause and effect to the Church of God. Christ himself stands in that relation, and just as he is in the Church, and is head over all things to it; so is it a true Church, whether it is Presbyterian, Episcopal, or what not.

The Universe around us is a great system of laws, causes and effects, adapted to our material nature; while the Bible is a great system of laws, causes and effects, adapted to our spiritual nature. And we here claim that, in the proof of Divine authorship, the material works of God have no superiority over the Bible. The one is not more nor better adapted to our material nature, than the other is to our moral nature; that the laws of the material world are not more permanent, more efficient, or better adapted to their object, than the laws and spirit of the Bible are to their object. And as a great moral cause, producing great moral effects, the soul can no more dispense with the Bible, than the body can with the solid world.

But let us look into some of the effects of which the Bible is the cause. And as we pass along we will see whether, in its operations, it is uniform, efficient, and adapted to its professed object. And first, it is the only book or thing in the world that imparts a correct and adequate knowledge of God's moral and natural attributes. The Bible is full of this grand necessity. It is just such a revelation as none but God himself could give. The names, the attributes, the descriptions, the character, are all such as to prove their Divine origin. Even the nightly heavens scarcely declare the glory of God so fully as does the sublime and majestic language of the Bible. Nor does the Divine Word deal with us in terms of sublimity and grandeur alone; nor does it leave us to stagger and tremble amid the hights and depths of immensity. This light illuminates our way where no other light could reach us. It gives clearness and safety to our path into the presence of unoriginated existence. But from that hight, whose terrors, vailed and unvailed, stand in terrible numbers and nearness to the soul, we are borne along in the mighty sweep which brings us to where God and man unite in the glories, and wonders, and reconciling harmonies of redemption. On this great central spot of Grace the

soul stops in its flight from the regions of the dark, the mysterious, and the terrible, to survey the distant but hastening light of the Sun of Righteousness. And how glorious is that light as it rises from the eastern skies upon the soul! How sweet and how enrapturing are the words, "God is Love;" "Peace on earth and good will to men;" "Our Father who art in Heaven;" "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world!" Life and joy leap out from every word of these Divine sentences. Alarm and terror take their flight from their presence. Faith sets up its throne within the heart, and hope spreads its light on every hand. God, as the object of supreme love, spreads His unutterable glories every-where.

It has been remarked, with truth and point, that while the ancient Jews were greatly inferior to the ancient Greeks in things literary, philosophical, and architectural; yet, as to the knowledge of God, and all things theological and moral, the Jews were, beyond all comparison, superior to the Greeks. As to the temples made with hands, and other architectural prodigies, the Egyptians and Greeks have astonished all succeeding ages.

The poetry, the history, the oratory, the criticism, the mathematics and philosophy of the subtile and inquisitive Greeks have been the study and admiration of all the great scholars of the world down to the present times. Yet this people had their Lords and their Gods many. By wisdom they knew not God. And in all theological matters they were scarcely above the common herd of idolators. They stand out among the gloomy wastes of idolatrous superstition, and as an amazing monument to the necessity of Divine revelation. They testify, beyond all doubt, that the natural man knoweth not the things of the spirit; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. If any polish or attainments in scholarship; if any elegance or refinements in taste; if any superiority in arts, oratory, or statesmanship; if depth and acuteness in thought; if splendor and power of genius, and if works of the highest eminence in literature could have morally enlightened and regenerated any people, then the Greeks, beyond any and all other nations, would have proved it. If ever there were a people capable of throwing off the thick masses of superstitious lumber, and of tossing idolatry to the moles and the bats, that people was the ancient Greeks. And here we see in the light of one of the clearest demonstrations, that all men mor-

ally drivel like idiots where God's Word does not enlighten them. And the character and condition of all men, in all time, without Divine Revelation, put to scorn and confusion the idea, that without it, any high or general moral excellence can be reached. And let those who dream the dull and idiotic dream, that learning and intelligence are to regenerate the world, look at what amount of regeneration was accomplished by Greece. Let them look at the difference, theologically and religiously, between David and Socrates—the former born near eleven centuries before Christ, and the latter not five. The Hebrew King and Prophet soars amid the upper clouds, and in the light of great and Divine knowledge, while the great Grecian Teacher and Philosopher is seen buffeting the stormy waves of doubt, perplexity and fear. And yet Socrates was the greatest and the best of all the pupils ever made by uninspired thought and intelligence. And what the bright and keen dialectics of Greece could not do, we are very sure, is not going to be done by the pretentious Naturalists and sham Philosophers of modern times. Nothing short of Divine Revelation can teach us our duties, and nothing short of this can supply us with motives of sufficient power and authority to do them.

Ignorance of God lies at the foundation of all moral errors. And just as the Bible shines into the understanding, so does it dissipate moral falsehood, and purify, enlighten, and benefit the soul in every way. What a magnificent specimen of a man would Socrates have been, had it been his lot to live under the shining light of Divine Truth! The noblest man upon earth is the man whose soul is all aglow with the fire, and all luminous with the light of the Divine Word. Such a man, however humble, is as much superior, in all things of God, and in all things of duty to Him, as the temple of Diana was superior to a mud-hovel. Man, without that knowledge, which is found alone in its fullness in the Bible, is, at his best earthly state, but a wanderer in a weary waste, homeless and hopeless, ever seeking rest and finding none.

THE BIBLE ALONE CAN IMPART TO MAN THE TRUE KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF.

For such knowledge, it is in vain that we look to any other source. Without the Bible, even the origin of our race is lost amid the dim confusion and absurd traditions of the world. When we want a clear and rational account of our own origin, we have

to go to the Bible. The picture, too, which it gives us of our moral nature, is just such a one as God alone could draw. It is true to perfection, to every tint, and shade, and feature, and variation, of the whole moral character of man. Nor does it thus describe human nature in any one time, place, tribe, nation, class, or progeny. It is not the human nature of the Jew or the Greek; of nations, ancient or modern; of classes, barbarous or civilized; of people, learned or ignorant; but it is the exact moral picture of man, individually and collectively, of all times, places, and circumstances. The picture is without exaggeration, and without defect. It has all the mastery of infinite capacity, and all the exactness of infinite knowledge. And among all the efforts to alter, to amend, to vary, or to deny it, not one of them all has produced any thing but falsehood and distortion. And that paltry philosophy, and still more paltry theology, which set up their verdicts against the Word of God, find themselves refuted and overthrown by the universal character of man. Confident and defamatory arrogance may deal in dogmas flattering to the human heart, but it does not remove the tempest to deny its existence.

Men do not like the picture which the Bible draws with such extreme exactness, and therefore they try to disbelieve it, pervert it, or substitute something better in its place. But in all such cases they prove the picture in their efforts to escape it. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. Without this knowledge, man will never know himself.

ANOTHER EFFECT OF THE BIBLE IS THE REVEALING OF THE GREAT AND ESSENTIAL DOCTRINES OF THE CROSS.

These doctrines are, through the Spirit, the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. They are doctrines of life, light, and immortality. They are to the honor of God and the hope of the world. Their true value and glory are beyond all estimate and measure. Beside their direct effect upon the number saved, they are the direct expression of the moral government of God. Justice and mercy are here harmoniously blended. Salvation comes through propitiation, and we can equally adore Divine justice as we rejoice in Divine mercy. Christ's bearing our sins in his own body upon the tree, is the great publication to heaven

and earth of God's method of saving sinners. He was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities. He, who knew no sin, was made a sin-offering for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him. This shows the substitutionary nature of Christ's sacrifice. It points to moral government, and refers directly to law and justification by the deeds of another. There can be no dilution of these ideas, and no concessions to any thing which would disturb the foundations of their strength. Redemption through Christ is a great cause to great effects, and all systems of faith, bereft of an Almighty Saviour, may deceive, but can not save.

When men talk about a metaphorical Saviour, they talk about a metaphorical salvation, which is the last and the most fatal of all shams. If we want to find truth, which God will bless, and make mighty to the pulling down of strongholds and to the overthrowing of all spiritual enemies, we must go to the doctrines concerning Christ and Him crucified. It is here, and here only, that we find means adapted to the end, and adequate to the effect.

Men may talk as they please, or as they dream, about viewing God through goodness and mercy. We know nothing of goodness and mercy separated from justice; but it is in Christ that we find all these attributes beautifully and gloriously harmonized. Justice itself is but a particular form of goodness, and can not be set aside nor neglected without inflicting dishonor on every other attribute of God. And no system, denying the divinity of Christ and His vicarious atonement, has ever done much for the true spiritual interests of men. And, as illustrative of this, we may look at a couple of representative men of the two systems. Take Chalmers and Channing as samples: They were men of the same period, and molded by many similar influences. They were grand specimens of men, and fair examples of the effects of two opposite creeds, working in these two sons of Anak.

The elements of power, which these men brought into the great battle-field of ministerial toil and conflict, were such as belonged to the faith of each. Channing was full of the arguings, contrivings, and pride of human reason. He was ardent, eloquent, and earnest. He had a classic mind, and delighted in classic tastes and attainments. He was not charmed with the elegancies of literary learning, but loved certain forms of moral beauty—that, however, of Socrates more than that of Paul. With the great workers on the

fields of orthodoxy he had but little sympathy. Human virtue, without the life of Christ within it, was his *beau ideal* and highest form of his divinity. His judgment endowed her with a power which she never had, and his imagination clothed her with charms beautifully and mildly gorgeous, but not true. He was himself a splendid specimen of his own ideas of ministerial equipment. With a mind cultivated with elegant literature, enlarged by general reading and observation, though more given to *belles-lettres* than logic, strong in the confidence of moral suasion, and with a knowledge of human nature utterly false and superficial, he marched into the field of conflict with high hopes and confident bearing. Admiration followed every-where, and blew the blast of his fame even to foreign lands. The *elite* of Boston set him high among the notabilities of her eloquent and literary renown. He had "audience meet" to inspire and call out all those tastes, passions and powers upon which he so confidently relied, and which he cultivated with such assiduous diligence. To these he looked as the arms of his strength, and as the security of his success. But after all his love and practice of the esthetic, after all the literary and oratorical garniture with which he arrayed himself before the people, he left behind him no long and broad track of light to distinguish the period of his life and deeds. The success of the outset and continuance were wholly unequal to the confidence and expectation of events. Light and victory were to follow in his path. The great old temples of error were to be heard crashing and falling from afar. It was the day of Unitarian glory, and the shout of triumph was never again to cease until the hosts of orthodoxy fell or fled before the irresistible march of its power. But, alas! the world—even the world of Boston, the Athens of America—moved on as usual. Even the admirers of Channing remained as if he had never lived.

If ever Unitarianism had a fair field of trial, and if it ever had a fair representative to train its legions, and to direct its forces, it was when William Ellery Channing marshaled its hosts, fought its battles, bore its banners, and represented its power. But what was the result of his life and labors as the great representative of a system, and the great preacher of that creed? Let history tell the meager tale, as it is destined to tell it in all similar instances. All spiritual life and power evaporate from every system of faith

which destroys the divine and wonderful in the nature and character of Christ.

It is no pleasure to say these things, except as historical facts, exhibiting the innate poverty and insufficiency of Unitarianism. Such facts are truly instructive in their nature. There is scarcely any thing more to be deplored, or any thing more to be pitied, than a man like Channing—sincere, but deluded—to find himself, after all his high hopes and purposes, in old age, "worn out with a laborious doing of nothing." To find, after the vigor of life has sped away, that all that was ardent in hope, confident in purpose, and alluring in promise, had utterly failed; to find that all the charms of rhetoric, the treasures of learning, the appeals of eloquence, and the arguments of reason, have no power to regenerate human souls, nor even to reform the morals of the world, presents a spectacle of melancholy and humiliation, over which the good man would rather weep than rejoice, if it were right to do so. Yet it is well that a deadly system should betray its weakness and its worthlessness just in such hands. It is well that such a man as Channing should stand as a beacon upon the bleak and barren shores of error. We have pity for the man, but no sympathy with his creed. His views of God and man were alike defective and fatal. Hence the remedy did not reach the disease, nor was the physician competent to the work he had undertaken. His arms and methods of attack were wholly unfitted to an enemy, whose number and whose power he never understood. They were wrought and polished in the armories of human device. They lacked the celestial temper, which alone makes them mighty to the pulling down of strongholds. The enemy himself was delighted with their form, their elegance, and symmetry, and with the dextrous skill with which they were handled, but laughed at the harmless force with which they struck the great citadels of his power.

But, on the other hand, Thomas Chalmers stands out a conspicuous example of an opposite creed. He was, for twelve years of his life, a mere man of Science and literature, though a professed minister of the Word. He was, in this sense, still more Channing than Channing himself. He was proud, learned, philosophical, ambitious, and defiant of those who stood in his way. Like Channing, he preached literature, reason, morals, philosophy, honor, and any thing but Christ. But it pleased God to wake him

from the delirium of so wild and fatal a dream. He had been proud of his abilities, and of his attainments, and was thoroughly pharisaic, as all such men ever are. But now he was prostrate in humility, and, like all other penitent sinners, his guilt rose dark and fearful before him. But the Divine method of justification soon began to shine upon his soul. And just as it did so, he put on the whole armor of God and went into the battle-field with a new, and strange, and mighty power working within him. He was now a new man. Old things had passed away, and all things had become new. Christ was now the great central figure in the field of his thought, of his exposition, and of the new and wonderful power which he had now gained over the hearts of men. He was no longer to Chalmers a root out of dry ground, but the chief among ten thousand, and one altogether lovely.

His hearers began to wonder what change had come over the spirit of the man. He had been ardent in preaching against "the meanness of dishonesty, the villainy of falsehood, the despicable arts of calumny, and upon all those deformities of character which awaken the natural indignation of the human heart against the pests and disturbers of human society. But the interesting fact is, that during the whole of that period—upward of twelve years—in which I made no attempt against the natural enmity of the human mind to God, while I was inattentive to the way in which this enmity is dissolved, even by the free offer on the one hand, and the believing acceptance on the other, of the gospel of salvation; which Christ, through whose blood the sinner, who by nature stands afar off, is brought near to the Heavenly Law-giver, whom he has offended, was scarcely ever spoken of, or spoken of in such a way as stripped him of the importance of his character and offices; even at this time I certainly did press reformation of honor, and truth and integrity, among my people, but I never once heard of such reformations having been effected among them. I am not sensible that all the vehemence with which I urged the virtues and proprieties of social life, had *the weight of a feather on the moral habits of my parishioners.*" Such is the honest, but melancholy testimony which Chalmers gives of the first twelve years of his ministry. As to the great end of the Christian ministry, it was a failure, complete and total. And what these twelve years were to him, the whole of the life of Channing was to him. Rhetoric, and literature, and oratory, and eloquent and vehement denun-

ciation of the sins of social life, made the sum total of their armor, and resulted in the entire failure of their efforts. The one found it out in time, the other did not.

We attribute much to the natural greatness of Chalmers; his almost unequaled eloquence; his enlightened and statesmanlike mind; his broad philosophy and learning; his wise adaptation of means to ends; his great physical ability, producing the thunder of his power; his capacity to influence and deal with all orders of mind; his simplicity of life, transparent honesty and candor of purpose, all go to constitute a character of the highest order and most admirable proportions. But, magnificent as this galaxy of qualities and attainments is, yet they never produced *the weight of a feather* in reforming any single human heart, until they were regenerated with the heart of their great owner. Until that great event, they had been frittered away and lost upon empty vanities. But now he became great and powerful, in a new sense, under the operation of a new and living faith. The heart now felt what the intellect believed. It was this which enlightened and animated the whole of his great and well trained power. He no longer wielded the sword of the natural man, but the sword of the Spirit. The very highest honors which he had courted before, now became, as other worldly things became, baubles in comparison with the new and lofty things which had begun to shed their glory upon all things within him and without him. He now began a race of ever-during honor and of the most gigantic usefulness.

He made an era of the times in which he lived. He left upon his country the stamp of his wisdom, his eloquence, his intellect, his energy, his ecclesiastical statesmanship, and supreme fidelity to the greatest and noblest trusts that God at any time allots to mortals. He was strong, but it was the Cross of Christ which made him so. He was genial and world-wide in his sympathies with man, but he was genial and world-wide as Christ was, and not as the teachers of false doctrines, who cover over, but bring no remedy for deep moral diseases of man. His doctrine was Christ Divine and Christ Human. Man lost and man recovered by an adequate and God-honoring remedy. Had there been no depravity in man, and no divinity in Christ, there had been, not only no Chalmers, but none of that long list of magnificent men, whose names shine out like luminaries along the whole track of Church history. It was the utter renunciation of all self-righteous-

ness and all self-salvation, and an entire reception of salvation through the grace of Christ the Redeemer, that saved Chalmers from the dreary lot of a mere worldly preacher.

Like Channing, he might have studied literature, taste, elegance, history, science, or philosophy; he might have written books, essays, and reviews, and won such renown as such things give, but as a minister of the Divine Word, his life would have been the merest blank. The memories and admiration which now hang around him in rich festoons of glory, would never have had an existence. Men live and rejoice in leagueing themselves with the great living powers of Truth and Righteousness; and men die by leagueing themselves with the feeble inanities and frigidities of false and superficial errors, however specious they may be. Doctrines, wholly unfitted to the nature of man, may flash like meteors for the night, but must die when the morning cometh.

Had the heart of Channing been warmed by the same heat, and his soul lit up by the same light, we can not think the results of their lives would have presented so great and so unhappy a contrast. The one might not have had the opportunity of leaving the stamp of his ecclesiastical statesmanship upon his church and country, and though not equal in power and depth, yet he might have trodden closely upon the heels of his great Scotch brother.

We know, indeed, that it is far more to the liking of his ecclesiastical kith and kin, that Channing should stand just where he does. But time, and eternity, and the nature of man will yet proclaim it, that mere ambitious learning, worldly fame, and errors which overturn the whole nature of the gospel, are but poor compensations in a dying day for those high achievements which distinguish the life and evangelical ministry.

We have not one word to say in slight of any amount or variety of learning which ministerial preparation and constant industry may bring into the field of its contests and conquests. The more of learning, and of the high equipments which constitute the workman that needeth not to be ashamed, the better and more important it is for the cause of Truth and Righteousness. Orthodox Christianity has never shrunk from any of those great conflicts requiring the profoundest learning and rarest attainments. Sound learning is our admiration and our *sine qua non* in the ministry. It is one of the ends and aims of our Church. Nor do we yield for a

moment to those supercilious claims of superiority in learning so arrogantly put forth about Boston.

But we regard every thing as an impertinence and an offense, which comes in as a succedaneum for the doctrines of the Cross. We have no taste and no approbation for any sermon, or pulpit exhibition, however eloquently grand, or elegantly tasteful it may be, when it does not shine in the Light of Heaven, and when its fires do not glow with the heat of Divine Truth. We have a liking for essays and elegant dissertations in the *Rambler* and *Spectator;* but in the pulpit, the proper tone and drift are far more Heaven-ward and Christ-like than these. A sermon is always a profane affair to us when its literature is manifestly the chief material in its structure. The whole thing lacks fitness, and is a most conspicuous manifestation of the worst of all unfitness.

Yet, Knowledge and Preaching are twin sisters. The pulpit, without learning, is ignorance attempting to teach mankind. There is no spot on earth where regenerated and sanctified learning shines with such splendor, and works with such Divine efficiency, as in the pulpit. But, like the sun, it shines without effort and without display.

We have noticed that, about Boston, where Unitarianism most abounds, its ministers, to a great extent, become literary compilers, historians, essayists, reviewers, poets, etc., as a business. Now, we think this the most natural thing in the world; nor do we blame these men for this change of occupation. The cultivated mind looks for variety, and must have it. But where it has eviscerated its own profession of all that boundless wealth and endless variety of living knowledge and ideas, which every-where shine out from an unspoiled gospel, it is a matter altogether to be expected that it would seek other fields, however poor, on which to expend its power, create its renown, and gratify its reachings after variety. To preach, for perpetuity, a Christless gospel, is a desert of sand with the simoom of monotony ever blowing across it.

It is, therefore, no wonder that men, whose creed lacks variety, vastness, and Divine mystery, should seek other scenes of intellectual exertion. We can scarcely conceive of a life more joyless than his, who having to preach, has often gone the round of all the variety which his system affords. To assign such a task to an honest and able man, is to expose him to manifold causes of uneasiness. And after having tried to impart variety and vitality to

a system which will not sustain either, if he should turn Congressman, Historian or any thing else to relieve his tedium, who can blame him? Another relief, and not so innocent, is preaching *to the times*.

Thus the Bible, either absolutely rejected, or its great fundamental doctrines torn up by the roots, fails, as a great instrumental cause, to accomplish its great, its wonderful and salutary effects upon the souls of men.

Another thing may here be remarked: No system, denying the Divinity of Christ, has ever yet reared up or sustained a great religious reformer. Had there been no Divinity in Christ, there had been no Paul, no Peter, no Luther, no Calvin. The Divinity of Christ, as an article of Christian faith, has been the great vitalizing principle in every reformer and in every reformation since the days of the crucifixion. There are no motives of sufficient power, in any system, which denies the depravity of man and the Divinity of Christ, to originate and sustain a reformer.

When Wesley and Whitfield began their reforming labors in England, the pulpits of the country had ceased to resound with the name of Christ as the life and only hope of sinners. Wintry essays and polished frost-work constituted most of the pulpit pabulum of the land. But when these great trumpeters blew their blasts, they did it, not in the name of a man, but in the name of Immanuel, God with us. And just as all reformers have done this, so has the gospel in their hands become quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword—like a fire and a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces. And as none has yet been, so no reformation will ever be found springing up from the dead embers of a Christless gospel.

Art. III.—*The Meaning and Use of* סֶלָה (*Selah.*)

Much has been written in the attempt to show what may have been the meaning and use of סֶלָה, Selah, (which occurs both in the Psalms and in the song of Habakkuk,) but the result thus far seems to be unsatisfactory. We can not think, however, that this

should be suffered to induce us to abandon the hope of ultimately ascertaining the intention of the Holy Spirit in the employment of the term. And it is preferable still to wait in the attitude of patient inquiry, and of hope, rather than to identify our position with that of too many interpreters of the Scriptures, and with not a few who conduct the worship of God in our churches: for the Latin vulgate and Spanish version have excluded the word entirely; while some preachers of the Gospel have the presumption to omit it in their public reading of those portions of the Bible in connection with which it is employed. The plea offered in the attempt to justify this procedure, that the meaning of the term is not certainly known, if admitted to be valid, will be found fairly entitled to an application much more extensive; since, on this ground, not only must *Selah* be excluded from the use of the Sanctuary, but, along with it, any and every term, phrase, or portion of the Divine Word, the meaning of which is uncertain in the preacher's estimation; not excepting those "things hard to be understood" to which Peter refers as existing in the epistles of Paul. Surely we are not prepared to concede to any man the prerogative to take such liberties with that inspired word which God has *magnified above all his name;* Ps. cxxxviii: 2. And to any who may be inclined to assume it, we commend the remark of the late Dr. Alexander, in his exposition of Ps. iii: 3, in which, referring to Selah, he says: "Like the titles, it invariably forms part of the text, and its omission by some Editors and Translators is a mutilation of the Word of God."

We propose to offer a few remarks in relation to the term itself, after which we shall present briefly the view we have for many years entertained respecting it; and shall, also, explain the use which we have been led to make of it in the perusal of those precious portions of the Sacred Volume in which it occurs.

The word is employed *seventy-one* times in the Psalms, and *three* times in the Song of Habakkuk, (Hab. iii: 3, 9, 13.) Dr. Alexander on Ps. iii: 3, and likewise Gesenius, *sub voce*, say that it occurs *seventy-three* times in the Psalms, which is a mistake.*

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* For the information of some of our readers, it may be proper to remark that a similar term elsewhere occurring (as in 2 Kings, xiv: 7, and Isa. xvi: 1), although the same English letters are employed in transferring it, is a different word in the Hebrew, (סלע;) and is in other places translated *rock*. See for example Judges i: 36, and Ps. xviii: 2, (3,) and xlii: 9, (10.)

It occurs in some Psalms but *once:** Ps. vii: 5, and xx: 3, and xxi: 2. In others it occurs *twice:* Ps. iv: 2, 4, and ix: 16, 20. In others, *thrice:* Ps. iii: 2, 4, 8, and xxxii: 4, 5, 7, and lxv: 4, 7, 15, and lxviii: 7, 19, 32; and in one instance *four* times: Ps. lxxxix: 4, 37, 45, 48, while sometimes it occurs in the middle of a verse, as in Ps. lv: 19, and lvii: 3, and Hab. iii: 3, 9; and at other times at the end of a Psalm: Ps. iii, ix and xxiv. Thus, it may serve to divide a Psalm into several strophes. And that, in a certain sense, it is *a sign of pause*, appears to be evident from the fact that the LXX every-where render it by *διάψαλμα*. The term is from *διαψάλλω*; and is defined by Suidas to be *a change either of song or metre*. But that it refers merely to the instrumental music, and not to the vocal performance, is as groundless an assumption as it would be to maintain the same in relation to *da capo* itself, in instances where both the vocal and instrumental are united. Gesenius strongly maintains that it merely indicates a pause; and even renders *Higgaion, Selah*, (Ps. ix: 17), "*instrumental music, pause;*" that is, let the instruments strike up a symphony, and the singer pause." But this is mere assumption. Dr. Alexander's view is every way preferable, though we do not conceive that even he has presented the full meaning of the expression. We shall have occasion to advert to this again.

That סֶלָה is not an abbreviation, has been argued upon the assumed ground that such abbreviations were unknown to the ancient Jews. But, really, the assumption seems to stand as much in need of proof as the hypothesis which is founded upon it. The abbreviations in the margin of the Hebrew Bible are confessedly of high antiquity. And, although it has been repeated with great positiveness and assurance that there are none in the text itself, it is from the text itself that we should be led to suppose that the Jews excelled in the art of abbreviation. The Acrostic Psalms evince how art was combined with the majestic simplicity of these early compositions. And it would not require a very great stretch of the imagination to suppose that the initial letters in those Psalms may have stood, in the estimation of the Jews, as the representatives, in that connection, of the verse, clause or word at the

* These references are to the enumeration of the verses as given in the English version.

commencement of which they stand; and that they may have, for example, spoken of the "*Daleth clause*" of Ps. cxii; the "*Beth verse*" of Ps. xxxiv; or of the "*Lamedh section*" of Ps. cxix. For we find the letters of the Alphabet (with a slight variation or two,) commencing *seriatim* the verses of Psalms xxv, xxxiv, and cxlv; and in Psalm cxix each letter commencing eight verses consecutively, while in Ps. xxxvii those letters commence the alternate verses; and then, still further, and still more remarkable for its artistic beauty, we find in Psalms cxi and cxii those letters commencing *seriatim* each clause of the Psalm. *

But, omitting further remark on this point, what are the suffixes and many of the prefixes of the verbs, nouns, etc., if not instances of abbreviation? And so, too, the Vav conversive, the Apocopation of the future in Lamedh He verbs, and the He Paragogic, and many others of the phenomena of the language? We find these phenomena in connection with an abundantly sufficient variation of usage to show that in the time when any of the specific examples which may be referred to occurred, the language—whatever may have been its original condition at and after the confusion of tongues—was still in the process of moulding and formation.

But while we guard against a too extensive range in the argument, let us descend to a few particulars. In respect to the suffixes, for example, we find that כִי and ִי are abbreviated representations of אָנֹכִי and אֲנִי; and נוּ for אֲנַחְנוּ, etc.; and amongst the prefixes שֶׁ for אֲשֶׁר; as in שֶׁכָּךְ and כְּשֶׁיָּפוּל, and the like. Nor would it avail any thing to plead that these instances occur in combination with other words; the objection would amount to nothing if even they were affixes instead of suffixes, etc.; for the fact is not thereby in any way affected, that they are really and truly abbreviations of the words they represent. And so, too, in respect to instances like the following: פַּלְמֹנִי is confessedly an abbreviation of the words אַלְמֹנִי and פְּלֹנִי; while, according to the celebrated Rabbi, Jonah, עָשְׂתִי (the alternate of עָחַר in Number Eleven,) is abbreviated from עַד שְׁתֵּי. Such abbreviations confessedly exist, and it were easy to add to the number, if either the Hebrew Bible, or only a Lexicon, were accessible. †

* Compare also Prov. xxxi: 10–31, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

† The recent military restrictions, in regard to the baggage of officers in the army, have rendered it necessary to throw aside nearly all of the very few books which I had been able to carry on the march.

And yet we are gravely informed that the ancient Jews knew nothing of the art of abbreviation, and that no such forms exist in the Hebrew text!

The Apocopation of the Future in Lamedh He verbs would certainly seem to indicate that the idea was a very obvious and familiar one to the Hebrew mind; while the He Paragogic, representing, as it often does in the Imperative, entreaty and strong desire, conveys an idea not in any way apparent in the isolated letter itself. Nor is it thus added for the purpose of either softening or facilitating the pronunciation, as every Grammarian must admit, but simply to express earnest desire, etc. Whether it be in this connection like וְ Conversive, an abbreviation, may be denied; but what would the denial amount to? And that the best Grammarians regard נָ as an abbreviation, will not be questioned.* By some it is affirmed to be an abbreviation of הָוָה; by others, of וְהָיָה; and Ewald, the greatest of all Grammarians, regards it as an abbreviation of וְאָו. But, however they may differ as to the word which it represents, they unite in regarding it as an abbreviation. And to deny a knowledge of the art and uses of abbreviation to a people possessing such evidences of refinement and advancement in literature as existed in the days of David and Solomon, seems to us like the very frivolity of captious criticism.

Why, then, should not the ancient Jews have been familiar with this art? We find it prevail, and to a remarkable extent, in every age of Rabbinical literature. And on what ground is its origin to be attributed to the more modern Rabbins, instead of their ancestors? This might be allowable, were the art referred to one which was more likely to be developed in an advanced stage, or in the decline of literature, rather than in its earlier stages. But such is not the fact—the reverse being the invariable rule. The assumption, however, is of no account, and can make nothing against so regarding the term, provided it can be most satisfactorily understood, and its use explained on that hypothesis. No etymology of the word that has yet been suggested is regarded

* This is admitted by Professor Green, of Princeton, in his admirably arranged and exhaustive Grammar of the Hebrew Language; though his views are adverse to our own on the main issue presented in this article, yet he supposes that the article ה is an abbreviation of הוּא, § 229.

either as satisfactory, or susceptible of being thoroughly sustained; a fact which may find its true solution in the other fact that no etymology can explain it as a single term. The Arabians, moreover, and other ancient nations, have always been familiar with the form of abbreviation which this word, if regarded as such, would represent. And why, then, and on what rational ground, must a similar knowledge be denied the ancient Jews? But, without here entering into the dispute respecting the employment of abbreviations by the Jews, we shall assume that סלה is an abbreviation analogous to that which, indisputably, has been for many ages, and ever since the commencement of their Rabbinic literature, common with that people; and, at a far earlier period, with the Arabians, as, for example, in the well known instance, Rashi (רשי,) for *Rabbi Solomon Iarchi*, (רבי שלמה יִרחי.) In like manner סלה may stand for סב לְמַעְלָה הַשָּׁר; *Return back again*, (or to the beginning) *O Singer*. And if such a hypothesis will suffice to explain and illustrate satisfactorily its use, the assumption that it is an abbreviation will hardly be regarded as without reason.

The LXX, who have given the earliest representation of the word which exists in any other language, seem to have entertained an idea similar to this as to its meaning. For as they could neither transfer the abbreviation as such into the Greek language so as to be intelligible to the nations; nor, with any better success, form an equivalent abbreviation in that language, their resort seems to have been to give, as briefly as possible, the meaning of the clause which the word itself represents. Hence, as above remarked, they substitute in lieu of it *διαψαλμα*, importing a change in the performance. The word *chorus*, as then used, could not have expressed the idea intended; nor have designated the part to be repeated; and was, therefore, not employed. All this was, however, perfectly familiar to them and to all the Jews. And this very familiarity seemed to render in their view a full explanation unnecessary, even in translating the Bible. And thus, when the public service of the temple was abolished, the meaning of the word, and even of *διαψαλμα*, as thus technically applied, and not designating the exact change itself, seems to have faded from the memory of all—so much so, that by the time of Jerome all vestige of its true meaning was lost, as appears from the fact that he wholly omits to refer to it in his version. The Talmud pro-

poses to explain it by substituting לְעֹלְמִין *in aeternum*. But this is sheer nonsense, as any one can see by attempting at any extent to verify the substitution. And this fact, taken in connection with the utter omission of the word by Jerome in the vulgate, would seem very plainly to intimate that soon after the destruction of the Jewish Temple and nationality, its meaning was lost among both Jews and Christians.

The Psalms in which *Selah* occurs are thirty-nine in number,* (or forty, if we may reckon the Song of Habakkuk,) to-wit: 3, 4, 7, 9, 20, 21, 24, 32, 39, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 140, 143. And, according to the old Jewish division of the Psalter, (to which we here advert as a matter of convenience for future reference,) it is employed as follows:

In Book I., including Psalms 1–41, it is used seventeen times.
" II., " " 42–72, it is used thirty times.
" III., " " 73–89, it is used twenty times.
" IV., " " 90–106, not at all.
" V., " " 107–150, it is used four times. †

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* It is not found in the *Acrostic Psalms*, (25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145,) nor in the *Songs of Degrees*, (Ps. 120–134;) nor in any of the *Psalms without titles*, of which there are 35. It has been said to be peculiar to the Psalms entitled מזמור. There is not much in this, however. There are 56 Psalms so entitled, of which but 26 contain Selah; and it exists in 13 Psalms with other titles. It is found in 7 of the 13 entitled משכיל; and in 3 of the 6 entitled מכתם, and is, therefore, as peculiar to these as to those inscribed מזמור. In Ps. lxxxviii, two of these titles are united. The remaining four, (containing *Selah*,) to which none of these titles belong, are Ps. vii, xlvi, lxi, and lxxxi. In these and all other references which I make to the Psalter in this essay, I use the edition issued by Bagster. It seems to be accurate and reliable, but I have no opportunity to compare it with any other edition of the Hebrew Text.

† The origin of this partition of the book is confessedly so ancient that it can not now be traced. It is still retained by the Jews, who believe that it is part of the original arrangement of the book as made by Divine authority; and who profess to derive some of their reasons for this conclusion from the book itself. They note that each of the first three books ends in אמן ואמן, and the fourth in אמן חללו-יה, neither of which terminations is found elsewhere in the Psalms. The ending of Book V., as that book completes the Psalter, needed no specific designation; hence it is not marked by any peculiarity, and is the same with that of several other Psalms.

The Psalms were originally prepared for the public service of the Tabernacle and Temple, as is plainly apparent from the titles given to many of them.* Ezra probably completed the arrangement of the book in its present form. And it is obvious that no attempt has been made to arrange them in chronological order, or in the order of their production, whatever other principle may have been the rule of that arrangement. It seems highly probable, moreover, that all the Psalms were employed in that service; and that each had its appropriate place assigned to it (and which may have been originally designated by the Holy Spirit when He supplied the Psalm,) in the course of those public observances which were appointed for the Jewish worshipers during the year. The frequent occurrence of *Selah* in those sacred lyrics would seem, therefore, unquestionably to intimate that it had some essential relation to the proper performance of that service; and it seems very unlikely that this relation to the true and spiritual worship of Almighty God should be of such a nature as to depend upon the mere instrumental accompaniment of that service, and to be confined exclusively to the Jewish worshiper and public worship, seeing that the Psalms, like the rest of the Scriptures, were designed not for Jews only, but for all, of every age and nation, who worship God in spirit and in truth; and to all of whom those delightful compositions have ever been truly dear—for the term *Selah*, unlike the title of the Psalm, which is but an external designation, enters into its very construction, (sometimes occurring even in the middle of a verse or sentence,) and is part of the body of it, and must have related essentially to the use to which it was put by the worshipers themselves. It can hardly, therefore, with any sufficient degree of probability, be supposed to relate merely to the external performance—and to the instrumental part alone of that performance—but must, like the rest of the Psalm, relate also to the devotional exercises of all the worshipers; and be susceptible of being, in like manner, employed, in aiding such devotion, even in social and private worship, and in the absence of musical accompaniment. If this be so, and it certainly seems not unlikely, then the theory that it is merely a musical note, or a notation, for directing the instrumental part of the performance, is untenable.

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* למנצח (*to the chief musician,*) is employed in the titles of fifty-three Psalms See also Isa. xxxviii: 20.

Nor can the mind rest with any more satisfaction, (as we shall see,) in the supposition that it is intended merely to announce a pause in the performance itself.

In considering these things, we have long been led to regard the word as much more significant than these or any similar theories would seem to require, and to look still further for the solution of the question as to its meaning and use. It certainly may be supposed to have reference as much to the Christian worshiper, as to the ancient Jewish believer, (unless we would fall in with the preposterous notion of Semler, respecting "the local and temporary" character of certain portions of the Word of God *); and it seems to us that no solution of the question as to its meaning and use should be regarded as satisfactory, which does not take this into the account. And, as no really substantial reason has stood in the way of our doing so, we have been led, therefore, to look for the solution on the basis before adverted to—*that the word is an abbreviation;* and that like the D. C. of *da capo* (and not unlike these words in their meaning,) it is designed to direct the worshiper, whether standing with the choir or in "the great congregation," to *return again to some part of the Psalm which had been already performed.* So, as already stated, we have for many years employed it in our devotional reading of those precious compositions, and always, we think, with real profit to ourselves; and, as it appears to us, to the imparting of additional force and beauty to portions of the Divine Word. We are not desirous to make out a case, any further than it becomes us to be desirous to do good, and are by no means confident that the view we take will be acquiesced in by others. We only repeat that we have been thereby benefited ourselves, and shall rejoice if our humble attempt may

* And truly no good man can be indifferent as to the influence of the principles which he may adopt or sanction, especially in such a day as this, when Hottentots, it seems, are making proselytes of English dignitaries sent to instruct them in the Gospel; and the votaries of the degrading superstition of Pantheism, after endeavoring to revive its putrid carcass, and to set it up in the temple of their Dagon, are assaying to clothe it in a garb which shall captivate the fancy, and lead into the depths of ruinous error them, who, having learned through the speculations of sciolists to regard pedantry as Science, are prepared to receive as truth any thing which teaches them to set lightly by the doctrines of the Cross of Christ, and the teachings of the revealed will of God.

be blessed to the awakening of more interest in the too much neglected Book of Psalms.

That the refrain or chorus (in the popular sense of this term) was employed in the performance of the Temple service, (that is, when the Psalms were introduced,) will not, we think, be questioned by any one who has carefully examined the subject. And it seems equally evident that the whole assembly united in the chorus, as on Mounts Ebal and Gerizzim the assembled tribes gave the emphatic *Amen* to the enunciation of the blessing or the curse. (Deut. xxvii: 11–26). In fact the construction of many Psalms evince it, as it appears to us, though we do not present this point as an issue in the argument; for whether it be admitted or rejected is unimportant, so far as regards our hypothesis respecting the meaning of *Selah*. The band of performers alone may have introduced the *chorus;* and then again the whole assembly may have united with the performers in the chorus, which we are inclined to think was frequently the fact. And then, in order to guard against misapprehension, in respect to a matter to which we shall have occasion to refer presently, we would here remark that repetitions are not necessarily either refrains or choruses, as is apparent from Ps. cvii, where, in verses 6, 13, 19, 28, there is a repetition entering into the historical construction of the Psalm, while the chorus is given in verses 8, 15, 21, 31. Then, in Psalm cxxxvi, the chorus follows each verse from the beginning of the Psalm to its conclusion—the choir of singers and of performers on instruments leading the historical narrative as given in the former part of each verse, and the whole assembly, as we think, uniting in the concluding chorus, "*For His mercy endureth forever.*" * And we are fully assured that such choruses were more general in the Temple service, and that they were provided for

* Mohammed instituted no Temple service in any way analogous to that of the Jews; but being ignorant of the design and use of the chorus as given in the Psalter, he, with a view of imitating the Divine Word as closely as possible, wrote an ode or song which, in its whole construction, is patterned after this Psalm; thus furnishing a chorus without providing for its performance. Or, perhaps, the Jew who aided him in writing the Koran, prepared the song with the sly purpose of casting ridicule upon the preposterous pretensions of the false prophet. We refer to the matter from memory, and can not, therefore, mention the part of the Koran in which this imitation is found.

more extensively than now appears in the written out refrains which are expressed *verbatim* in the Psalms; and, also, that *Selah*, in its design and use, relates to this matter, as we shall attempt somewhat fully to show.

As to the portion of the Psalm to which the worshiper, as directed by *Selah*, was to return for the purpose of repeating, there seems to be no ground for hesitation or doubt respecting it, as we think will fully appear in the course of this discussion. Repetition is characteristic of many of the Psalms; sometimes it is fully written out and expressed, and at other times indicated by *Selah*. Thus, for example, in Ps. cxxix: 1, 2, (one of the Songs of Degrees), the Psalmist says: "*Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth*, may Israel now say: *many a time have they afflicted me from my youth;* yet they have not prevailed against me." Or take still another example from Ps. xciv, the first verse of which reads thus: "*O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth; O God, to whom vengeance belongeth*, show Thyself." In these instances, taken from the first verse of the Psalms, the intensifying repetition is fully written out or expressed. But if we refer to the first verse of Ps. lxvii, we find that it terminates in *Selah:* "God be merciful unto us and bless us; and cause His face to shine upon us, *Selah;*" which, as we understand the term, requires the worshiper to return and repeat; and thus the first and second verses, with *Selah*, (as above explained), would read as follows: "God be merciful unto us and bless us, and cause His face to shine upon us; (*God be merciful unto us and bless us; and cause His face to shine upon us;*) that Thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health among all nations." Here *Selah* indicates the intensifying repetition, (in which all the congregation of worshipers may have united,) which, in the other specified instances, is fully written out or expressed. And that the reiteration does impart intensity and beauty to the passage, will hardly be questioned.

The word also frequently occurs in the *second* verse of a Psalm, as also in the third and fourth verses of others. We shall cite, in illustration of our subject, a few instances of each, substituting therein for *Selah* the words of the refrain itself. Though it may be in point to remark in this connection, that if we may, in illustration of the use of *Selah*, as indicating the chorus, take those Psalms in which the refrain or chorus is fully expressed or written out, it will be in some cases doubtful whether the whole of the first

verse is to be substituted for that word, or only the first clause: since, in the Psalms in which the refrain is fully given, we sometimes have the whole of the first verse repeated, (see Ps. viii and cxviii,) and in others only the first clause. (See Ps. ciii, and cxlv-cl). We shall, in our illustrations, preserve uniformity in the citations, without attempting to decide the question for our readers. It is obvious, however, that the same variety may have existed in both cases.

In the following citations *Selah* is found at the end of the second verse of the Psalm, and in lieu of it we shall substitute the refrain, inclosing it in parenthesis, as above:

"Lord, how are they increased that trouble me? many are they that rise up against me. Many there be which say of my soul, There is no help for him in God. (*Lord, how are they increased that trouble me? many are they that rise up against me.*) But Thou, O Lord, art a shield for me; my glory, and the lifter up of my head." Ps. iii: 1–3.

"The king shall joy in Thy strength, O Lord; and in Thy salvation, how greatly shall he rejoice? Thou hast given him his heart's desire; and hast not withholden the request of his lips. (*The King shall joy in Thy strength, O Lord; and in Thy salvation how greatly shall he rejoice?*) For Thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness; Thou settest a crown of pure gold upon his head." Ps. xxi: 1–3.

"God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; He judgeth among the gods. How long will ye judge unjustly: and accept the persons of the wicked? (*God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; He judgeth among the gods.*) Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy." Ps. lxxxii: 1–3.

"Lord, Thou hast been favorable unto Thy land; Thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of Thy people, Thou hast covered all their sin. (*Lord, Thou hast been favorable unto Thy land; Thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob.* Thou hast taken away all Thy wrath: Thou hast turned Thyself from the fierceness of Thine anger." Ps. lxxxv: 1–3.

In these citations we have added also the verse which follows the refrain, simply to show how easily and fully the refrain itself falls in with the whole context, imparting additional force and beauty to the whole. Yet a moment's reflection will show that it

would be unreasonable to expect that a chorus, interrupting, as it often does, a narrative, should, in all cases, so connect with what follows it as to become, as it were, a part of the narrative itself. Such is never the design of a chorus; and it can, therefore, constitute no valid objection to our hypothesis, that it may not in all cases meet such imaginary conditions. We shall now cite a few of the instances in which *Selah* occurs in the *third* verse:

"The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee. Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Sion. Remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt sacrifices. (*The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee.*) Grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfill all thy counsel." Ps. xx: 1–4.

"Why boastest thou thyself in mischief, O mighty man? the goodness of God endureth continually. Thy tongue deviseth mischiefs; like a sharp razor, working deceitfully. Thou lovest evil more than good; and lying rather than to speak righteousness. (*Why boasteth thou thyself in mischief, O mighty man? the goodness of God endureth continually.*) Thou lovest all devouring words, O thou deceitful tongue." Ps. lii: 1–4.

"Save me, O God, by Thy name, and judge me by Thy strength. Hear my prayer, O God: give ear to the words of my mouth. For strangers are risen up against me, and oppressors seek after my soul; they have not set Thee before them. (*Save me, O God, by Thy name, and judge me by Thy strength.*) Behold! God is mine helper; the Lord is with them that uphold my soul." Ps. liv: 1–4.

In this instance, as also in the following, the last verse of the citation commences a new paragraph in the Psalm:

"In Judah God is known; His name is great in Israel. In Salem also is His tabernacle, and His dwelling-place in Sion. There brake he the arrows of the bow, the shield, and the sword, and the battle. (*In Judah God is known; His name is great in Israel.*) Thou art more glorious and excellent than the mountains of prey." Ps. lxxvi: 1–4.

"I cried unto God with my voice, even unto God with my voice; and He gave ear unto me. In the day of my trouble I sought the Lord: my sore ran in the night, and ceased not: my soul refused to be comforted. I remembered God, and was troubled: I complained, and my spirit was overwhelmed. (*I cried unto God with*

my voice, even unto God with my voice; and He gave ear unto me.) Thou holdest mine eyes waking: I am so troubled that I can not speak." Ps. lxxvii: 1–4.

In the following citations *Selah* occurs in the *fourth* verse of the Psalm:

"O clap your hands, all ye people: shout unto God with the voice of triumph. For the Lord Most High is terrible; He is a great King over all the earth. He shall subdue the people under us, and the nations under our feet. He shall choose our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob whom he loved. (*O clap your hands, all ye people: shout unto God with the voice of triumph.*) God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet." Ps. xlvii: 1–5.

"O God, Thou hast cast us off, Thou hast scattered us, Thou hast been displeased; O turn Thyself to us again. Thou hast made the earth to tremble; Thou hast broken it: heal the breaches thereof; for it shaketh. Thou hast showed Thy people hard things; Thou hast made us to drink the wine of astonishment. Thou hast given a banner to them that feared Thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth. (*O God, Thou hast cast us off, Thou hast scattered us, Thou hast been displeased; O turn Thyself to us again.*) That Thy beloved may be delivered; save with Thy right hand, and hear me." Ps. lx: 1–5.

"Hear my cry, O God; attend unto my prayer. From the end of the earth will I cry unto Thee, when my heart is overwhelmed: lead me to the rock that is higher than I. For Thou hast been a shelter for me, and a strong tower from the enemy. I will abide in Thy tabernacle forever; I will trust in the covert of Thy wings. (*Hear my cry, O God; attend unto my prayer.*) For Thou, O God, hast heard my vows: Thou hast given me the heritage of those that fear Thy name." Ps. lxi: 1–5.

"Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from Him cometh my salvation. He only is my rock and my salvation; He is my defense; I shall not be greatly moved. How long will ye imagine mischief against a man? ye shall be slain all of you: as a bowing wall shall ye be, and as a tottering fence. They only consult to cast him down from his excellency: they delight in lies: they bless with their mouth, but they curse inwardly. (*Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from Him cometh my salvation.*) My soul wait

thou only upon God; for my expectation is from Him." Ps. lxii: 1–5.

The above instances, thus regularly cited according to the use of *Selah* in the first four verses of the Psalms, may suffice for this method of illustration. It is needless to cite all the instances of its use, and while we concede that some may not be so obvious as illustrations of our hypothesis, as others, yet we have found none which, upon a thorough consideration, appeared to be inconsistent with the exposition we have given of the word; or with the use of the chorus, in instances where it confessedly exists, in other parts of the Psalter. But we shall now proceed to take, more at random, a few other instances for the fuller and more thorough illustration of our subject.

We have supposed (what, however, we regard as susceptible of actual demonstration,) that the whole body of Jewish worshipers, occasionally, at least, and when on the great festive occasions the Psalms were introduced into the service, united with the band of singers and players on instruments, in repeating whatever choruses existed in the Psalms which were performed. We have no means or authorities at hand, except the Bible, to verify this representation, (being with our regiment, encamped in the interior of Arkansas, without books, and far away from all such appliances;) but shall not hesitate to take it for granted, assured as we are that it is really the fact; though, as already remarked, the issue is of no importance as regards our general argument. And we advert to it only for the sake of the force and beauty which the idea seems to impart to the illustration of several of the Psalms, to which we shall now refer. Though the illustration would be sufficiently complete, even on the supposition that these choruses were not joined in by the whole congregation, but were performed by the bands of musicians alone. But we think the effect is very much hightened by supposing that all the congregation united therein. *

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* That the congregation, during the public worship of God, was accustomed to join in the chorus, seems to be plainly intimated in the Scriptures. On the occasion of the removal of the Ark from Kirjath-jearim—a grand festive occasion—"David and *all Israel played before God, with all their might, with singing*, and with harps," etc. 1 Chr. xiii: 8. "So David and all the House of Israel brought up the Ark of the Lord *with shouting*, and with the sound of the trumpet." 2 Sam.

As an illustrative instance of this, and one which likewise confirms our hypothesis as to the design and use of *Selah*, we may cite the sixty-eighth Psalm, in which that word occurs several times, and first at the end of v. 7, and in the middle of a sentence. The refrain is in v. 1, (where it always is in Psalms in which *Selah* is used,) and consists of those majestic words employed by the Priests on taking up the Ark, as Israel resumed her march through the wilderness: "*Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered: let them also that hate Him flee before Him.*" (See Numbers x: 35.) The Psalm tends powerfully to remind the people of Israel of the thrilling scenes connected with their exodus from Egypt; their march through the wilderness, and their conquest of the promised land; and we may easily imagine how—in the performance of it in the Temple service, by the mighty band of singers and instrumental performers—every heart would thrill with emotion as the opening words were sounded forth. We can not here quote the whole Psalm, nor is it necessary for the pur-

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vi: 15, and 1 Chr. xv: 28. And at the close of the Psalm, which David had prepared for the occasion, and which was performed on that day by Asaph and his brethren, we read that "*All the people said, Amen, and praised the Lord.*" 1 Chr. xvi: 4–36. The same words are employed respecting them on another occasion, where the congregation had been assembled. Neh. v: 13. And on still another occasion it is said "All the people cried, Amen! Amen! with lifting up of their hands." Neh. viii: 6. Again: "And David said to all the congregation, *Now bless the Lord your God: and all the congregation blessed the Lord God of their fathers*, and bowed down their heads and worshiped," etc. 1 Chr. xxix: 20. See, also, Neh. ix: 5. And at the conclusion of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple, it is said that "when *all the children of Israel* saw how the fire came down, and the glory of the Lord upon the house, they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, *and worshiped, and praised the Lord, saying, For He is good: for His mercy endureth forever.*" 2 Chr. vii: 3. *Here is a direct reference to the fact that the multitude joined in uttering forth this familiar chorus of the Psalms.* See, likewise, Jer. xxxiii: 11. The same, too, is clear from Ezra iii: 10–13, at the laying of the foundation of the Temple. Compare, also, 1 Chr. vi: 31–39; Neh. xii: 24–47.

Their "*giving thanks by course*," (See Ezra iii: 11,) and the *two companies* that gave thanks in the Temple, Neh. xii: 40, have, doubtless, reference to David's arrangement of the choir; whose daily choir *for the Tabernacle* was not less than 166. That the women participated in these performances is, perhaps, not unlikely. See Exod. xv: 20–21; 2 Chr. xxxv: 25.

pose of illustration. But let the refrain with which the Psalm opens be fully expressed at the end of verse 7, where *Selah* occurs to indicate it, and the whole sentence would read as follows: "O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy people, when Thou didst march through the wilderness: (*Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered: let them also that hate Him flee before Him*): the earth shook, the heavens dropped at the presence of God: even Sinai itself was moved at the presence of God, the God of Israel." Thus, at the pause in the narrative, which brings to mind so forcibly God's interposition on behalf of their fathers, the whole congregation, as one man, utter forth the words of this noble chorus; and we may easily imagine the effect as it is thus sounded forth by all the worshipers.

The illustration of the design and use of *Selah* in the other two verses in which it occurs in the Psalm is little less striking, but our space forbids us to introduce them.

In Ps. xlvi, it is likewise employed three times, and in two of them in connection with a fully expressed or written out repetition. In v. 1, the noble refrain is given: "*God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble;*" and at the end of each of the three strophes or divisions, into which the Psalm is arranged, *Selah* follows to indicate a repetition of this refrain or chorus. *Selah*, as indicating this chorus, follows verses 3, 7, 11; and in v. 7 the words occur, (which are repeated also in v. 11): "The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge." This repetition may, indeed, be a second refrain; but there is no necessity for supposing it to be so. For, as already remarked, a repetition is not always a chorus, even in sacred Psalmody. And, as an illustration in point, Ps. xxxix: 5, 11, may be cited, in which, and immediately preceding *Selah*, (as in the Psalm before us,) a sentiment is repeated, but with sufficient variations in the expression to show that it could not have been employed as a refrain. And thus, although in two of the verses of Ps. xlvi, which immediately precede *Selah*, the aforesaid words occur, there is no reason for supposing them to be a part of the chorus.

A very brief analysis of this most sublime composition, (after which we shall quote it in full,) will, we think, go far toward evincing what was the true meaning and use of *Selah* in the ancient Church.

In the *first* strophe, and after announcing the refrain, the Psalm-

ist dwells upon the Almighty power and goodness of God; and declares that, amid all the commotions of earth and tribulations of His people, God is their dependence. We shall not fear, though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof. And the strophe ends with *Selah*, the whole congregation (when it was performed in the Temple) joining therein, "*God* IS *our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.*"

In the *second* strophe, and, as connected with the same great truths, he refers to the security and blessedness of the Church: "God is in the midst of her: she shall not be moved; God shall help her, and that right early;" and, likewise, to the manner in which God frustrated the efforts of the heathen to destroy her. And the strophe closes with these words, (to which *Selah* is added,) "The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge." Upon which the whole congregation chime in, and in one grand chorus exclaim, "God IS our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble;" thus intensifying and appropriating to themselves the previous utterance.

In the *third* strophe he still dwells upon the theme, and shows how the Almighty power of God is exercised in chastising the nations by war's desolations; and then by healing those desolations: thus evincing that He only is God; and that His purpose is to be exalted among the nations, and in the earth. The strophe then ends in the same sublime manner as delineated above.

And now let our readers peruse this majestic Psalm, and picture to themselves the mighty assemblage of worshipers in the Temple on some festive occasion uniting in performing it. The singers and players on instruments lead off in the song; and then, as they approach the end of these strophes, the whole congregation with one voice unite in avouching Jehovah to be their God: "*God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.*"

The following is the Psalm in full, with the chorus substituted for *Selah:*

"God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof. (*God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.*)

"There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, and that right early. The heathen raged, the kingdoms were moved: He uttered His voice, the earth melted. The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. (*God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.*)

"Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made in the earth. He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the fire. Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth. The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. (*God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.*)"

We may here, in passing, advert to a fact brought to view by this Psalm, and which is deserving of consideration by those who, like Gesenius, maintain that *Selah* is designed merely to indicate a pause. It is this: that *Selah* repeatedly occurs, as in this instance, at the *end* of a Psalm. (Compare Ps. iii, and ix, and xxiv.) Now, on what principle would the advocates of this theory maintain their exposition of the word in view of such a fact? If that imaginary Hibernian, who seems to have appropriated to himself, without acknowledgment, the bulls and blunders of all ages and nations, might be supposed to need the direction to stop when he could go no farther, it can hardly be supposed that the ancient Israelites needed to be informed that they must pause when they had got to the end of the Psalm. There certainly could have been no likelihood of their continuing to sing when they had nothing to sing; and, therefore, we can hardly suppose a necessity for directing them to pause when they had arrived at the end. But, in contrast with this, and in further illustration and confirmation of our own position, it may be remarked in this connection, that the *first* verse, or part of the first verse, of a Psalm is, in repeated instances, (in Psalms where *Selah* is not employed,) reiterated in the *last* verse of that Psalm. See, for example, Ps. viii: 1, 9, and ciii: 1, 22, and civ: 1, 35, and cxviii: 1, 29. While *Selah*, therefore, standing at the end of a Psalm, could hardly be explained as a direction to the performer to pause, it may, of course, and as our exposition of it requires, be employed for directing to a similar repetition with that contained in the Psalms here referred to.

In Ps. ix: 16, to which we have already briefly referred, the expression, "*Higgaion. Selah,*" occurs. *Higgaion*, which we think should have been rendered into English by our translators, here means, as Dr. Alexander * shows, "*Meditation.*" The idea seems to be, "Here is a subject which preëminently calls for meditation," and it is equivalent to the injunction, "*Consider this,*" or "*Meditate hereon.*" *Selah*, indicating the refrain, follows this direction, and the whole passage, including the refrain and verses 9 and 10, would then read as follows:

"The Lord is known by the judgment which He executeth: the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands. CONSIDER THIS. (*I will praise Thee, O Lord, with my whole heart; I will shew forth all Thy marvelous works.*) The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God." And in like manner, also, after the last verse of the Psalm (wherein *Selah* occurs,) the worshiper repeats in the refrain his purpose to live for the glory of God, whatever course the wicked may resolve to pursue.

In further illustration, let us take also Ps. xxxii, the first verse of which contains that joyous and triumphant expression of the renewed soul, which has been by such reiterated millions of times in every succeeding age: "*Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.*" We may call to mind how Job longed to realize the truth of this, when he exclaimed in those memorable words, "How can man be just (justified) with God?" David, in this Psalm, (as Paul in Rom. vii,) describes the deep inwrought expression of his soul in relation to the whole matter, from the beginning of his conviction of sin, until full hope and assurance took possession of his heart. At first, and in the midst of his distressing doubts and fears, when "his moisture was turned into the drought of summer," he most earnestly longs to realize this blessedness, and exclaims, "Blessed is he," etc., † (v. 4.) That is,

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* I much regret that I have not had the opportunity, during the preparation of this essay, to consult the Exposition of the Psalms by this greatly lamented scholar and divine, who, truly, has left no compeer in those departments of sacred literature which he so adorned. Before entering our present military post, the opportunity was afforded for transcribing the extract given in our first paragraph; the other references are from recollection alone.

† אשרי נשוי־פשע . . . . . אשרי־אדם וגו: literally, *O the blessedness of him—of the man, etc.* אשר, *blessedness*, is a noun masculine, (occurring only in the plural con-

O that I could realize this blessedness, for, of all men, I am most wretched. He then proceeds to describe how he found this blessedness through the free and full forgiveness of sin, (v. 5,) at the end of which he, in the joy of his soul, as a ransomed and saved sinner, speaking from sweet experience, exclaims, "Blessed *is* he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered." And then, after uttering words of further exultation, and avouching the Lord to be his hiding place and Saviour, he (v. 7) repeats in ecstasy the same glorious refrain: "*Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.*" The effect of this reiteration, as uttered in the Temple service, can be easily conceived.

In Ps. lxvi, *Selah* is likewise repeated three times. The first verse, or refrain, is, "Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands"—a glorious chorus to be publicly sounded forth in the service of the *Jewish* Temple. *Selah* occurs after v. 4, which, with the refrain, would read thus: "All the earth shall worship Thee, and shall sing unto Thee; they shall sing to Thy name. (*Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands.*") The same is, with equal force and beauty, repeated after v. 7: "He ruleth by His power forever; His eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themselves. (*Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands.*") And so, also, in v. 15, and after proclaiming his own purpose to glorify God, he, by repeating the refrain, calls upon all the earth to join with him therein: "I will offer unto Thee burnt sacrifices of fatlings, with the increase of rams; I will offer bullocks with goats. (*Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands.*")

The only Psalm in which *Selah* occurs *four* times is the eighty-ninth, and its occurrence, as indicating the chorus, is just as striking as the chorus four times fully expressed in Psalm cvii, to which we have already referred. Let the refrain in vs. 8, 15, 21, 31 of this latter Psalm, and which is fully expressed, be taken and compared with the refrain as indicated by *Selah* in the former; and we entertain but little doubt as to the result. Both are lengthy Psalms; the one containing forty-three verses, and the other fifty-two. The refrain of Ps. lxxxix is: "*I will sing of the mercies of the Lord forever: with my mouth will I make known Thy faithfulness to all gen-*

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struct;) but it may often be explained adverbially, as in this instance: "*O, how blessed is he whose sins are forgiven!*" etc.; or, Ps. i: 1, "*How blessed* is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the wicked," etc. See, also, Ps. lxv: 5, and cxxviii: 1.

erations;" and the refrain of Psalm cvii is: "*O that men would praise the Lord for His goodness, and for His wonderful works to the children of men!*" As the subject of a chorus, therefore, the one sentiment is just as striking and appropriate as the other; and on that ground there can be no valid objection against regarding *Selah* as indicating a chorus. Nor can any valid objection be raised on the ground of a supposed want of connection between the chorus and the context, (a point to which we have already referred,) which will not be equally applicable to both. And this is not only true in regard to the instance before us, but in every instance of a supposed want of connection between a chorus, as indicated by *Selah*, and the context. For there are repeated instances where the refrain is fully written out or expressed, in which the obvious connection (if such connection be deemed necessary,) is as difficult to perceive, as there can be in any of the instances where the refrain is indicated by the employment of *Selah*. See, for example, Ps. cxxxvi; 10, 16–22.

We have not space in which to illustrate the employment of *Selah* in the four instances of its use in the foregoing Psalm, and we shall now briefly glance at some of the Psalms in which it is found only once or twice:

In Ps. lix, *Selah* is used twice. The refrain is: "*Deliver me from mine enemies, O my God; deliver me from them that rise up against me;*" which, if repeated after verses 5 and 13, in which *Selah* is found, seems to impart great intensity to the supplication. The following are the passages, with the refrain added:

"Thou therefore, O Lord God of hosts, the God of Israel, awake to visit all the heathen: be not merciful to any wicked transgressors. (*Deliver me from mine enemies, O my God; deliver me from them that rise up against me.*) They return at evening: they make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city." Vs. 5, 6.

"Consume them in wrath, consume them, that they may not be: and let them know that God ruleth in Jacob unto the ends of the earth. (*Deliver me from mine enemies, O my God; deliver me from them that rise up against me.*) And at evening let them return; and let them make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city. Let them wander up and down for meat, and grudge if they be not satisfied." Vs. 13–15.

The effect of this reiteration, in imparting great intensity and beauty to the passage, seems still more manifest, if possible, in

Ps. lxii, in which, also, *Selah* is used twice. The refrain, as given in v. 1, is: "Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from Him cometh my salvation." The Psalm is divided into three strophes, the first of which contains an admonition to the Psalmist's enemies. And he presents his unfaltering hope in God, as an offset to their perpetual and malignant efforts to malign and destroy him. "They only consult to cast him down from his excellency: they delight in lies: they bless with their mouth, but they curse inwardly. (*Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from Him cometh my salvation.*) My soul, wait thou ONLY upon God; for my expectation is from Him." Vs. 4, 5.

It occurs, likewise, at the end of the second strophe, (v. 8,) in which David, after enlarging on the idea presented above, proceeds to exhort his fellow men: "Trust in Him at all times; ye people, pour out your heart before Him: God is a refuge for us. (*Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from Him cometh my salvation.*) Surely men of low degree are vanity, and men of high degree are a lie: to be laid in the balance, they are altogether lighter than vanity." Vs. 8, 9.

What can be imagined more beautiful and impressive than the whole worshiping assembly, amid all the imposing grandeur of the Temple service, thus uttering forth these refrains!

In Ps. lxxxiv, also, *Selah* is employed twice. The first verse or refrain is: "How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!" The Psalmist then referring to the fact that he had been, for some cause, deprived of the privilege of attending "the courts of the Lord," though he greatly desired and sought to be there present; urges his prayer by a reference to the fact that even the sparrow has found the nest which she sought; and the swallow, also, a place where to lay her young, while he was in vain seeking the altars of God. * He, then, in vs. 4, 5, adds the following words,

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* That such is the meaning of this passage, I can not doubt. The translation, "Yea, the sparrow hath found a house, and the swallow a place," etc., gives a very inadequate view of the language of the original, גם-צפור מצאה בית וגו; and in fact it seems impossible to translate the verse so as to give the sense without paraphrase. גם, (*dictio augendæ significationis vim habens*, as Bythner somewhere felicitously terms it,) does not here mean *yea*, but *even*, as in v. 2. "My soul longeth *and even* (וגם) fainteth;" and Ps. xxiii: 4, "*Even* though I walk through the valley," etc. And מצא is not simply *to find*, as when one stumbles upon a

in connection with which Selah occurs, for which we shall substitute the refrain: "Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house: they will be still praising Thee. (*How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!*) Blessed is the man whose strength is in Thee," etc. Then, in the eighth verse, to which *Selah* is added, he fervently implores God to hear his prayer, and to restore him to those blessed courts, which were so amiable in his sight: "O Lord God of hosts, hear my prayer: give ear, O God of Jacob. (*How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!*) Behold, O God, our shield, and look upon the face of Thine anointed. For a day in Thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness." V. 7–10.

In Ps. lxxxviii, *Selah* is likewise employed twice. The first verse or refrain is as follows: "O Lord God of my salvation, I have cried day and night unto Thee." And let our readers note how this appeal to God becomes intensified by the repetitions indicated by *Selah:* "Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit, in darkness, in the deeps. Thy wrath lieth hard upon me, and Thou hast afflicted me with all Thy waves. (*O Lord God of my salvation, I have cried day and night unto Thee.*) Thou hast put away mine acquaintance far from me; Thou hast made me an abomination unto them: I am shut up, and I can not come forth. Mine eye

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thing by accident; but, unless my recollection is wholly at fault, it is frequently employed in the sense of *finding that which we are seeking*, as in Ps. lxix: 20, "I looked . . . . for comforters, but I *found* none" Ps. cvii: 4, "They *found* no city to dwell in," much as they, in their fainting and wandering, desired a dwelling place. Ps. cxxxii: 7, "Lo, we heard of it at Ephrata: we *found* it in the fields of the wood." And such is its meaning in the passage before us. The Psalmist is pleading with God to restore him to those blessed courts and altars to which he so earnestly sought to return, and urges his plea by referring to God's Providential care of His inferior creatures: "Even the sparrow hath found the house which she sought; and the swallow the place she sought in which to lay her young; *so enable me to find what I seek, even* thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God."

The use of the parenthesis would render the sense clear without supplying any thing: "My soul longeth, and even fainteth for the Courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God; (even the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself where she may lay her young:) *even* thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God."

mourneth by reason of affliction: Lord, I have called daily upon Thee, I have stretched out my hands unto Thee. Wilt Thou shew wonders to the dead? shall the dead arise and praise thee? (*O Lord God of my salvation, I have cried day and night unto Thee.*) Shall Thy loving kindness be declared in the grave?" etc. Vs. 6–11.

In regard to the Psalms in which *Selah* occurs but once, (which are far the most numerous,) a very few instances must suffice:

In Ps. xliv, *Selah* occurs in the eighth verse, which we here cite with the refrain, as given in v. 1 and indicated by *Selah:* "In God we boast all the day long, and praise Thy name forever. (*We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work Thou didst in their days, in the times of old.*) But Thou hast cast off, and put us to shame; and goest not forth with our armies." Vs. 8, 9.

In Ps. xlviii, it occurs after v. 8, which we subjoin with the refrain as thereby indicated: "As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God: God will establish it forever. (*Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of His holiness.* We have thought of Thy loving kindness, O God, in the midst of Thy Temple." Vs. 8, 9.

In Ps. lxxxi, *Selah* occurs in like manner at the end of the 7th verse: "Thou calledst in trouble, and I delivered thee; I answered thee in the secret place of thunder: I proved thee at the waters of Meribah. (*Sing aloud unto God our strength: make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob.*) Hear, O my people, and I will testify unto thee: O Israel, if Thou wilt hearken unto me."

In Ps. lxxxiii, which is the last instance we shall thus cite, *Selah* follows the 8th verse, with great and intensifying power. After announcing in v. 1 the following refrain: "*Keep not Thou silence, O God: hold not Thy peace, and be not still, O God,*" the Psalmist proceeds to present the reasons for this petition, to-wit: the enemies of God were making a tumult, and had risen up and conspired against His people; and "are confederate against Thee: the tabernacles of Edom, and the Ishmaelites; of Moab, and the Hagarenes; Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek; the Philistines, with the inhabitants of Tyre; Assur also is joined to them: they have holpen the children of Lot. (*Keep not Thou silence, O God: hold not Thy peace, and be not still, O God.*) Do unto them as

unto the Midianites; as to Sisera, as to Jabin, at the brook of Kison." V. 5–8.

Can any thing be more appropriate or more intensifying than the substitution of the refrain for *Selah* in this connection? But we shall not attempt further to enlarge on this and the other instances adduced in illustration and confirmation of our position; (for there are other points to which we wish to call attention in the connection,) but shall leave them as they are, to make what impression they may upon the serious and thoughtful reader.

Should any thing be deemed necessary in further illustration and confirmation of the statement that *Selah*, containing, as we suppose, a direction to the worshiper to pause, and return to some portion of the Psalm already performed, can only indicate the first verse, or a portion of that verse as the part of the Psalm to be repeated, let it be observed that in no Psalm which contains Selah is the first verse ever repeated, for no Psalm in which that verse is repeated, (instances of which we have cited above,) contains the word. Refrains are found in many of the Psalms, but, unless contained in v. 1, are always written out in full.

Take, for example, Psalm cvii, which contains four formal repetitions, (v. 6, 13, 19, 28,) and likewise a refrain fully repeated four times, (v. 8, 15, 21, 31,) neither of which, however, is found in the first verse. In Psalm cxxxvi, also, the refrain, ("*for His mercy endureth forever,*") being at the *end* of v. 1, could not be indicated by *Selah*, and is therefore written out or expressed in full at the end of every verse of the Psalm. While in that exquisitely beautiful Psalm, (the 80th,) the refrain, "*Turn us again, O God, and cause Thy face to shine; and we shall be saved,*" occurs in vs. 3, 7, 19; but it could not be indicated by *Selah*, as it does not begin the Psalm. * The touching and beautiful refrain in Ps. xlii may also be cited: "*Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise Him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.*" It occurs, with a slight variation, in vs. 5 and 11. It is repeated likewise at the end of the following Psalm, which is without a title,

* The cumulation of appellations in the reiteration of this refrain is very striking, and imparts intensity to the petition. V. 3, "Turn us again, *O God:*" etc. V. 7, "Turn us again, *O God of hosts,*" etc., and v. 19, "Turn us again, *O Jehovah, God of hosts,*" etc.

and was, perhaps, originally a third strophe or section of the Psalm.

The same result is likewise apparent if we consult those Psalms in which both *Selah* and a repetition are found: Ps. xlvi has three *Selahs* (vs. 3, 7, 11,) and likewise a repetition in vs. 7, 11, which, as we have already fully illustrated, *Selah* greatly intensifies. In Ps. xlix there are two *Selahs*, (vs. 13, 15,) indicating the refrain, "*Hear this, all ye people; give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world:*" and, also, a repetition, (with some variation,) of the following words: "*Nevertheless man being in honor abideth not: he is like the beasts that perish.*" Vs. 12, 20. The repetition is intensive, but the variation is too considerable to admit of its being regarded as a refrain. But in Ps. lxvii there is a similar arrangement—*Selah* occurs twice, (vs. 3, 6,) indicating the refrain in v. 1: "*Be merciful unto me, O God, be merciful unto me: for my soul trusteth in Thee: yea in the shadow of Thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast;*" while in v. 5 the following words (which are exactly repeated in v. 11,) occur: "*Be Thou exalted, O God, above the heavens: let Thy glory be above all the earth.*" This has every appearance of being a second chorus, but *Selah* could only indicate the one announced in the first verse. See, also, Ps. xxxix: 5, 11.

Still, should any of our readers, who may coincide with us in our exposition of the word as an abbreviation, dissent from our view as to the verse designated by *Selah* for repetition, and suppose that, instead of the first verse of the Psalm, the verse in which *Selah* occurs should be repeated, we certainly are not unwilling that they should entertain that idea, if they can do so on a review of the whole subject. But we can not adopt such a hypothesis, not only for the reasons given above, but for others which seem to us to bear directly against such a supposition. There may be, and doubtless are, passages where *Selah* occurs, and also where it does not occur, which would bear such repetition—as there are passages in which the "*for ever*" (לְעָלְמִין) of the Talmudists would not seem improper as a substitute for the word. (See e. g., Ps. iii and xlvi.) But this proves nothing in either case, if the theory should be found inadmissible on the ground of all analogy and contrary to the recognized principles of hermeneutics. If *Selah* occur in v. 1, that verse is, of course, to be repeated—as we have illustrated by an example. For, in the Psalms with

Selah, the first verse being the refrain, it must be repeated after every verse in which the word occurs, in whatever part of the Psalm that may be—just as the chorus is repeated in other Psalms where *Selah* is not found. But, in the case supposed, the repetition would be contrary to all analogy, either in the Psalter or anywhere else in the Scriptures; so that in regard to this feature, at least, it would throw the *first*, *second* and *third* books out of all analogical resemblance to or sympathy with the others; for, though in the others we frequently find a single clause *immediately repeated*, a whole verse never is; while, on the contrary, the supposition that *Selah* indicates a refrain, is supported by many striking analogies, as we have abundantly shown. *

We have already adverted to the somewhat remarkable fact that in the first three books of the Jewish Psalter, as partitioned by the ancient Jewish Church, *Selah* is employed not less than sixty-seven times, while in the last two it is employed but four. † Yet reiteration, for the purpose of imparting intensity to the expression, has ever been regarded as characteristic of the Psalter. ‡ And, though there is no reason to conclude that all repetition therein is for this purpose alone, it will, nevertheless, not be assuming too much to affirm that such is undoubtedly the design of the chorus or refrain. We have no intention, however, to raise

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* We might also add that the words סב למעלה השר, into which, as above shown, we have resolved Selah, are utterly averse to any such construction. In its literal sense סבב means *to go around, to surround, encompass*, etc. Ps. lix: 6, 14, and xlviii: 12, (13,) and xvii: 11, and xxii: 16, (17.) עלה is *to ascend*. Ps. lxviii: 18, (19,) and cxxii: 4. Its derivative, as above given, with the ל prefix, is found in the title of Ps. cxxi, שיר למעלות, *a song of degrees*, or *of the ascending grades*. (In the other thirteen of these Psalms, the title is without this prefix.) Compare, also, Ps. lxxxi: 10, (11,) cxxxv: 7. The word literally means *upward*, (as למטה means *downward*;) and hence מלמעלה means *from above*. The proper meaning of the phrase, therefore, is, *Da Capo;* or, *Let the singer return upward;* that is, to the beginning of the Psalm.

† The *third* and *fourth* books each contains seventeen Psalms; yet the former employs Selah twenty times, and the latter not at all. The *second* book contains thirty-one Psalms, and Selah thirty times; while the *fifth* book contains forty-four Psalms, and Selah four times.

‡ How repetition is employed to give intensity, is likewise apparent from many passages of the Prophets. See, for example, Is. xl: 1, 2; Ezek. vii: 4–9, and xi: 4, 15, and xvi: 6; Joel, i: 15.

an issue here; for the argument does not require it, since the fact that such intensive reiteration is confessedly admitted to exist in the Psalter, generally, is all that is required for the illustration of this part of our subject. Let it be noted, then, that, in accordance with the exposition we adopt of the word *Selah*, this intensifying principle is found to exist about uniformly throughout the book; while, on any other supposition, the first three divisions of it, (that is, from Ps. i to lxxxix inclusive,) are comparatively destitute of it. We say *comparatively*, for there are frequent exceptions in Psalms where *Selah* is not employed, as may be seen, for example, by referring to Ps. xxix: 1, 2, 5–9. But in the fourth book, embracing Psalms xc–cvi, where *Selah* does not occur, and in the fifth book, where it occurs only as an exception, we find the difference very obvious and marked. In numerous instances, as illustrated above, *Selah* is dispensed with, where, if our views be correct, it might probably have been introduced. Still, in the great body of those repetitions, it could not have been used, (as we understand its import,) as in Ps. cvii, and cxxxvi, and cxliv—the refrain not being given in the first verse of the Psalm.

It is, nevertheless, very interesting to observe how the element of repetition, whether for intensity or otherwise, runs through the Psalter, and especially (as fully written out and expressed,) how it characterizes the last two books aforesaid. In the Temple service we even find a whole Psalm repeated, (compare Ps. xiv and liii); and then, again, a large portion of one is repeated in another, and in a somewhat different connection, (Ps. lx and cviii); and sometimes portions of several are repeated in one, (Ps. cxliv); while in Ps. cxix, it is observable, throughout its whole length of one hundred and seventy-six verses, how, in every verse, with a single exception, one or another of the following terms is inwrought into its structure, to-wit: *law*, *testimonies*, *ways*, *precepts*, *statutes*, *commandments*, and *judgments* of the Lord. It is not necessary to suppose that this repetition is simply for intensity; yet it is by no means unlikely that such perpetual reiteration in a constantly new connection of these terms, so important as related to the revelation which God had given, was intended to impress them deeply upon both the memory and the heart.* There are, moreover,

* Note how a number of those same terms are repeated, and dwelt upon, and applied in Ps. xix: 7–11; and how Nehemiah also refers to them in his prayer: Neh. i: 7.

instances in the historical Psalms in which the reiteration does not appear to impart any intensity to the idea expressed and repeated, as in an example already referred to, (Ps. cvii: 6, 13, 19, 28;) very like those in Ezek. xiv: 14–20, and xx: 5–26; and in Isaiah, v: 25, and ix: 12, 17, 21, and x: 4, (in all of which the same words are reiterated.) Such repetitions may be regarded as somewhat analogous to others, which occur in many passages of the Proverbs, Job, and of the Prophets, in which, according to the genius of Hebrew poetry, the second line of a distich is designed as explanatory and confirmatory of what is advanced in the first line; although in many, and perhaps most, of these instances, the repetition, in what is called the explanatory clause, is designed for intensity.

All this may be most fully asserted, and yet it would be manifestly absurd to deny that repetitions, such as occur in the following Psalms, (and in others, some of which we have already cited, and which contain no *Selah*,) were designed to add intensity to the expression.

Take, for example, Ps. cxvi: 12, 13, and note the force and intensity imparted by repetition to the phrase, "*for He cometh.*" The whole passage reads as follows: "Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein: then shall all the trees in the wood rejoice before the Lord; for He cometh, FOR HE COMETH to judge the earth: He shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with His truth." Nearly the same words occur in Ps. xcviii: 8, 9, but the repetition is therein omitted, and the difference in the effect is very marked and decided: "Let the floods clap their hands: let the hills be joyful together before the Lord; for He cometh to judge the earth: with righteousness shall He judge the world, and the people with equity."

Note, also, how, in Ps. cxv: 9–13, both force and beauty are imparted by the repetition: "O Israel, *trust in the Lord: He is their help and their shield.* O house of Aaron, *trust in the Lord: He is their help and their shield.* Ye that fear the Lord, *trust in the Lord: He is their help and their shield.* The Lord hath been mindful of us: *He will bless* us; *He will bless* the house of Israel; *He will bless* the house of Aaron. *He will bless* them that fear the Lord, both small and great."

In Ps. cxviii, the first and last verses are the same, (in the Hebrew.) The following are the first four verses: "O give

thanks unto the Lord; for He is good: *because His mercy endureth forever.* Let Israel now say, *that His mercy endureth forever.* Let the house of Aaron now say, *that His mercy endureth forever.* Let them now that fear the Lord say, *that His mercy endureth forever.*"

In verses 8–12, also, the following passage occurs: "*It is better to trust in the Lord* than to put confidence in man. *It is better to trust in the Lord* than to put confidence in princes. All nations *compassed me about: but in the name of the Lord will I destroy them. They compassed me about;* YEA, THEY COMPASSED ME ABOUT: *but in the name of the Lord I will destroy them.* THEY COMPASSED ME ABOUT LIKE BEES; they are quenched as the fire of thorns: *for in the name of the Lord I will destroy them.*"

The 15th and 16th verses read as follows: "The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous: *the right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly. The right hand of the Lord* is exalted: *the right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly.*"

But it is unnecessary to quote other examples. The following may be referred to, in further illustration, however, among many others: Ps. ciii, and cxiii, and cxxx: 5, 6; and cxxxv: 19–21; cxliv: 7, 8, 11; and cxlvi, cxlvii, cxlviii, cxlix, cl.

Why *Selah* should have been sometimes employed to designate a chorus or refrain, and at other times the refrain be written out or expressed in full, is a question which is not unworthy of consideration in this connection. We have no explanation or theory to propound, except that which is obviously suggested by the position we have taken in reference to the meaning and use of the word itself. And though we were unable to explain it, our inability could not, we think, constitute any reasonable objection to that theory; at least until it should be shown that its partial use in the Psalms is susceptible of solution on the ground of some other theory, which either has been or may be propounded. We know of no one who has ever adopted our views as here presented, except a loved and valued brother—a fine Hebraist—to whom we suggested them many years since, and who has since passed to his heavenly inheritance. He adopted the suggestion with enthusiasm, but never wrote any thing on the subject, nor have we, at any time previous to the present, attempted to bring our views before the public. But though we can, of course, form no idea of the reception they may meet with, we certainly are entitled to protest

against an unfairness which would require, as a *sine qua non* to their reception, that we should satisfactorily explain this or any other matter in which the difficulty is alike common to all the theories which have been propounded. For it no more devolves upon us to do so, than it does upon those, who assume that *Selah* merely indicates a pause, to explain how it should have happened, that of the one hundred and fifty Psalms performed in the Temple service, the thirty-nine which contain that word are the only ones in which a pause could occur, or in which it should be deemed important or necessary. But, on the other hand, and in support of our explanation of the word, it may be remarked that the fact that *Selah* is sometimes employed to indicate the chorus; and the fact that at other times the chorus is given in full, or repeated *ipsissima verba*, are in no way inconsistent with each other, or with the liberties allowed and recognized in literary composition amongst both ancients and moderns. We know not which method of expressing or indicating the *chorus* may have been originally employed, or whether both were simultaneously used in composing. How early *Selah* was brought into use can not be ascertained, but we find it still employed as late as the times of Habakkuk. But whichever may be supposed to have been first, the employment of a second method of expression by no means necessitated the reduction to uniformity of the whole; or the substitution of the second method for the first in the instances in which the first had been already adopted and sanctioned by use. Our position, therefore, as to the use and meaning of this word, while it equalizes, as before remarked, throughout the five books of the Psalter, the element of intensive repetition, is not only not inconsistent with the state of the case as it exists therein, but, on the contrary, throws light upon it; while the opposite position, that the word is merely a musical pause, is inconsistent with many of the facts existing therein—imparts no light in the way of explaining any thing, and has induced many to regard the word as of little or no account, and even to treat it as irrelevant to the uses of the sanctuary. And thus, this wholly unsupported hypothesis has succeeded in furnishing a precedent for sustaining the impious notion of Semler aforesaid, by finding a word used and repeated seventy-four times by the Holy Spirit in the devotional part of the Scriptures, which neither is nor has been, for nearly two thousand years, of any earthly account; and from which, either intrinsically or

relatively, that is in the connection in which it is employed, nothing whatever can be learned either by suggestion or otherwise. The time has not yet arrived, whatever views of "progressive ideas," or of progression itself, we may see proper to entertain, when we can, with safety either to ourselves or to those who are under our influence, thus treat any portion of the Word of God.

We have said that the Psalms were used not only in the public worship of the Tabernacle and Temple, but that they were likewise employed for purposes of private and social devotion by the Jews, (see Ps. cxxxvii: 3, 4); as they ever have been by the Christian believer. Amid all her untold sorrows and tribulations, the Church of Christ has ever found therein the richest legacy of the Spirit of God for sustaining her spiritual life, and giving shape to her devotional meditations and her prayers. Though it is a matter for deep regret, that these precious words should be comparatively so little studied and appropriated, even by the followers of Christ, until the heavy hand of some severe affliction drives them, for counsel and consolation, to the Divine Word, and unlocks to their crushed and saddened spirits the most precious and inexhaustible treasures of this wonderful portion of that word; which, by its hallowed record of the experience, and spiritual conflicts, and trials of God's dear children in past ages, cheers their hearts, and leads them to childlike acquiescence in all the dispensations of His Providence concerning them.

To conclude, I might, and perhaps ought to have allowed the consideration, that, in my present position, it is wholly impracticable to obtain the learned treatises which have been written in the attempt to elucidate the meaning and use of the word which we have herein endeavored to explain, to operate with me, to defer the preparation of this article, until I should have had the opportunity of again consulting them; since it is only fair, and a proper tribute to the memory of those whom love for the truth (and not the debasing desire for pecuniary gain) have prompted to laborious efforts to cast light upon any portion of the Word of God, to take their labors into respectful consideration. But—as I am not aware that any writer, since the period when the meaning of *Selah* became a matter of uncertainty, has adopted the exposition of that word as here presented; and which, as it appears to me, is adapted to do good, if adopted; or to awaken interest and useful inquiry even, if rejected—I have thought it not improper to pro-

ceed with my labor. Some have, indeed, advanced the view that the word is an abbreviation for "*Return, O Singer;*" but have not, so far as I can recollect, pursued the explanation to any satisfactory results; or even to any thorough attempt to ascertain to what part of the Psalm the singer or worshiper should return. I have humbly endeavored to do so—with what success must be left to the determination of Time, as developed by the efforts of those who feel sufficient interest in the matter to give it a careful and thorough examination.

A military camp—even though there be (as there is in this instance) associated therewith the idea of all that is noble and inspiring in pursuit, and all that is sacred to freedom and humanity in the great end to be attained—would be but an indifferent and inadequate place in which to pursue investigations of this kind, even if the appliances of learning and criticism were therein available; and it is much more so in their absence. Nor should I have attempted this essay in the circumstances, had not the theme been familiar to my mind through a long period; and at the same time a little leisure permitted continuous effort in its preparation, during the days of convalescence from a long-continued and prostrating attack of fever, and during which I have not been able to perform the more arduous duties of the chaplaincy. I know full well how partiality for a favorite idea or theory may hinder the mind from perceiving difficulties which lie in the way of its adoption, and which may be very obvious to those who are not thus influenced. Nor could I, without great presumption, claim to be exempt from such a failing. I can, however, truly say that I have endeavored, patiently and sincerely, to rise superior to it, and to give full consideration to any and every difficulty which has occurred to me in the prosecution of the inquiry.

And I now commit the results to our readers, with the sincere prayer that the Holy Spirit may guide us into the knowledge of all essential truth.

BROWNSVILLE, ARK., Dec. 4, 1863.

Art. IV.—*Perjury Exemplified in Secession.*

The degradation of public morals, which is exhibited in the loose ideas entertained on the inviolability of an oath, is one of the saddest phases presented by the present wicked insurrection. For the notion seems to prevail among both the active participants and the abettors of the rebellion, that they have perfect liberty to avail themselves of all the advantages accruing from taking an oath, and be subject to none of its penalties; that they can assume this most solemn obligation with no intention of fulfilling it, and yet be guiltless; or, after swearing with intention of fidelity, can, at their own convenience, change their purpose, and, with the facility wherewith we cast off an uncomfortable garment, can divest themselves of every restraint. It is held that the authority which imposes the obligation is not valid; that the Government has no right to exact an oath of those who do not approve of all its acts; and, therefore, they are not bound in conscience to abide by that which, for some advantage, their lips have uttered. Forgetting the truth, obvious to all but those who are corrupt in heart, that if the Federal authorities do illegally impose the oath, the sin lies in taking it—a consideration which every good man ought to weigh fully before he places himself under its requirements, else he can not be guiltless of a profane appeal to God, since he subjects himself to that which is no legitimate authority, either knowingly or without due reflection. The scandalous immorality of all who plead want of jurisdicion as an excuse for violating an oath to the Government, is self-evident to all except those who are fully set in perverseness; for the Federal authority is both constitutional and in vigorous action, and the only legal power in the land. For until a Government subverts all the ends for which it was instituted, becomes intolerably oppressive to the great body of the people, and its evils can not be met by constitutional remedies provided for its amendment, when rebellion is the only resource still left, the minority is bound to submission; unless we overturn all constituted rule, and relapse into the anarchy of barbarism. Nor was it pretended, when this insurrection began, that such a state of affairs existed. No specific act or general line of policy could be pointed to by the leaders of the rebellion wherein the General Government had oppressed them, or deprived them of any of their

vested rights. All that could be adduced in justification of the course, was the unfriendliness of the great body of the people to the special privileges of the minority, and the fear for the future that such unfriendliness would result in oppression. But the Federal officers, who assumed rule on the 4th of March, 1861, were constitutionally elected and lawfully inducted; and had the rebellious States remained faithful to their allegiance, there is not the shadow of a doubt that the laws would have been faithfully administered, with a due regard to the interests of the whole country. Besides, these powers were the visible representatives of the Divine authority on earth, and had a right to administer the Government over which, in the Providence of God, they had been called to preside. To say, then, that such an authority had no warrant to impose the obligation of an oath, or when it was so imposed should not be kept, argues a moral obliquity, consistent only with the thought that those who so hold are given over to strong delusions that they may believe a lie.

I. In order to a full understanding of the subject, it will be necessary to consider the oath in the light of a moral and legal act, and therefore it must be viewed with reference to the Divine law and the usages of civilized society. And it may be safely asserted that there are none of the teachings of Revelation more distinct than its utterances on this subject; and that the laws of nature and nations, as interpreted by the ablest publicists, are perfectly clear and explicit on all the general features, differing only on such details as are insignificant and trifling. It is necessary to the well being of society that the ideas on this subject should be settled and distinct, since it may be considered as the foundation of the social compact. For if there be no method by which we can rely on each other's veracity, if the highest and most solemn expression thereof has no binding force, then the problem of society becomes impossible; and indeed men would exhibit a repellant individuality in keeping with the delirium of those deistical philosophers, who contend that the original condition of mankind is that of mutual hostility. And still further, if, after society is formed and men united to each other by the bonds of civil law, there be no power to enforce the oath and no obligation of morality to keep it, nothing prevents the disintegration of the social compact back again into mutually repellant individuals. The violation of the judicial oath considered as the vinculum of society, is the sense

attached to the term Perjury, as used in the following pages; not the narrower meaning, which obtains in the courts of law. Legal usage confines Perjury to that species of false swearing, where a person, giving testimony under oath before a court of justice, asserts what he knows to be false in a matter vital to the question at issue. But the commonly received signification given to the term Perjury is exactly expressed by Cicero:* "What you swear from the sentiment of your mind, as conceived in words employed according to our usage, not to fulfill this is perjury."

It must be conceded that speech was given to us for the purpose of communicating our thoughts to each other; and that its intent is to subserve truth and not falsehood; to convey and not to conceal the real sentiments of the heart. He that inspired language along with the breath of life, being the God of Truth, willed that His creatures, made in His own image, should also show forth His character and attributes. Truth is, then, the normal condition of communication, and our nature is perverted by a departure from this. To advance one step further, when there is attached to the communication the assertion that it is true, there is also superadded a new obligation, differing in this, that while the naked declaration presupposed truth as its basis, this affirmation excludes falsehood by a specific caveat that its possibility has been considered and provided against. So that, by this process, a true man must deem his moral being pledged to the support of that which he asserts, and his character to stand or fall by the manner he abides by that which his lips have uttered. The naked assertion is all that is required of a man in whom the sense of virtue is complete; and hence it has been frequently doubted whether an oath was not rather an evil than a good. But it must always be borne in mind that both Revelation and human laws contemplate man just as he is; not perfect, but a fallen, sinful being, whose imperfect sense of morality must be fostered by every help, and guarded by every possible restraint. Hence the reverence for the Being that made us, and the fear of punishment from Him who has power to destroy as well as to save, comes forward as the highest and most solemn addition to the simple obligation of truthfulness. For, to the general and implied condition of veracity, which excludes falsehood negatively, is added the second obliga-

* De Off. III: 29.

tion, arising from the positive assertion that we will utter the truth, and this all crowned with the invocation of the Divine blessing, if the utterance be true, and the imprecation of the wrath of God, if it be false. It is clear that the sanctity of obligation can go no further than this; that the nature of the swearer is staked on the fulfillment of a promise thus uttered, since all his moral forces are gathered together for this effort; and if he fails, there remains no foundation upon which to lay anew the structure of his being. The usage of language proves this. For the employment of the preposition *By*, or the phrase, *in the name of*, God, shows that on the truth or falsity of the oath depends our hopes of the Divine support and protection, or the apprehension of the wrath and punishment. In the simple assertion a man swears by himself; for when he says, "I declare this to be the truth," he, in effect, asserts, By that common condition of truthfulness which is the bond of union between man and man; By my moral nature; By all the forces of that character which I sustain, as one in whose virtue and veracity my fellow men depend, I affirm the given assertion to be true. So that if the swearer is false, he then rejects his own character and his love and fear of God, and nothing remains but the abandoned wreck of his moral nature. * The oath is then only a higher, or rather the highest of all grades of obligation by which our being is pledged to the truth, and does not exclude any of the lower degrees of duty to truthfulness implied in the use of speech, and the pledge of veracity contained in a positive assertion. It has been falsely held that the oath is an evidence of disregard toward the obligation contained in a bare assertion, and that it is a superstitious usage whereby men are influenced to abide by a declaration, through fear of Divine punishment, while indifferent to the sanctity of a mere assertion. † This view holds that the oath only has reference to the wrath of God, which is deprecated; and therefore, without the oath, the punishment for falsehood could not overtake him who has broken his pledge of truthfulness. Hence it is asserted that the oath is nothing more than a means of forcing men to tell the truth, because of their fear of the immediate judgments of God upon perjury—a reviving of the

* Vide Puffendorf De Jure Nat. et Gent., Lib. IV, Cap. II, § 6.

† Kant: Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft.

judicial systems of heathenism and the dark ages of Christianity, when the instantaneous interposition of Heaven was looked for to reward the innocent swearer, and punish the guilty. So it is further asserted that the oath is nugatory in the case of those who do not believe in God; not merely Deists, but those who worship false Divinities. But, however true this latter notion may be, the swearing by the name of God does not lessen, or in any way effect the general obligation to truthfulness which all men are alike subject to, whether they agree or disagree as to the validity of a formula. It is true that the oath derives the force which it possesses in the mind of a Christian, over and above the mere assertion, from a belief in God as the rewarder of fidelity and an avenger of falsehood; and hence those who do not believe in the true Divinity, may not be capable of taking upon themselves the highest obligation to be veracious.* But still they assume the most solemn kind consistent with their own low state of moral culture; and having done so, they are subject to the pains and penalties which human institutions can inflict on those guilty of perjury, since they stake all that they can of solemnity upon the form of asseveration employed by earthly tribunals for discovering truth and conserving its inviolability.

To the believer in God the oath becomes a religious act, since it is the gathering of all the powers of his moral nature in one act to obey God; for when a man calls the Supreme Being to witness the truth of his utterances and the purity of his motives, this is a renewed pledge of fealty, a witness for Him in whose hands our destiny is placed. The keeping of this oath in difficulties is a mark of obedience, a continual act of worship, and therefore the highest exercise of that probation which makes up the life of a follower of God. At the same time, as regards our fellow men, it is the discipline of the grandest of all virtues; the doing right even at the expense of private interests or feelings of favoritism, since the mutual obligations implied in oaths generally involve conflicting claims where we, or our friends, are involved; and we subject ourselves to the restraint of doing truth whether we suffer or prosper. This relation to our fellow men leads to the consideration of the manner in which an oath is to be interpreted. Here there seems no ground for mistake, except that which necessarily arises

* Puffendorf, Lib. IV, Cap. III, § 6.

from the imperfection of language. The obvious literal meaning of our words, taken in the sense which we suppose that he to whom they were addressed will comprehend them, is the measure of validity which accompanies an oath. Hence, if words are employed in a meaning different from their fair import, so that the hearer will comprehend them in another sense than that which the speaker conveys, if this be intentional on his part he can in no wise be guiltless of perjury. But if he that administers the oath chooses to hold the swearer to a sense different from that plainly conveyed therein, the latter is innocent. Hence the Jesuitical notion, that a man could innocently swear with mental reservations, is only of a piece with that monstrous system of immorality which has made the society a stench in the nostrils of every country in Christendom; and is so plainly at variance with the commonest dictates of morality, that it does not deserve a refutation. Closely allied to this is the sentiment of *Euripides, and quoted with approbation even by Cicero, that a man may swear with his tongue and be unsworn in his mind. This is with reference to those oaths which are extorted by dread of some great impending danger, by which the bodily fears are so much excited as to break down our moral nature, and therefore to render the swearer free from accountability. This theory proceeds on very low views of morality and the character of a brave man. For it is the characteristic of true morality to be immutable—remaining the same measure of duty to us whether we suffer or are rewarded. Virtue is unquestionably distinct from every consideration of pleasure or pain in the subject, and so far is objective. Besides, it is the part of a brave man to be uninfluenced by any fear except that of doing wrong; and to him there can be no evil but to fail in duty. Hence Cicero is not consistent with himself, for while he seemingly approves the sentiment of Euripides, yet, in reply to the objection of a supposed opponent, who says:†"But that ought not to be deemed valid which was done through fear," he replies: "As if, indeed, a brave man could be forced." It is true a man may be overcome by fear, especially through the application of violence, to take an oath which is contrary to his principles and wishes. But this is only admitting that he is an imperfect, sinful being, and in no way sanctifies the act so done more than the corrupt nature

* Hyppolytus 612. † De Off. III: 30.

which incites us to any wrong in opposition to the clear dictates of reason and virtue. So that it is undeniable that the inherent nature of the morality is not changed—only man becomes a sinner by temptation to forswear himself, just as he does in any other case.

It has been called in question whether an oath is admissible under the New Testament Dispensation, and the words of our Lord Jesus, "I say unto you, swear not at all," have been adduced in support of this view. Many respectable writers and some Christian sects have strenuously maintained that this excludes judicial swearing, and not merely profanity. But a closer examination of the Scripture doctrine on this subject teaches us that these words of the Saviour were uttered against those vain oaths so common among the Jews, such as swearing by the altar, by their heads, by other oaths; and among the heathen, the swearing by natural objects, such as Socrates' oath, by the dog, the caper bush, etc.; and Egyptians' oath by the cow; the Hindoos,' by the Ganges; in a word, all those vain and blasphemous expressions so common among the heathen, as well as Christian people. But the conduct of the Lord and His apostles, show us plainly that judicial swearing could not be meant, since the Saviour himself did not refuse to answer when adjured by the High Priest; nor did the apostle Paul hesitate to take an oath voluntarily. But still, in this matter, we may be guilty of abuse, either in the mode, or in unnecessary frequency. For, on ordinary occasions, where there is little at stake, there is no need of the additional solemnity which an oath imposes. This being the most close and solemn of all obligations of which we are capable, it ought to be reserved for those occasions where inferior sanctity does not seem to comport with the magnitude of the cause at stake; since the constant employment in every instance may result in a contempt for the rite, as was well said by the wise man:* "Do not accustom thy mouth to the oath—he that sweareth continually shall not be free from sin." However, in theory, this case can present no difficulty, for it is undeniable that, † *abusus non tollit usum;* but in practice the matter is not without perplexity, since, as most moralists observe with pain, the frequency of administration and by improper persons, unquestionably has a tendency to bring the rite into contempt.

XXIII: 9. † Tholuck Bergpredigt, p 363. Dritte Ausgabe.

When then is it right to take a judicial oath, and who has the proper authority to administer it? Doubtless as to the first—in every matter where it is deemed necessary to elicit the truth from those who will not declare it without the pressure of this additional security, or where a binding obligation is to be made to the State, which all must be left to the judgment of the Ruler. If any abuse arises from bad men having authority to administer, this is to be remedied in the legal way provided for obtaining better rulers; but as long as they are rightful masters we must obey, for the authority in the State is the representation of the Divine power on earth. We may think that we are required to take oaths when it is wholly unnecessary; but if, after protesting against the act, we are required by the constituted power to submit, and we faithfully perform the word which has gone forth from our mouth, then we are clear, and the sin lies at the door of him who needlessly imposes the rite upon us. Now, as to the authority itself which may impose it, we can have no difficulty; for if we do not recognize the power, all we have to do is to refuse, and take the consequence. It is impossible for any human tribunal to make us utter that which we steadfastly refuse; and while, in the preceding case, the sin lies with the imposer of the oath, if not properly done, in the latter we are the guilty party if we submit to that power which has no legal jurisdiction. Of this we must be the judges; but it will avail us nothing after we have taken the oath, then to plead in extenuation that the pretended ruler had no right over us, and therefore our obligation is not valid. For this ought to have been a forethought, not an afterthought; and hence there can be no excuse offered in justification. The unnecessary and unwarranted act lies with us, since we did it voluntarily, and no man's conscience but our own can be the measure of our duty.* Again: it is our duty to understand thoroughly the conditions of the oath which we take, and nothing but fraud on the part of the tenderer, and such fraud as rendered it impossible for us to discern, after that diligent examination the importance of the subject demands of a Christian, can excuse us for the negligence, or in any wise absolve us from the bonds we have taken upon ourselves. It is true that the temptation brought to bear may be so powerful that we can not resist, that the fear of death, the loss of reputation or

* Puffendorf, Lib. IV, Cap. II, § 5.

property, may render a man irrational; but it is contrary to common sense, and certainly to the Divine law, to say that he is not accountable. By a parity of reasoning, it could be said that whenever any man is tempted by his passions or interests to perpetrate a wicked act, contrary to his better judgment, that he is not accountable, because forsooth his inclination is so strong that his moral sense can not resist. Out on such folly, which would make the greatest criminal the most innocent sufferer, and the most hardened sinner the holiest saint! But what must be done when we are in the power of an enemy who desires to extort a promise from us, by the taking of which we may secure our life or liberty? One of two things is clear. We must either not take the oath which he wishes to impose on us, or if we do it must be kept at all hazards. If he has a right to compel us to an oath of secrecy, or to perform a service for him, then this is an end to the matter; we must abide by it. If he has no right to impose it, then we swear at our own peril whether we keep the oath or not. But, says one:* Suppose we fall into the hands of pirates, and they make us promise, under pain of death, to pay them a ransom; because they are the common enemies of mankind they have no right to demand this oath, since there is no community of law or feeling between them and the rest of the world. If they have no right to demand, then no man is innocent in granting their request; for there can not be an obligation merely on one side. But suppose you can save your life by this course, while otherwise you must die. While it is clear that a man is not justified in making a promise under oath to those who have no legal right to compel him; yet, if he avails himself of their clemency, while they fulfill their part of the contract, assuredly he must be faithful to his, and not prove himself less true than they have done. Any other course than this would have the tendency in future to prevent robbers, in similar instances, from sparing their captives; for, let it be remembered, they spare the lives of these persons simply on the ground of their faith in the inviolability of the oath, which, if not kept, takes away all hope of such clemency being repeated. But some one may say: If you pay a ransom to pirates or robbers who have held possession of you, then you uphold their nefarious work. This, however, is a consideration to be thought of

* Cic. De Off., Lib. III, XXIX.

before. If you do not wish to give aid to robbery, then it is your duty to not promise it; for it is certainly better to suffer what God permits to befall us, when in the clear performance of duty, than to save life by abrogating His commands. It manifests but little trust in Him to think we can deliver ourselves better through a course of positive transgression, than to throw ourselves wholly upon His special providence. Doubtless, persons have saved their lives by promising rewards to brigands, in whose hands they have fallen, and it is perhaps true that a contrary course will not always be followed by deliverance; but this only proves that God permits His own servants in this wicked world oftentimes to be overtaken by violence. But He who can bring light out of darkness, can, also, bring good out of evil; and it is better in doubtful matters to trust a faithful God, and suffer whatsoever may befall us, than to commit a positive sin to secure our personal deliverance. For nothing evil can befall a man but to commit sin; and life is not valuable when taken as the barter for transgression. Neither is death terrible to a brave man, nor otherwise than desirable when met in the way of duty.

Once more: Nothing can be more clear than that when an oath is taken in order to secure certain advantages, that it must also subject him who thus swears to all the disabilities naturally belonging thereto. Hence, after the advantages accruing have been enjoyed, as, for example, the protection of property, or personal security, afforded by a Government, this binds the person so protected to a cheerful and hearty submission to all the just claims a State may hold against him. Hence, then, no prevarication on his part, no mental reservations or implied conditions can, in the least, absolve any person from the performance of his obligations to the full extent they are involved by express stipulation or fair interpretation. For there are no conditions to be understood except those named: the promise is absolute; and therefore it follows further, that the imperfect fulfillment, on the part of the State, does not absolve the subject from his full allegiance. This is not a contract between two parties during pleasure or good behavior, so far as the individual is concerned; and hence the subject is bound on his side, even though his Government may not be inclined or able to meet completely all he hoped and expected. This truth is well expressed by Plato: If, therefore, the laws should say, O Socrates, was not this agreed upon between us and you,

that you would abide by the judgments which the city shall enact? . . . But when you were born, and nurtured, and educated, can you say first that you were not both our progeny and servant? And if this is so, have you equal rights with us, so that whatever we attempt to do to you, you consider yourself justified in endeavoring to do to us in turn? Or were your rights with reference to your father not the same as they were toward your master, if you chanced to have one, so that in case you suffered any thing, you should act in return alike in both instances, so as neither to retort, when reproached; nor when struck, to strike back; and many other similar cases? But, with reference to us, your laws and country, shall it be lawful to you, if we attempt to destroy you, thinking it to be just, that you also should endeavor, as far as in you lies, to destroy us in turn; and in doing this, will you assert that you act justly? . . . Still further, we proclaim by giving power to every Athenian who desires, when he has seen and tried the policy of the city, and us the laws, if he is not pleased with us, to go forth whithersoever he pleases, taking all his property with him; and no one of us, the laws, is in his way. But if he remains, after seeing what manner we dispense justice, and manage the city in other respects, we now assert that this man has, by his actions, declared that he will yield obedience to whatever we command him. Crito, Cap. XII, XIII.

Had the oath been taken with any such conditions as above named, then a man might be justified, when the State failed to protect him, or did a positive injustice, to withdraw from his obedience. But such is not the case, and where there is a positive duty on the one side, this is not effected by the misconduct of the other. Just as in our duties toward our fellow men we, as Christians, are bound just as much to do good to our enemies, as to our friends; and no conduct on the part of those who hate us changes, in the least, our duty to perform kind offices to them. The reason is, that the obligations are positive and unconditional, just as all morality is in truth; and whatever others may do to us, their acts do not change our duty to them.

It is clear, then, that no pecuniary consideration, or matter of personal aggrandizement, can absolve us from this fixed and complete obligation of fulfilling, in the letter and spirit, the promises we made in taking an oath. More especially if we have done this in order to secure such advantages; for, assuredly, if we obtain them

we will be less than men if we are not faithful on our part. But even if we have failed to secure that which we sought by this act, this in no wise changes our relations to duty. For, though this may have been our motive, yet we did not avow it as the inducement; nor would it have been accepted as a sufficient ground by the State, for no power would bind itself to an entirely one-sided obligation, giving all and getting nothing in return. However, oaths may often be taken with no higher aim than personal aggrandizement, it is still evident that more is implied; since, if there were nothing further expected, the individual wishes could never be sunk in the public good—an idea which lies at the foundation of the State itself. Accordingly, an oath rendered to the State is to be kept, no matter what misfortune or disability overtakes us in its fulfillment. Of course, all oaths taken simply in order to escape punishment, or to secure some advantage, but with the full determination to disregard them when the purpose for which they were sworn is attained, is downright perjury; no matter whether the power imposing them has a right to do so or not. And they have this especial turpitude that they are usually taken with deliberation, and ordinarily through no restraint of liberty or fear of impending danger. Nor does it improve the nature of the transaction when the power imposing is not one of competent jurisdiction; for we act as though we considered it to be valid, thus being guilty of two evils instead of one, by giving support, so far as our influence and example may go, to that which is unlawful; and at the same time being chargeable with profanity by swearing before a tribunal that our conscience does not approve as of Divine authority.

But it may be further asked: Is an oath to be kept when it has been wrested from us under false or suppressed conditions? that is, when another, either an individual or a State, has taken advantage of us by concealment of the truth, and thus caused us to bind our honor to measures which, had we thoroughly understood, we would not have given our pledge. * This matter, though much complicated by writers on morals, seems yet clear and simple in its true nature. For it is our privilege, as well as duty, to become informed fully of the nature of that to which we subject ourselves; and we show little regard for virtue or our own best

* Puffendorf, Lib. IV, Cap. III, § 7.

interests, if we allow any person to beguile into an appeal to God to enable us to perform a specified act, and make Him a witness to an assertion about which we do not fully know. Before we thus bind our consciences, we have the opportunity to know the truth; or, in default of this, can refuse to be sworn until perfectly satisfied. And when that state of mind is arrived at, then the responsibility is shifted upon us, and we can not escape by pleading want of information. But it is true we may be deceived by false representations, even after the most diligent efforts to avoid it, and be led to swear to that which nothing could induce us with the full facts before us. In such cases the sin lies not on us, but on him who administered the oath with intent to deceive. However, the question arises, are we still bound to keep our pledge? Undoubtedly, unless we have unwittingly promised something which it would be sinful to perform. If the fulfillment of our oath only involves our own personal disability, we must nevertheless keep it; for it is the distinct characteristic of the good man that * "he sweareth to his hurt and changeth not;" and the declaration of God is, that "he who doeth these things shall never be moved;" by which we have the assurance that the man who persistently casts himself upon the protection of Almighty God, and does not let personal interest or inclination interfere with his obedience, will always receive the Divine blessing. It is certainly true that duty must come before all interests, and if there is any thing established in all the domain of morality and truth which is an absolute duty, it is when we have pledged our honor to man and our belief and hopes in God. Hence, unless there can be something in the way of private interest or personal comfort, of higher importance than the stake of our moral nature, and our obedience to our Maker, we must perform our oath, even when it has been obtained from us by false representations. If it be said that we swear, not to the thing which we now find to be demanded, but to something else, it must be insisted that our oath is a matter of positive and unconditional obligation, except such conditions as are expressed at the time; and if we feared any such consequences as may become manifest afterward, from the falsity of him who tendered the oath, then was the time for us to have considered this, and made provision for such contingencies, either by refu-

* Ps. XV: 4.

sing the oath, or expressed it in such terms as gave us room for escape.

But in the case where a man has subscribed to an oath inadvertently to do something wrong in itself, or from change of circumstances that which we promised becomes sinful, the case is undoubtedly altered. No one sin can, in the nature of things, ever neutralize another, and two wrongs can never make one right act. Hence, when we are brought to this extremity, the most desperate that a truly conscientious man can be reduced, there is no alternative but to refuse to do that which was promised. The apothegm, *minima de malis*, may be applied here properly; and certainly it is a less evil to refuse to do a wicked act, even when we are under oath to do so, than to keep our vow. For it is plain that the act of swearing to do a given thing which is evil, makes it none the less evil; but is in itself a sin of the most heinous character, if done consciously; yet may be only a sin of ignorance, if done inadvertently; and it is only adding to the wickedness to persevere in that which is known to be wrong. But in order to justify the falsification of our oath in such cases, the instance must be clear in all its bearings. First: That we did not and could not possibly foresee that we were pledging ourselves to do that which was wicked. And, secondly: We must be perfectly certain that our non-performance of the oath results from a virtuous desire to avoid doing a wicked act, and not from the hope of any personal aggrandizement which may result from our failure. For if the latter be the ruling motive, we have the double guilt of perjury and hypocrisy; screening ourselves behind an apparently virtuous motive to avoid doing that which is wrong, while, so far as the sin of false swearing itself is concerned, it does not enter as an element into our conduct.

II. In the consideration of this subject in the concrete application, we find the most common instances of false swearing to be where men in concert disregard their obligations of allegiance to the State. The preceding disquisitions on the nature and obligations of an oath were necessary as a basis from which to animadvert on the monstrous ideas of immorality which obtain among those who justify or participate in the present insurrection, by which a large section of our people have proven false to their sworn allegiance; and yet pretend they have committed no crime, and claim to be immaculate in their honor. It is now the purpose

to show that, as there was no justification for such a course, so those who have proven recreant to their sworn obligations, have justly incurred the charge of perjury; and therefore deserve the contempt and loathing of every high principled and virtuous person.

As said in the beginning, when treating of the nature of an oath, it is undeniable that implied truthfulness is the condition on which human society is possible. For if it was generally understood that the communications between man and man could not be relied on, then it evidently follows that there could be no union for concerted action; and hence the elements of civil society would be utterly repellant, and no combination for government possible. The highest expression of this confidence, on which the fabric of society rests, is the promise of obedience to authority, and the support necessary to sustain the ruler given by the powers of the individual. For the power of the ruler can not be any thing else than the aggregation of the strength of each citizen, which is promised for mutual support and defense. Hence, governments are the expression of the sum total of the individual power surrendered for the common good; and in this surrender the acknowledgment is tacitly made that the sway is to be exercised by the representative, because he can do this better than the multitude; and this must, therefore, be done not precisely in the way to please each person in every particular, but in such manner as best to conserve the public good. The wishes of each one are to be considered in the aggregate, and are to be met as far as this can be done consistently with the greatest good to the greatest number. Such is the idea lying at the foundation of all representative governments; and especially is the exemplar after which our democratic institutions are formed; and is also the result after which every good ruler must strive. It can not be pretended that, in an imperfect state of society, with the best intentions, failure in part will not constantly occur, and individual wrongs be suffered, even while, on the whole, the Government accomplishes its true end and aim. From this it follows that secession strikes at the very root of all government; and, if carried out to its legitimate results, reduces men at once to the condition of society which Deistic philosophers term a state of nature, where every man's hand is against that of his fellow. For, while the State is built up on the supposition that the minority, that is of the single person or any number less than half, must surrender

his preferences for the good of the greater number, secession takes precisely the opposite course. For if any less than the greater number can refuse obedience at such times as they think themselves aggrieved, and separate from the body politic, so also can less than half of that fraction again, for the same reason, slough off; and the process becomes complete, producing its final result, when the last analysis leaves the individual. For if the theory of secession be admissible at all, it must be granted thus far; since there is no other point at which we can stop. Each successive step is as allowable as every preceding one which comprehends less than a numerical majority, in a State where the democratic principle is complete. Hence it also follows that revolution in a free government is not allowable at all, for the majority which must rule has the power of amendment in their own hands, and the minority is bound by the terms of the social compact to submit. The justification which is allowed to those who, in a despotic or monarchical form of government, break their oath of allegiance, does not obtain here, because the remedy for the evils of legislation is in the hands of the people, and its method of application provided for without resort to arms or the violation of any compact. So much has been said as to the destructive nature of the principle of secession, when applied to government in general. But our chief business is to show how it has effected the great vinculum of society, the oath of allegiance, in our present insurrection.

While it would be impossible, perhaps, to give an exhaustive enumeration of the various particulars in which the leaders of secession and their sympathizers have committed perjury, it will be sufficient, to make the case out against them, to state a few of those which are well authenticated and have been oft repeated. The first of these is in the original movement which brought on our present dire calamities. It is scarcely pretended by any fair man now, or was previous to open insurrection, that there was any adequate ground for separation, either for constitutional reasons, or fear that the Government would abuse its trusts. While individual acts of unfriendliness could often be pointed out, wherein the South had cause of complaint, yet this is no more than must occur in any system of government short of perfection. But the Federal powers were not responsible for them, because it is undeniable that from the first of our nation's history, it was in the hands of those very men who were disposed to clamor at the inva-

sion of their rights. If they were actually invaded, which no man can say truthfully, and which leading secessionists have not dared to give as the reason for their conduct, (at least when dealing with foreign governments,) there was a perfectly satisfactory way to remedy them; for these complainants had the law in their own hands, and the officers to administer it. Nothing but a peculiar privilege, ever distasteful to the great majority, a privilege resting on sufferance, and not on the moral approval of the people, was endangered, and this in no specific way, but by the increasing unfriendliness of the majority; and hence the apprehension created that the time would come when the nation would outgrow an inherited disease, which it was not vigorous enough in its swaddling clothes to shake off. But if this was done, in other words, if the great body of the people should finally deem themselves strong enough physically, and sufficiently noble intellectually and morally, to keep pace with the general progress of Christian civilization, and eradicate the plague of slavery from its vitals, surely no one ought for a moment to deny them the right. And this is all that can be adduced in justification for breaking all the bonds of union; for annulling every obligation of obedience which holds a State together; for perpetrating the most shocking perjury that ever disgraced a people. It is not pretended to be maintained that the oath of allegiance is of perpetual obligation, when the government to which it was given has ceased to conserve the liberties of the people. Undoubtedly there may be instances where the citizens are not bound to continue submission; for the power which they have surrendered to the ruler is a trust, and this, when unmistakably and grossly abused, can, and ought to be, taken back; because it no longer accomplishes the object intended. The majority of the people are still the power, and in their keeping is ultimately the right to govern; and the oath they have taken is therefore to themselves, as represented in the person of their Magistrate—to themselves and for their own behoof—and therefore, when their representative is unfaithful, upon him rests the sin of violated allegiance. He has failed in his part of the compact; he has placed himself beyond the sphere of mutual obligation, and the people are guiltless. But the decision as to whether this has occurred must not rest with a disaffected minority, else no representative government would be possible. But no honest man will, for a moment, pretend that such was the case when the

secession movement was inaugurated. On the contrary, it is well known that the great majority of the people in the present disloyal States, to say nothing of all the rest, were bitterly opposed to secession; and it was only by the most barefaced falsehoods and inflammatory appeals, by illegal elections, and by unwarranted legislative action, that even the semblance of consent was wrested from an unwilling people. So that it is undeniable that a condition justifying rebellion did not exist, and indeed could not under our form of government; that the annulling of allegiance was unwarranted; and therefore the movement of secession, at its outset, was perjury. Nay, more. In in its first motions among the fire-eaters and nullifiers, for years back, the same disintegrating and destructive measures were advocated; so that it may be truly said that secession was conceived, brought forth and swaddled in perjury; that the first cry it uttered was the abrogation of a solemn oath, and as the monster grew up, the speech which it invented and made its own was the language of false swearing.

But to be more specific. The leaders of the insurrectionary movement were nearly all officers under the United States Government, and as such were bound to support it until, in the estimation of the majority of the people, it became false to its trusts and tyrannical in its sway. Still more: They had been educated in its institutions, grew rich under its protection, and battened on the spoils of its offices. They had received all the advantages which its highest honors could give; had enjoyed all its blessings; but now that they come under the uneasy yoke of its restraints, they shake off their obligation with the readiness of the lion who finds himself annoyed with the spider's net. Verily they turn against the mother that bore them, and lift the paricidal hand to stab the bosom that nourished them into manhood. While prating of the encroachments on their rights as a justification for their course, they wholly ignore the fact that neither specific nor general act on the part of the Government inimical to them can be adduced; and if there was unfriendly legislation by any of the States, the remedy was open to them in one of two ways: Either by the ordinary channels of legislation in their own reach, as they possessed the majority in both houses of Congress—always including the servile dough-faces, who were constantly led at their bidding. For by this means they could have wielded the powers of the Federal Government for the accomplishment of their own

views; or at least made them powerless for harm, had any attempts been made to interfere with their special municipal privileges. So that, forsaking the legal method entirely in their own power of preventing or redressing wrongs, they choose rather that which is revolutionary, and forswear their allegiance, thus proving false to themselves and the people whose rights, if invaded, they were bound to protect. But there was another method provided by which the people, if dissatisfied, could seek redress, that is, by separation; not secession, but separation provided for by the Constitution of our Government. The same numerical majority necessary to ratify the articles of confederation at its beginning, could also peacefully break up this bond of union, and thus take back the powers and allegiance delegated to the Federal Government. This would have saved the authors of the insurrection the crime of perjury, provided such numerical majority could have been obtained in convention; but until this was done, any other method of withdrawing from the Union was both rebellion and perjury.

There is another aspect in which the perjury of the leaders and abettors of the insurrection appears still more flagrant. It is that they continued to hold office, which implies, of course, the oath of allegiance continually binding, to receive emoluments, and to wield all the power they could command to the destruction of the Government they were sworn to protect. While notoriously and avowedly in concert with the enemies at home, even after the inauguration of civil war, they held on to their places in Washington, often with the advice of their constituents at home, as traitors in the camp; because they could do so much more there than enemies in the field. Mr. Breckinridge is a very noteworthy example of this. For he continued to sit in the United States Senate, where, as a spy, he could get all the information as to the policy and movements of the Federal Government, and by conveying this to his fellow-traitors at home, could thwart and render utterly abortive every measure taken for the common safety. Doubtless, it would be far more agreeable to him to be there still, receiving a senator's pay and keeping out of harm's way, as well as profitable to his cause, which he has ceased to aid ever since he left the position of an enemy in the camp. Nor is this all. Under the guise of loyalty, traitors have swarmed in every department at Washington; for it is well known that evermore in the division of the loaves and fishes, the South has represented, with

even more accuracy than the penurious Yankees, the daughters of the horse-leech; and while easy enough for them to secede and play false to every trust, it was difficult to the refined sense of Southern chivalry to yield the dug which it had sucked so vigorously ever since it had a being. Yet these were all honorable men, ready to fly in the face of any one who called in question their nice sense of honor; ready to take the blood of any adversary who was so thoughtless as to call their conduct by its right name—more especially if too weak for him in argument, or they could fall upon him unarmed and in a posture incapable for self-defense.

It is a strange weakness of our nature that we usually try to claim those virtues which we most notoriously, in the estimation of others, do not possess, and the lack of which we ourselves are most deeply conscious. There is nothing, not even the Mayflower and Plymouth Rock, which has been repeated so thoroughly *ad nauseam* to the maw of the public, as the high honor, the unsullied gentlemanly character, the superior civilization and refinement of the Southern-bred cavalier. The whole catalogue of high-toned characteristics were claimed as constituent parts of their complacent virtue; and, as if they had received more than their share, there appeared, in their estimation, to be none left for those unfortunates who had the bad luck to be born north of Mason and Dixon's line. These boasts became the stock in trade of their conversation when visitors were present; they were made the web and woof of their literature; were the lesson of the school-book, and the text of the editorial leader; composed the brief of the lawyer, and the substance of the Judge's charge, especially when some wretch from the North was taken up for using freedom of speech; and finally cropped out in the self-laudatory effusions of the pulpit. So that at the very time when most guilty of the sum of all that is base, when destitute of that without which there can be no honor—truthfulness—these extravagant claims were made, and by those who were especially representative men in this guilt.

Such is the Upas tree which has grown up as the choice plant of secession. Let us note some of the fruits produced among its branches. When war exists among civilized nations, certain regulations are observed as necessary to mitigate the horrors and curb the wild passions of men so prone in their own nature to exceed all bounds. Among these usages is the parole of prisoners,

who, by that merciful act, are restored to their homes and friends, and therefore delivered from the necessary rigors of military prisons, and the sickness which accompanies the close confinement of many men together. As an act of mercy, this has been again and again extended to large bodies of rebel prisoners through a reliance that the secessionists, being of the same common stock with ourselves, had not quite lost those principles of honor which belong to Christian people. But in every case where this has been done, to any considerable extent, those very paroled prisoners are found immediately in arms again. Multitudes of those captured at Vicksburg were retaken at Chickamauga and Chattanooga. Having totally disregarded the solemn oath of non-combatants, straightway, as soon as they can be removed to another scene of hostilities, they are found swelling the ranks of the enemy again to meet the Union forces in battle, even those who had spared them. Now if this had occurred only in a few examples, if the proof of its having occurred at all was doubtful, then little stress could be laid on what were but isolated or ill-authenticated instances. But when sufficient numbers have been taken to enable us to judge by comparison, that a large proportion of all those once paroled are immediately, and without exchange, in arms again; and when we find the rebel press and government not only conniving at, but upholding this iniquity, the evil becomes one of colossal magnitude, and shows that the corruption of perjury is so deep-seated as to have diseased the whole body politic. If the return to arms was voluntary, this shows how much public sentiment was debauched. But if they were forced by the Richmond junto, we have, if possible, a greater display of wicked arrogance than aught before exhibited. For the right to force men who are under parole to fight again, can only follow from the right to absolve them from their oath. Perhaps Jeff. Davis, in the plenitude of his usurped powers, has, also, in the estimation of his abject minions, that authority claimed by the Pope, who, "as Vicar of Jesus Christ, and superior to all Christians, can, having a good motive for it, annul by his power and release immediately from every obligation contracted in the strength of a promise made under the faith of an oath." * This, however, would be only in keeping with the ordinary Jesuitical morality of the secessionists, who hold it

* Father Lessius, De Justitia et Jure, p 632.

perfectly justifiable to take any oath the Federal Government may impose with a view of saving their persons or property, yet with the mental reservation not to keep it. The faithlessness in regard to paroled prisoners is worse than any case of failure to keep an oath could be in times of peace; for the few conventions recognized during hostilities are so necessary to check the tendency to barbarism, that if these be disregarded nothing remains to stay the current of violence. So when we look at this conduct as the result of deliberate advice on the part of the insurrection leaders, it shows a depth of depravity; an utter contempt of the sacred nature of an oath, which leaves no remaining foundation for moral renovation.

Kindred to this is the course almost universally pursued by those enemies within the Federal lines, who have taken the non-combatant's oath to escape punishment for their previous treasonable conduct. The oath administered in such cases is formed with the closest attention to accuracy, so as to exclude every form of prevarication; and accordingly it is impossible for any man to take this oath truthfully and subsequently engage in any hostile acts, either directly or indirectly. Yet it has become notorious that this oath, in nine cases out of ten, is not regarded in any other light than that of a disguise by which an enemy can conceal his designs, and more effectually operate against the Federal cause by being in a position to obtain and convey information to the rebels in arms. And when a force of the enemy arrives, sufficient to strike a blow, these same honorable non-combatants are found the most zealous in punishing such as had lately been their protectors. Nor do they hesitate to form guerrilla bands to plunder and murder their own neighbors; but the moment a Federal force, sufficient to fight them, arrives, then instantly they are citizens again, following the arts of peace. Every person who has had the misfortune to be found in a section of country temporarily held by the invading enemy, has seen abundant instances of the zeal of non-combatants to punish the friends of the Union; to point them out to their foes, and secure the destruction of their substance. It is evident that human vileness can go no further, yet these same persons, when the surging tide of war moves backward again, are found flocking to the offices of Provost Marshals to renew their oath of faithful neutrality; and, too often, alas! find officers weak enough to trust them. And thus they repeat

the farce of swearing only to falsify it in practice the first occasion that offers. It is a conclusion which was long resisted, and finally accepted with extreme pain, that, almost without exception, secessionists and their sympathizers do not, in the least, regard an oath taken to the Government. Whether this horrid wickedness in this matter is consistent with truthfulness and honor in other respects, it is not the purpose now to discuss. Suffice it to say that, after an extensive acquaintance with those who have participated in the insurrection, and afterward claimed Federal protection, only a single example has ever come to our knowledge where the oath has been faithfully observed. It can not be said, in extenuation, that the Federal authority is not binding on the consciences of those who pretend to submit to it; for the very act of claiming its protection, and of promising entire abstinence from direct or indirect movements against it, is an acknowledgment of its jurisdiction. No force, moreover, is employed to make them take the oath. This act is entirely voluntary, for whosoever does not wish to bind himself to desist from aiding the enemies of our country, has the very easy, and it would seem, joyful, alternative of leaving the brutal and degraded Yankees, the barbarous and uncivilized hordes of the North, and fleeing to the refinement, the purity, the blessedness, to be found in the embraces of the high-toned chivalry of the sunny South. It would certainly be more patriotic in secession sympathizers, if they are contending for a principle, to go with the cause they pretend to love for its own sake. What if they did leave their property? They set out on principle, contrary to the course of the Union defenders, who fight for gain alone; and now shall it be said they are afraid to fight for their cause, or that they love the detestable government at Washington better than the man of their choice at Richmond? Surely this is the time for the exhibition of boasted principle, and for the bundle of virtues composing a secession gentleman to shine out in their original luster. And truly no friend of the Union could object if these non-combatant sympathizers should depart, like Judas, to their place; for it is notorious that each one of these sworn neutrals, who is a traitor at heart, while under the strictest bonds, is more dangerous than an enemy in the field, and gives the Federal authorities more trouble in seeking protection, or clamoring for pay in the case of real or fancied losses, than a dozen true and faithful patriots. Moreover, we see the champions

of chivalry forsaking the cause and taking refuge under the flag which they once reviled and abused with all their heart. Cowardly poltroons! having neither the courage to fight, nor the manliness to meet the issues of the horrid war they have aided in lighting up, they fly to a neutral power, and chose to preserve their valuable lives by smelling the battle emphatically afar off. From their retreat, where they have slunk away from manly warfare, and can not be reached by the punishment of the civil law for their treasonable conduct, they continue to spue out their impotent wrath on all who do not think honor and patriotism consist in perjury and insurrection. While uttering every vile charge against the Federal Government and its supporters, they seem to forget that they have left their wives, their children and property under the guardianship of those they revile. Nor does it occur to them that, while their families and property enjoy the Federal protection, by their own advice and consent, they, by this fact, owe allegiance to the Government, and acknowledge that it has more honor than they have; since it indirectly protects them while they exert their utmost to destroy it. Yet these same cowardly vagabonds, in a venal press, both foreign and domestic, continue to send forth their periodical diatribes concerning *Christian manliness*, and at the same time scandalize decent ears by their slang, which is intended for wit. We have dissertations on *New England ignorance* from those who learned what little they know there. Every minister of the Gospel who thinks and speaks as if he considered obedience to the powers that be a Christian virtue, is taken to task for Erastianism, for the unholy converse between Church and State; unless forsooth his utterances are on the side of a treasonable and perjured insurrection, when, of course, the union between a schismatic Church and a seceded State is holy, and the offspring legitimate.

Thus we see the general sentiment prevailing among all the enemies of our country that no oath is binding when taken to support it. But upon what is this opinion founded? Is it that the United States, which they once acknowledged, and which still has all that constitutes a power, is not an organized Government? Certainly once they, by their own admission, owed and rendered obedience; and if this was proper then, it must continue to be so still, for the Government itself has never done any thing to destroy its right to exercise legislative sway. It performed all that a State

was required to do; gave protection to all rights and punished evil-doers. There being no justifying cause on the part of the Federal authorities for all this horrid work, it follows that it still possesses the legitimate sway over all its subjects, which includes all and singular of the inhabitants of the United States—as well those who are in hostility as those in loyal obedience. Hence it follows that the former are continually guilty of perjury for not doing those acts of fealty which are of perpetually binding obligation. The fact that any one, by factious opposition, chooses to think that he owes no allegiance to a State, does not make this true; neither does it excuse his conduct, nor free him from the condemnation awaiting those who resist the ordinance of God. But the proof to show that the people of the South do owe allegiance, is corroborated by their own conduct. For, in nearly all instances where our victorious arms have penetrated, the people, as soon as the might is displayed, acknowledge the right (which, of course, they would not do, if it did not exist, as they are fighting for their rights), sufficiently to subscribe to the oath, in order to secure protection in person or property. This is a tacit acknowledgment, and throws the burden of allegiance back on him who subscribes to the oath. For if the Government has no right to enforce its obligations, then, as before shown, it is wicked for a man to submit to them; and the decision must be made before the duty is assumed. But high-toned Southern gentlemen would not, of course, do any thing wicked, least of all swear falsely. The character of the power must be considered before we subscribe to it, else we, and not the State, must bear the sin of false swearing; and hence the duty is equally imperative, whether we consider the Government valid or not, provided we are in the possession of all the facts.

But for what is the oath taken, if not to secure some advantage? and when that is obtained, surely it is not in the province of morality to shake off the restraints which accompany such benefits. The one presupposes the other, and if the one be obtained the other must be assumed. But the mind of the traitor is so thoroughly perverted, that he thinks it perfectly consistent with his morality—and so it is—to take advantage of the oath for committing, with impunity, those acts for which he must otherwise be outlawed as an enemy, and banished as an alien. It is often asserted by the very pinks of honor, even by those who term themselves ladies, that the oath to the Federal Government has no

binding force, and therefore can be taken to secure advantages, and broken with impunity. But aside from this monstrous blasphemy, which out-Herods the casuistry of the Jesuits, and exhibits a phase of degradation, which, we believe, and trust for the honor of our common humanity, was never before known, there is one element which gives the oath its validity and which insures the Divine punishment for perjury, which is entirely overlooked by them. When we swear, it is not to man merely, but to the Lord; and therefore we are pledged under the invocation of the Divine blessing on obedience, and the imprecation of the curse of God if we fail; and no consideration respecting the earthly power can avail to change the nature of this absolute obligation of faithfulness. And let it also be noted that when men swear in order to secure advantages, and when these are obtained they do not intend to be faithful to their vows, it is manifest that they prefer them to the blessings which God bestows upon those who swear and change not; and dread more the earthly disabilities which they shun, than the wrath of the Almighty which they imprecate. So glaring is this open blasphemy, for it can be nothing else, that it is talked of as a good joke to take the Federal oath, ("to swallow the mule," in the neat and elegant phraseology of refined secession ladies,) and take advantage of the credulity of Government officials; and nothing seems to be further from the intention than to keep such oath, unless that there be any binding force upon the conscience to keep it sacred.

In conclusion, it is held that, if the blessing of the Most High rests upon that people or man who honors his name by faithful oaths, "who sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not," surely, also, the curse of God will follow whosoever is guilty of the horrid blasphemy which has been pointed out in the foregoing pages. And if this be the greatest sin of which a man can be guilty; if this prostrates his whole moral nature, as well as dishonors the blessed name of God, then surely must the secession movement be of colossal wickedness. For the public conscience seems to be thoroughly depraved, and this iniquity to sweep over those in insurrection like a flood. Nor is it confined to the enemy in arms. It is found wherever this insurrection has friends, either among those who give their substance to destroy our Government, or who, by their position, their animus, or their words, give moral support to the common enemy. It is not enough that we lift no hand

against the State we have sworn to protect, nor that we do not equip and send our sons or others to fight. We may, by unfaithfulness to our Government in this hour of its trial, do far more than the soldier in the field who kills our men. Our influence may weaken the common cause of our nation, and prolong the struggle for the destruction of the enemy, and thus jeopard our fealty to the State which shelters us. The outward formal obedience is not enough to make the oath of allegiance inviolate. We must be true in heart, as well as faithful in action, if we would acquit ourselves of duty. For this is what we bound ourselves to do when, by appealing to the witness of God for the rectitude of our purposes, we promised to be faithful to the power which He has delegated to man, and which is swayed by the Magistrate, who is the visible representative of that authority on earth.

Art. V.—*The Men of Danville.* No. 2.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE REV. DAVID RICE.*

The first of the Men of Danville—the founder of the Church in this place—the founder of the first School taught in Kentucky—the seed of all the Presbyterian institutions of the State, and the founder and father of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, was the Rev. David Rice, to whose biography we propose to devote this paper. He deserves a fuller and more extended notice than he has yet received. His memory ought to be revived; it has almost faded from the recollection of the present generation, though a few remember the name, and still fewer the person of the venerable "Father Rice," as he was universally called. He was not only the founder of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, but for long years its guide and counselor "in perils in the wilderness, and in perils among false brethren." It may be safely said, that the character of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky down

* An outline of the History of the Church in the State of Kentucky, by Robert H. Bishop—History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky, by Rev. Robert Davidson, D. D.—Annals of the American Pulpit, by Wm. B. Sprague, D. D.—Collins' History of Kentucky.

to the present time, is, in large part, a reflex of his character—distinguished for firmness, wisdom and moderation. The State at large owes also much to his labors. He was the founder, as already stated, of the first seminary of learning in Kentucky, which led to the establishment of Transylvania University, and subsequently to that of Centre College, and thus to the diffusion of much of the learning and intelligence which have illuminated the State and the neighboring sister States, which have, in part, sprung from her, and received largely the impress of their characters from Kentucky. While in Virginia he had taken an active part in the establishment of Hampden Sydney College, and had an important agency in obtaining its first two Presidents—the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith and the Rev. John Blair Smith.

David Rice was born in Hanover County, Va., Dec. 20, 1733. His grandfather, who was an Englishman by birth, of Welsh extraction, immigrated to Virginia at an early period. Having had a considerable estate left him in England, he crossed the ocean with a view to obtain it, but never returned; and it was supposed he was assassinated on board the ship on which he took passage. He left in Virginia a large family of children, one of whom, David, was the father of the subject of this notice. He was a plain farmer, and both he and his wife were members of the Established Church. *They would never own slaves; he, because he considered it unprofitable; she, because she considered it morally wrong*—thus embracing, in their combined sentiments, the two fundamental grounds upon which the opposition to this institution is founded: First, it is wrong; secondly, it is unprofitable. It is worthy of the profoundest notice, that the principles of this good couple of the olden time, old-fashioned and old-principled people, on the subject of Slavery, should be transmitted through their son to the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, and, more or less, to the people of the State generally to the present day. It will be seen, that David Rice introduced, even into the first convention of Kentucky for the formation of a State Constitution, a provision for the removal of this institution; and from him has descended and remained in the bosom of the Church, at all times, a deep sense of its evils, moral, economical, and political, and been thence diffused, to no small degree, through the whole community.

David had religious impressions from an early period; he passed through many struggles and phases of feeling, with which only

those who have had similar experiences can fully sympathize—struggles and sorrows to which nothing earthly can compare in the intensity of their agony, which issued in his thorough and genuine conversion to Christ. He lived in a congregation under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Todd; but he was particularly benefited by a sermon which he heard of the Rev. Samuel Davies, and soon afterward united with the Church under Mr. Todd. Mental distresses, through which young Rice passed, are not unfrequently the effect of mistaken notions. This was in part his case. He says, speaking of himself, "this turned my play into prayer, which I practiced from one to seven times a day; yet all this prayer and all this seriousness, I afterward found, proceeded from no higher principle than self-love. The avoiding of misery and the obtaining of happiness, were the sum of my motives." Does the Bible present to us any higher motives than these? Are not life and death set before us in the Scriptures as the great motives of action? "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned," are the very words of the Saviour himself, given to His disciples just before His ascension to the throne of His Father, and enjoined to be proclaimed to all mankind, even to the end of the world. How unnecessarily, therefore, did this good man condemn himself for self-love, in his desire to escape death and obtain life—the great prize presented to our view and efforts in the Scriptures—and because he could not find in his heart some sublimated notions and sentiments of devotion in which self-salvation and happiness were excluded, and the high and disinterested glory of God was the supreme and only impulse of feeling and action. We doubt if Mr. Rice ever subsequently professed to attain to any such utter annihilation of self-regard through his long career of piety and usefulness. He soon determined to devote his life to the gospel ministry. He determined to sacrifice every inclination and every interest which would impede him in the pursuit of the necessary qualifications. One of his resolutions we desire to bring before the attention of modern students of Divinity, and of young men who have the ministry in view. He particularly resolved to avoid every degree of social intimacy with the other sex, knowing that entering into the marriage state would impede, if not entirely prevent the accomplishment of his object. Many young men of this day might profit by the adoption of this resolution; who, if they

are not actually entangled in the marriage relation, waste much of their precious time in young female society, and expose themselves to the temptation of premature marriage. When the proper time arrives, marriage is, as a general thing, the duty of the young minister; but it is still more his duty to abstain from it till that proper time comes.

Young Rice commenced his classical studies under Mr. Todd, and continued them under the Rev. James Waddel, D. D. Mr. Davies having been appointed President of the College of New Jersey, Mr. Rice accompanied him thither in 1759, and entered the Junior class. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1761, he returned to Virginia, and studied Theology under the Rev. John Todd, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Hanover in November, 1762. He had then nearly completed his twenty-ninth year. The first field of his evangelical labors was the southern part of Virginia and the northern part of North Carolina. After laboring here, not without some evidence of success, for about six months, he visited Pennsylvania, where he married Mary, the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Blair. Thence he returned to Virginia, with the purpose of settling in North Carolina; but, stopping at Hanover, then vacant by the removal of Mr. Davies, he received a call to settle there, and, having accepted it, was ordained and installed in December, 1763.

Here he labored four or five years, with considerable success, though his own impression was that his ministry accomplished more for the blacks than the whites. This feature in his ministry, or rather the great importance of increased attention to the spiritual wants of this portion of our population, we design, subsequently, to bring to the especial notice of our readers, and we earnestly desire to commend it to the notice of all preachers of the gospel, old and young. The minister of the gospel in the slave States who neglects the black population, will have a fearful account to give to his Master. It was to the poor he was sent to preach the gospel. An old dispute between two of his principal elders, which originated in the time of Mr. Davies, having been revived—in consequence of which the congregation was likely to be embarrassed, in respect to his support—he obtained from the Presbytery a dissolution of his pastoral relation. He hated contention, was subject to depression of spirits, and was often fearful of the worst,

and this, probably, had much to do with his determination to seek another field of labor. The separation from his charge was a painful event both to him and to them, for they were mutually and warmly attached.

During this period of distress and privation, he found a true help-mate in his excellent wife. Mrs. Rice was a woman of uncommon strength of mind and piety, and brought to his aid her vigorous and efficient exertions. She literally sought out wool and flax and wrought vigorously with her hands. To her economy and prudence, and cheerful and pious temper, the comfort and success of the long and useful life of Father Rice are, in a great measure, to be attributed. We are informed that, on the Sabbath, when her husband was absent, a portion of the day was spent in catechizing her children and *servants*, and in prayer with them. As we have assumed the responsibility of advising young men, devoting themselves to the ministry, when to marry, we will now go a step further, and offer them a word of advice as to whom to marry. Let their first object in seeking a wife be piety, directed by sound sense and accompanied by industry and energy of character, and let them sedulously avoid young women who have little else to recommend them besides the possession of fashionable accomplishments. One woman of the character of Mrs. Rice is worth half a dozen superficially educated modern belles, with the smallest modicum of Latin and French, and years wasted on fashionable music. Such women become, instead of help-mates, only burdens and impediments to the minister. Let him especially avoid becoming a fortune-seeker. We have seldom seen a preacher, who married a fortune, whose character and usefulness were not seriously impaired by it. *

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* The education of girls at the present time is like the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out. Great attention is paid to their mental and ornamental education, but none whatever to their industrial, domestic and corporeal. The true maxim of education is, *Mens sana in corpore sano.* Without health, feeble and effeminate, without habits of industry or knowledge of domestic duties, a woman, however highly educated intellectually, and whatever may be her other accomplishments, who has been neglected in the most important part of her education, is wholly unfit to fulfill the duties for which God designed her. She will not live out half her days—she may pass a short, gay and brilliant life, but it will be a useless one.

We have just conversed with a lady of intelligence, who mourned the loss of the health of two interesting daughters, who had received the most accomplished education which one of the first schools in the United States could impart; but,

After giving up his charge, Mr. Rice remained for two or three years unsettled, though he was, during that period, employed in his Master's work as opportunity offered. At length he determined to settle himself in Bedford County, Va., a new and frontier settlement, in a mountainous region, with a population drawn from various parts of the world, and representing nearly all the various religious denominations. Here he took charge of three congregations, one of which was five, another eleven, and another twenty-five miles from his dwelling. The last mentioned was called "the Peaks," being near the Peaks of Otter. Here his labors were greatly blessed, and without any extraordinary excitement. There was a lively and healthful state of religious feeling, and an earnest attention to the preaching of the Word, which lasted, without any perceptible decline, for ten years. All classes and denominations were fond of attending his ministry. In due time this congregation became sufficiently numerous to require all his labors, and accordingly he gave up the others and confined his attention to this. His ministry here was during the war of the Revolution, when many other congregations were scattered and separated from their pastors. It was much to the praise of the people that, during this disastrous period, they fulfilled their pecuniary engagements to him with punctuality.

To make some provision for his rising family, Mr. Rice was induced to make a visit to Kentucky. He had received glowing accounts of the fertility of the lands, which might be obtained for little more than the cost of entry. His object was not to preach, nor to make a settlement himself soon, if ever, but if all the circumstances should be favorable, to procure settlements for his numerous family. He was charmed with the country, but neither the mode appointed by the Legislature for taking up land, nor the character of the settlers generally, pleased him. While in Kentucky he preached as opportunity offered. On his return he met with four thousand emigrants to this new and beautiful country. Soon after his return, he received a verbal invitation to return to

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alas! at the expense of health. One of them has been, for several years, an invalid. She mourned and denounced the course she had pursued. Let parents, ambitious of affording to their daughters "a splendid education," take care that health be not sacrificed, and industrial and domestic habits be not neglected. A wife without these qualifications is no help-mate; but, finally, becomes a burden to her family, and leaves a degenerate offspring.

Kentucky and officiate as a minister. He replied that if a written invitation were sent him, signed only by those who were permanent settlers, and who wished to join a religious society, he would take the matter into consideration, and return an answer in due time. After a few months, a call, signed by three hundred men, was forwarded to him; and though he had reasonable cause to doubt the religious character of most of the subscribers, fortunately, or rather providentially, and happily for the Church, and for Kentucky, he finally resolved to accept it and remove to Kentucky, which he did in October, 1783. As he feared, he found few persons who were pious; but it was even worse than he feared. After he had been in the country some weeks, and had preached at several places, he scarcely found a man, and but few women, who supported a credible profession of religion. Quarreling and fighting, profane swearing and intemperance prevailed even among those who laid some claim to a religious character, and the forms of domestic religion were almost totally neglected. He very properly, therefore, deferred the immediate formation of a congregation, but preached among the people for a year, that he might form a better acquaintance with them. At the commencement of the second year, a congregation was organized in what is now Mercer County, with as much formality as their distance from other regular churches, and their other disadvantages, would permit. The congregation had three places of worship—Danville, Cane Run, and Forks of Dix River; and though the circumstances were unfavorable, Mr. Rice considered himself called to preach the gospel to these people, and leave the results to the good providence of God. How great have been those results! From this unfavorable beginning originated the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky. Here and then were founded the institutions of Danville, and were sown in faith and prayer the seeds of religion and knowledge, which have already produced so fruitfully, and are destined, we trust, in future ages, to produce so much more fruitfully to the glory of God and the welfare of man. Mr. Rice was the first of "the Men of Danville," and every way worthy to stand at the head of those who have usefully and honorably succeeded him, and at the head of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky as its founder and spiritual Father.

The town of Danville was laid out by Walker Daniel, who came to the county of Lincoln in 1781. He named it after himself.

He was a lawyer by profession, and is represented as a young man of rare talents, and gave promise of great distinction. His only competitor, at this period, was Christopher Greenup, afterward Governor of the State. Mr. Daniel was killed by the Indians in August, 1784, after a short residence of three years.

Other Presbyterian ministers came into Kentucky in a few years, of some of whom Mr. Rice does not seem to have formed a very favorable opinion. They were men of some information and held sound principles; but did not seem to possess much of the spirit of the gospel. His spirits sank very low, verging on deep melancholy. This disposition was perhaps constitutional, and owing to physical causes. It effected him all his life. Like a man of enlarged and catholic mind, he turned for comfort and encouragement to find a better state of religious feeling among other denominations. The Baptists were the first religious society in the country, but they were engaged in disputes on abstract points, which neither party much understood. About the same time two Methodist ministers came to the county, who, though rather passionate in their addresses, seemed to be men of a tender and catholic spirit, and supporters of good morals. Their preaching soon, however, assumed more of a sectarian spirit. Mr. Rice's spirits sank still lower under the discouraging prospects before him, and the low condition of religion and morals in the new country, which was rapidly filling up with a mixed and enterprising population from all parts of the world, who cared little for the cultivation of religion, and whose morals were loose. It is a mark of Mr. Rice's liberal spirit, that the arrival about this time of an old and pious Baptist minister, by the name of Gano, from New York, greatly rejoiced him. "I heard him," he says, "with avidity and satisfaction. He appeared to preach the gospel in its native simplicity, with honest intention to promote the glory of God and the good of men. To me he appeared to be one of the ancient Puritans rising from the dead."

Previously to Mr. Rice's arrival, marriages had been celebrated by the magistrates, but afterward the services of a clergyman were procured. On the 3d of June, 1784, he married a couple at McAfee's Station, and on the 4th, preached the funeral sermon of Mrs. James McCown, Sen., the first sermon ever preached on the banks of Salt River. After this Mr. Rice returned to the fort, and spent Saturday, according to his custom, in catechizing such

as felt an interest in religious matters. On Sunday he preached in a large double-hewed log house at the station. These details will give some idea of the state of society, and of the commencement of religious instruction in the country.

In consequence of the multiplication of congregations, and in order to form a bond of union for their better regulation, a general meeting for conference was held at Cane Run, March 30, 1785. At this conference three ministers were present—Mr. Rice, Adam Rankin, James Mitchell, and Terah Templin, a probationer. There were present ten representatives from congregations. The conference was organized by calling Mr. Rice to the chair, and appointing Caleb Wallace, afterward Judge of the Court of Appeals, clerk. They took steps to form themselves regularly into a Presbytery. Among other resolutions adopted was one worthy of especial notice, as the liberal spirit it inculcated has always characterized the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, and favorably distinguished it from the other denominations. Their people were enjoined to cultivate a catholic spirit toward other denominations; and, by a meek and Christian deportment, to impress all who had intercourse with them with a sense of the reality and importance of religion. This resolution may be safely attributed to Mr. Rice as its author. The conference adjourned to meet again in July following, when Mr. Rice was requested to open the meeting by a suitable sermon. It accordingly met at Cane Run meeting-house on Tuesday, July 12, 1785, Mr. Rice delivering a sermon from Isaiah lxii: 1—"For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth." The ministers present were Messrs. Rice, Rankin, Templin and James Crawford. There were in attendance twenty-three representatives from twelve congregations. Mr. Rice was again called to preside. This statement of facts indicates an interest and growth in religion very favorable under such extraordinary circumstances, and we think Mr. Rice ought to have been greatly encouraged. The congregations were advised to provide convenient houses of worship, as soon as circumstances would permit. With characteristic zeal for the diffusion of knowledge, measures were recommended to procure suitable libraries for ministers. This conference, of so much importance in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, bore, in its plan and all

its proceedings, and the admirable order and method which characterized them, the impress of the judicious and far-sighted mind of Mr. Rice.

The Presbytery of Transylvania was organized in the Court-house in Danville, October 17, 1786, under the authority of the Synod of Virginia, and consisted of five ministers, Mr. Rice presiding as Moderator.

In February, 1785, Mr. Rice opened at his house, in Lincoln County, a Grammar School, which was the foundation of Transylvania Seminary, of the Board of Trustees of which he was Chairman for several years. This School grew into the Seminary, and afterward into Transylvania University, and was the first Grammar School established in the country. When the Seminary afterward fell under Deistical influence, he took an active part in raising up a rival in the Kentucky Academy, and, in company with the Rev. Dr. Blythe, visited the Eastern cities to solicit donations for it.

In 1790, not content with his own personal duty, Mr. Rice wrote a circular letter to his ministerial brethren, proposing Paul as their common example. A revival of religion was the happy consequence in his own and other congregations, which continued for some months. During this period, not only were Christians interested, but at every communion a few converts were added to the Church. This reminds us of the long-continued interest on the subject of religion, continuing for years in his congregation in Virginia, already mentioned; and to express our greater confidence in revivals of this character over those periodical and distant excitements in which large numbers were added to the Church, followed by still longer periods of spiritual dearth and deadness. The Presbyterians and Baptists, at this period, had an equal number of congregations—sixteen of each denomination. But the latter had the advantage in the number of preachers, thirty-two, while the former had only seven. The latter were, no doubt, all uneducated men, while the former had more or less of a classical and scientific education. The two denominations pursued their several and distinct courses under Providence. The Baptists, of course, greatly excelled in the number of ministers and people, spreading religion and its influence among the masses of the people, who, but for them and these noble pioneers of Christ every-where, the Methodists, would have sunk into heathenism. May God continue to

bless both denominations still more abundantly, and all others who are preaching Christ and salvation through His blood. There is abundant work for all; let us not worry and devour each other, but labor, helping each other in the several departments of the Master's vineyard which He has assigned to us. If there is any thing hateful and wicked under the sun, it is sectarian bigotry, and envy and exclusiveness. We should mutually rejoice in each other's increase and prosperity, as we rejoice in the salvation of sinners, and the advancement of the Kingdom of the blessed Redeemer on earth. Because we differ in a few abstract points, or in a mode of administering one of the sacraments of the Church, or in forms of Church government, shall we feel the less interest in each other's progress, and shall we even commit the horrible sin of hating and devouring each other? We have all been guilty of it; let us cease it. It is by love that we shall see eye to eye. For our part, could we think and feel otherwise, we should not only doubt, but we should be certain we had no lot or part in the matter. If there is any thing, not merely odious, but ridiculous, it is the sight of a sect folding its arms in blind and Pharisaic pride, and arrogating to itself to be exclusively the Church of Christ, or even sanctimonious superiority in any wise. The Presbyterians, fewer in number, but with an educated ministry, set up and diffused the light of knowledge in the community, and the influence of religion over classes in society, who would otherwise have been in danger of despising it. All denominations have, for years, been advancing in the cultivation of learning, and let us rejoice for the good-doing and good influence of all who, under God, established the Christian religion literally in the wilderness, and worshiped—taking their guns with them to the house of worship, to protect themselves against the murderous and savage foe.

The Presbyterian Church in Kentucky was rent and convulsed at several periods of its early history, in a manner that threatened its very existence. In all these troubles, Mr. Rice acted the part of a wise and moderate adviser, and his influence was always for good. The first of these was the schism of Mr. Rankin, who was one of the original members of the conference first held, and of Transylvania Presbytery. Mr. Rankin had a mania on the subject of singing the Psalms of David, and considered himself specially sent of God to exterminate Watts' Hymns and Psalms

from the Church. He shielded himself under the sanction of a Divine warrant, claiming to be directed in this and all other affairs of moment by dreams and visions. Mr. Rice, to whom he had confided his dreams, solemnly warned him of the danger of being led into great errors and delusions, and expressed his strong disapprobation of reliance on dreams and night visions for direction in duty. Mr. Rankin was, finally, for contumacious and schismatical conduct, deposed from the ministry, Oct. 2, 1792.

As a good man and a patriot, Mr. Rice gave a portion of his heart and activity to the cause and welfare of his country politically. In the American struggle for independence he had taken a warm and zealous part, and did not esteem it unbecoming his clerical profession to harangue the people on their grievances at county meetings. In 1792 he permitted himself to be elected a member of the convention which met at Danville to frame a State Constitution. His object was worthy of the man and the occasion. He printed an address to the people of the State entitled, "Slavery inconsistent with Justice and Policy," which we shall particularly notice hereafter, and strenuously exerted himself, without success, to procure the insertion of an article in the Constitution providing for the gradual emancipation of Slavery, before the settlement of the question should be hampered by insuperable embarrassments. Had the efforts of this wise, good, and far-seeing man succeeded at that time, how different, as it must be evident to the eyes of all candid men, even those of pro-slavery sentiments, would have been the career and present condition of Kentucky, and even of the whole nation! She would have been a free State, with two millions of population; with treble her present wealth; all her mountainous regions being filled with the hum of manufactures, and covered with sheep-walks, and her rich central region with smiling farms, of smaller dimensions, worked by free hands—the foremost of all the West in prosperity and intelligence. In the present dreadful civil war, which, perhaps, in that event, however, would never have occurred, she would indeed have been exposed, as a frontier State, to its dangers, but with abundant ability to have taken care of and defended herself from all her enemies. Mr. Rice, however, sowed the seeds of freedom, which have borne some fruit ever since, and are yet destined, we trust, in God's good providence, to remove the foot of the slaver from the beautiful soil of Kentucky.

In the field of his original settlement, Mr. Rice labored fifteen years. He was now sixty-five years of age, and was troubled with an affection of the head, which incapacitated him for close and continuous thought, and subjected him to an almost habitual melancholy. He was also not a little tried by pecuniary embarrassments. He had purchased land on the faith of his congregation guaranteeing the payment, which, however, was so long deferred, if not entirely forgotten, that the good man and his family would have been actually reduced to want, had it not been for the seasonable and kindly interposition of a benevolent individual in the neighborhood.

Under these circumstances, in 1798, he removed to Green County, then a new settlement in the southern part of Kentucky. He did not, however, take a pastoral charge, nor attend much on Church courts, though he preached frequently in the way of assisting his brethren, and of supplying vacant congregations. In 1805 and 1806, he performed an extensive missionary tour through Kentucky and Ohio, by appointment of the General Assembly, with a view to ascertain particularly the religious condition of the country. After his return he addressed an epistle to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, published the same year, and afterward, in 1808, a second epistle, warning them with great fidelity and solemnity against what he believed to be the prevailing errors of the times. These epistles are distinguished for their intelligence, wisdom and sound doctrine. Happy were the churches of all denominations in those days of trial, in having so venerable and able a counselor and guide. In relation to the great revival, which had so sadly run to waste, and produced so much evil as well as good, he says, "that we had a revival of the spirit and power of Christianity among us, I did, and do, and ever shall believe until I see evidence to the contrary, which I have not seen; but we have sadly mismanaged it; we have dashed it down and broken it to pieces. Though I hope a number will have reason to bless God for it to all eternity; yet we have not acted as wise master builders, who have no need to be ashamed."

By the year 1802, the number of Presbyterians had so multiplied as to call for the erection of a Synod. On Tuesday, October 14, 1802, the Synod of Kentucky held its first meeting in the Presbyterian Church, in Lexington. Mr. Rice preached the opening sermon, and was elected Moderator. The number of mem-

bers present were thirty; of whom seventeen were ministers and thirteen elders. It will be noticed how controlling was the influence and character of Mr. Rice; he was always elected to preside over every advance made by the Church in extending her organization. In sixteen years from the arrival of the first clergyman in the field, the number had increased to twenty-six, distributed in three presbyteries, and in nineteen years they were formed into a Synod. To these were to be added several licentiates, and in all fifty Presbyterian ministers had preached the gospel within the State in the time last mentioned. It is painful, however, to have to acknowledge that, with two or three shining exceptions, the historian of the Church describes the majority of them to be men of barely respectable talents, and a few hardly above mediocrity; and, so far from being men of flaming zeal and apostolic devotion, a dull formality seems to have been their general characteristic. The melancholy mismanagement of the revival above alluded to, is evidence of the feebleness and incapacity of many of those ministers.

This extraordinary excitement occurred in the year 1800, and was attended in its course by most remarkable phenomena, to which we can barely allude. They were styled: 1. The Falling Exercise, in which some few fell suddenly, as if struck with lightning; while others were seized with universal tremor the moment before, and fell shrieking. 2. The Jerking Exercise, the subjects of which were instantaneously seized with spasms or convulsions in every muscle, nerve and tendon, which were attended with most frightful contortions. 3. The Rolling Exercise, which consisted in being violently prostrated, doubled with the head and feet together, and rolling over and over like a wheel, or turning swiftly over and over sideways like a log. 4. The Running Exercise; in this the person affected took a sudden start, and was impelled to run with amazing swiftness, as if engaged in a race, leaping over every obstacle in his way with preternatural agility. 5. The Dancing Exercise. 6. The Barking Exercise; this consisted in taking the position of a dog, moving about on all fours, growling and snapping with the teeth, and barking with such exactness of imitation, as to deceive any one whose eyes were not directed to the spot.

It is unnecessary to say that Mr. Rice protested with all his might against these follies and abuses; and we are informed that

the Presbyterian clergy, as a body, are not to be held responsible for those extravagant irregularities and enthusiastic fantasies.

Of the younger clergy, who patronized these exercises, Houston, McNemar and Dunlavy afterward became Shakers; Stone apostatized wholly from all the doctrines of the Church, and became the leader and head of the New Lights; Marshall and Thompson returned to the church, and several others became the leaders of the Cumberland Presbyterians. Through all these tempests, Mr. Rice, and other wise and judicious men, conducted the nearly shipwrecked vessel of the Church, and its precious cargo, in safety into calm seas, and finally into a safe harbor. Well might the venerable pilot have exclaimed in his grief:

> O Navis, referant in mare te *novi*
> Fluctus! O quid agis? fortiter occupa
> Portum. Nonne vides, ut
> Nudum remigio latus?

The name of Mr. Rice reappears through all these stormy times throughout all Davidson's *History of the Church*, always in the connection of a wise and steady leader, and firmer supporter of order and sound doctrine. In order to give a fuller idea of the labors and usefulness of this good man, we will recite some of these notices. Narrating the disorders of the revivals, it is said: "The venerable Father Rice, at an early period, with characteristic foresight, endeavored to guard against these evils; and had his advice been followed, the shocking disorders just recited might have been prevented, and the revival have gone on with greater purity, power, and splendor.

"There was a sacrament at Walnut Hill, on the first Sabbath of September, 1801, when the following clergymen were present, and took part: Marshall, Blythe, Rice, Lyle, Crawford, Welch, Stuart, and Rannals. Beside these, there were several Baptist preachers on the ground, Lewis, Craig, Smith, Bowman, and Davis, who occupied another stand. The negroes had still another by themselves. This meeting was held but about three or four months from the commencement of the revival in Upper Kentucky. On Saturday evening previous, Mr. Rice powerfully exhorted against noise and false exercise." Again it is said: "Not content with warning the laity, Mr. Rice sought to secure the coöperation of the clergy—the fountain-head of influence. In the evening of the

same day, (Saturday), he read to his ministerial brethren, at Mr. Crawford's house, a plan for regulating the camps at night," etc.

"After the conference at Walnut Hill in September following, and the rejection of Mr. Rice's plan for regulating the camps, the clergy and laity became divided into two distinct parties—the Orthodox and the New Lights; one assuming the honorable style of 'Revival Men,' and affecting superior sanctity and zeal in stigmatizing the other unjustly as 'Anti-Revival Men.' The latter were frequently denounced as hindrances to the work; and especially 'old Parson Rice' as standing in the way; as Deists at heart; as having no religion; while on themselves the effulgence of the new light shone, irradiating them with the knowledge of '*The True New Gospel.*' With the enthusiastic or New Light party, who were the most forward and noisy, the elder clergy, and the more sober-minded, soon lost their influence, and found themselves under the necessity of looking on in silence, and enduring evils which they could not check."

McNemar and Thompson were brought to trial in 1803. Messrs. Rice, Houston, and Welch, to whom was afterward added Joseph P. Howe, were appointed a committee to confer with the seceding brethren and endeavor to reclaim them. In 1804, the General Assembly appointed Dr. James Hall, of North Carolina, to a mission within the bounds of the Presbytery of Washington, which he declined, and the Assembly, on the petition of the Synod, appointed Mr. Rice in his place. During the years 1805 and 1806, Messrs. Campbell and Stuart were directed by the General Assembly to travel over Northern Kentucky, and Messrs. Stuart and Rice over Southern Kentucky, with a view to regulate disorders, compose the distracted churches, and gather again the scattered flock. Messrs. Marshall and Thompson returned again to the bosom of the Church, which they did by issuing a pamphlet, publicly retracting their errors. Mr. Rice was still not perfectly satisfied of the soundness of their position, and while he hailed their return, he took the liberty of frankly communicating his disapprobation in a letter.

When the Cumberland Presbytery commenced licensing young men without education, through the agency of Mr. Rice the subject was brought to the notice of the General Assembly, meeting in Philadelphia. He addressed a letter to that venerable body by direction of the Presbytery of Transylvania, requesting advice

and direction on the delicate point of licensing men to preach without a liberal education. In 1804, Mr. Rice was one of a committee of Synod appointed to visit the Cumberland Presbytery, to inquire into these irregular licensures. At the meeting of Synod, in 1809, Mr. Rice proposed two plans for improving the condition of the Church. These notices show fully the constant and extensive influence of Mr. Rice on the Church, through the whole period of his useful life. In all important transactions he had a leading hand.

A remarkable example of Mr. Rice's humility and good sense was exhibited when it was proposed by some of his friends connected with the College of New Jersey to confer on him the degree of D. D.; a suggestion which he rejected with considerable determination, saying that there was a professional standing implied in that honorary degree to which he had not attained, and that consequently he would be ashamed to wear it. How many wear it not so well deserving it! The conferring of this honorary degree is usually supposed by the public, in their simplicity, to be spontaneous and for high merit. But it is frequently conferred only because it is importuned for by the recipient directly, or his friends indirectly. We were privy to an instance, a few years ago, in which a clergyman of Western New York applied directly and personally by letter, if we remember rightly, to a western College for the degree; but the Board of Trustees had independence enough to decline, on the ground that they were utterly ignorant of the merits and even the name of the individual previously, and that his application ought to be to an institution nearer home. He was not to be so easily balked; a year afterward we noticed his name duly announced in the New York *Observer* as having received the degree, doubtless, upon a similar application.

During the last three years of his life, Father Rice was prevented from preaching and writing almost entirely. He had no complaints, except those which arose from the regular decay of nature, till the beginning of the year 1815, when he had a slight apoplectic fit, from the effects of which he never recovered. On the day that completed his eightieth year, he preached at his own house his last sermon, Ps. xc: 12: "So teach us to number our days as to apply our hearts to wisdom." After this he made no appointments, except on the occasion of hearing of the death of

his son, Dr. David Rice, of Virginia, when he made a solemn address to his neighbors assembled at his dwelling. About the first of February, preceding his death, he was seized with a difficulty of breathing, which he received as an admonition that his end was near. Early in the succeeding May he was attacked with something like influenza, accompanied with fever and pain, and from this time till the close of his life, he had scarcely a momentary respite from bodily suffering. But he had the utmost tranquillity of mind in the prospect of his departure, and his last expressions indicated an impatience to be absent from the body, that he might be present with the Lord. He died on the 18th of June, 1816, in the eighty-third year of his age. His excellent wife died a few years before him. They had eleven children—six sons and five daughters.

The following estimate of his talents and character is given by the Rev. Dr. Cleland in a letter to Dr. Sprague: "Father Rice could hardly be considered as possessing talents of a very high order, though they were certainly highly respectable and eminently adapted to usefulness. His distinguished characteristic was sound judgment, and his disposition was conservative. He was remarkable for both the spirit and habit of devotion. You could not long be in his company without being deeply impressed with the idea that his affections had a strong tendency toward Heaven. In his general intercourse with society, he was dignified and grave; perhaps above most ministers of his day, insomuch that young people generally felt little freedom in his presence; but it was characteristic of that period that ministers usually carried themselves with more reserve, and were less accessible to persons of all classes than they are now. He did, however, occasionally unbend in familiar intercourse, and would now and then enliven conversation with an agreeable anecdote. He was a deeply earnest and effective preacher, delivering solemn and impressive thoughts in a solemn and impressive manner; and yet the effect of his manner was somewhat diminished by his occasionally taking a sympathetic tone, which, to many of his hearers, seemed like a departure from the simplicity of Nature. He had great executive powers, and he exerted them in various ways, for the general improvement of the community in which he lived. He was not only eminently faithful in his stated ministrations, but acted the part

of a father to the infant churches of Kentucky, besides devoting some share of his attention to literature, and even politics.

"Mr. Rice was tall and slender in person, and quiet in his movements, and, even at seventy, he exhibited a remarkable degree of alertness. At that advanced period I may safely say that no minister in Kentucky filled a wider space than he did. He was not like the eccentric Comet, with its long fiery tail, which attracts the gaze and awakens the expectations of beholders for a few days, and then disappears, but as the glorious Sun, which, by its regular and constant influences, encircles our fields, illumines our horizon, and gladdens our hearts."

This comparison gives us an exalted and benificent idea of the character, and services, and usefulness of David Rice. In thus bringing before the attention of the present generation the character of Mr. Rice, our principal object remains yet to be stated. We have alluded to the fact that Mr. Rice was a member of the convention that formed the first Constitution of Kentucky, and that he published an address to the people on the injustice and impolicy of Slavery, and endeavored to have engrafted a clause in the Constitution favorable to the gradual emancipation of slaves, which came within a few votes of being successful. If he had succeeded in his purpose, he would have become a benefactor, whose services would have thrown all other personages in the earlier history of the State entirely into the shade. The arguments presented by him may not be without benefit at this eventful crisis, in which the fate of the State, in regard to Slavery, is again before the people for their determination. They may yet voluntarily take it out of the hands of inevitable events and the action of the General Government, and terminate it with honor and dignity by their own voice and action. It will be no honor in the sight of God or man to submit passively, unwillingly, and doggedly to consequences which we can not help, or to have Slavery terminated by a direct action of the General Government. That it will be terminated in one of these ways, either by the action of the Government, or by the unavoidable results of the war, and that soon, is felt by all thoughtful and even unthoughtful persons. Should a portion of our people, and especially should the legal authorities of the State attempt, at this late day, which we fully believe they will not, to prevent this predicted event by resistance, they will bring upon the State still greater

evils than any she has yet experienced tenfold in severity, and, if the resistance should be any thing like extensive and general, utter ruin. Against such folly we earnestly, and from the bottom of our hearts, warn our fellow-citizens. Disapproving, as we do, many things that have been done by the Government, and fearing that we shall yet have to disapprove of other measures, we yet advise our people, as lovers of Kentucky and its dear soil, only less than we love the Union, to submit for the present, and until they can be remedied at the ballot-box, to whatever injuries we may receive at the hands of the Administration or Congress; yea, to submit to the last bitter drop, however distasteful or abhorrent. And the reasons for doing so are perfectly obvious: We can't help ourselves, if we would, and should not, by violence, if we could. Violent resistance is a remedy for nothing; because it would be fatuitous; because it would be suicidal. May God, in His infinite mercy and grace, give our people wisdom to see it thus! We address our remonstrance even to secessionists and rebels in principle, if they have any discretion—any prudence—any sense left.

MR. RICE'S VIEWS OF SLAVERY.

But to return to Mr. Rice's address. To Presbyterians especially ought the voice of this venerable man speak with weight, and be listened to with reverence. It is the voice and the words, let it be reverently remembered, of a contemporary of Washington, and a companion of our venerable and beloved forefathers, who achieved the Revolution, and laid the foundation of our Government. These are not the malign words of a modern and infidel abolitionist, and are not to be despised as such. They are plainly and not mincingly spoken. It is but the personification of the voices of the fathers. The reader hears Washington, and Franklin, and Henry, and all the rest, speak in these words, which we quote. If he curses them for abolitionists, let him beware that the Scripture curse fall not upon him: "The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it."

"A slave," says Mr. Rice, "is a human creature, made by law the property of another human creature, and reduced by mere power to an absolute, unconditional subjection to his will." He argues, that, with respect to liberty, all men are equal before God,

and that no one can lose this gift of Nature except by a just forfeiture, which will justify society in depriving him of it. "And if I deprive him of his liberty," he says, "I injure him much more than if I robbed him of his property on the highway. In this case it does not belong to him to prove a negative, but to me to prove that such a forfeiture has been made; because, if it has not, he is certainly still the proprietor of his own person and limbs." "All he has to do, is to show the insufficiency of my proofs." "A slave claims his freedom; he pleads that he is a man; that he was by nature free; that he has not forfeited his freedom, nor relinquished it. Now, unless his master can prove that he is not a man, that he was not born free, or that he has forfeited or relinquished his freedom, he must be judged free—the justice of his claim must be acknowledged. His being long deprived of his right, by force or fraud, does not annihilate it; it remains; it is still his right." "Is there any need of argument to prove that it is, in a high degree, unjust and cruel to reduce one human creature to such an abject state as this, that he may minister to the ease, luxury and avarice of another? Has not that other the same right to reduce him to that state, that he may minister to his interest and pleasure? On what is this right founded? Whence was it derived? Did it come from heaven, from earth or from hell? Has the great King of Heaven, the absolute disposer of all men, given this extraordinary right of white men over black men? Where is the charter? In whose hands is it lodged? Let it be produced and read, that we may know our privileges. Such arguments as these may have small weight with the sciolists and pigmies of these degenerate days; but they were considered sound and unquestionable by the giants of the day that pronounced it a self-evident truth, 'that all men are born free and equal.' The men of that day were not to be hoodwinked by false facts or sophistical arguments, nor by almost blasphemous appeals to Scripture in support of an institution that violates every fundamental principle of Christianity, and outrages every honest instinct of the human heart. In those days, these honest instincts were followed."

Let the clear distinction be taken between the toleration and approval of Slavery. Our fathers did as the Scriptures do—they tolerated this great evil, because they could not at once remove it; but, like the gospel which laid down moral principles which would

finally cut it up by the roots, they laid down, in their fundamental political declarations, principles which were intended to root it out of society, and restore freedom to every human being, and were confidently expected to do so in the early progress of our institutions. Evil must be tolerated where it can not be at once extinguished. It must be limited and restrained, and, as individuals and society, we must do what we can in the conflict with it and against it. God has tolerated its existence in every form for six thousand years; but, because He has tolerated it, shall we, therefore, presumptuously quote His Word as approving it in one of the worst forms it has ever afflicted our race, whether we regard its influence on the master or the slave? for really it is a matter of earnest doubt which it injures most—at least this American Negro-Slavery of ours.

"If we plead for Slavery," indignantly exclaims Mr. Rice, "we plead for the disgrace and ruin of our nation. If we are capable of it, we may ever after claim kindred with the brutes, and renounce our own superior dignity."

But it is useless to contest the abstract evil of Slavery; when we come to examine its practical character, as it exists in our country—a man must be lost to all sense of right who can seriously defend it. Indeed no Christian man, and hardly, indeed, any *un*-Christian man, will defend its practical workings and concomitants.

"That a slave," says Mr. Rice, "is made after the image of God, no Christian will deny; that a slave is absolutely subjected to be debauched by men, is so apparent, from the nature of Slavery, it needs no proof. This is evidently the unhappy case of female slaves, a number of whom have been remarkable for their chastity and modesty. If their master attempts their chastity, they dare not resist or complain. If another man should make the attempt, though resistance may not be so dangerous, complaints are equally vain. They can not be heard in their own defense; their testimony can not be admitted. The injurious person has a right to be heard; may accuse the innocent sufferer of malicious slander, and have her severely chastised." If it be said the sufferer is generally, if not always, a willing victim, how much more evil is that institution which degrades human beings so low, that every female can be induced to sell her virtue for a gewgaw, or surrender it gratuitously as not worth the keeping, and in which she suffers no degradation in her own eyes, or those of

her class, or in those of master or mistress, by its loss? Does the bare statement of such a state of society not bring down upon it the immediate and unhesitating condemnation of every impartial and right-thinking mind? Is there one, outside of the slave States of America, and within the precincts of Christendom, who will not instinctively and immediately condemn it? Not one. It meets the condemnation of the whole civilized world.

"The slave," says Mr. Rice, "is held by his Maker accountable for his action, and yet, by Slavery, he is deprived of his freedom of action," and ironically exclaims: "This comes to pass through a great omission and inconsistency of the Legislature. They ought further to have enacted, in order to be consistent, that the slave should not have been accountable for his actions; but that his master should have been answerable for him in all things here and hereafter."

Other of the dearest relations of human existence are violated by Slavery, which no Christian man will defend. We quote again from Mr. Rice: "The principles of conjugal love and fidelity in the breast of a virtuous pair, of natural affections in parents and of a sense of duty in children, are inscribed there by the finger of God; they are the laws of heaven; but an enslaving law directly opposes them, and virtually forbids obedience. The relations of husband and wife and of parent and child are formed by Divine authority, and founded on the laws of nature. But it is in the power of a cruel master, and often of a needy creditor, to break these tender connections, and forever to separate these dearest relations. This is ever done, in fact, at the call of interest or humor. The poor sufferers may expostulate; they may plead; they may plead with tears; their hearts may break; but all in vain. The laws of nature are violated, the tender ties are dissolved, a final separation takes place, and the duties of these relations can no longer be performed, nor their comforts enjoyed. Would these slaves perform the duties of husbands and wives, parents and children? The law disables them; it puts it altogether out of their power." Mr. Rice continues with overpowering and unrelenting argument: "In these cases, it is evident the laws of nature or the laws of man are wrong; and which, none will be at a loss to judge. The Divine law says, whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder; the law of man says to the master of the slave: 'Though the Divine law has joined them together, you may put

them asunder when you please.' The Divine law says: Train up a child in the way he should go: the law of man, 'You shall not train up your child but as your master thinks proper.' The Divine law says: Honor your father and mother, and obey them in all things: but the law of man says, 'Honor and obey your master in all things, and your parents just as far as he shall direct you.'"

Another most flagrant outrage of Slavery upon the Divine rights of humanity, is thus strongly stated by Mr. Rice: "Another consequence of our definition is, that a slave being a free moral agent and an accountable creature, is a capable subject of religion and morality; but deprived by law of the means of instruction in the doctrines and duties of morality any further than his master pleases. It is in the power of the master to deprive him of all means of religious and moral instruction, either in private or public. Some masters have actually exercised this power, and restrained their slaves from the means of instruction by the terror of the lash. Slaves have not opportunity at their own disposal for instructive conversation; it is put out of their power to learn to read; and their masters may restrain them from other means of information. Masters designedly keep their slaves in ignorance, lest they should become too knowing to answer their selfish purposes, and too wise to rest easy in their degraded situation. In this case the law operates so as to answer an end directly opposed to the proper end of all law. It is pointed against every thing dear to them; against the principal end of their existence. It supports, in a land of religious liberty, the severest persecutions, and may operate so as to rob multitudes of their religious principles and the rights of conscience."

This statement of the case places the condemnation of Slavery as an existing and actual and practical institution beyond dispute with any reasonable Christian man. Can that power in the slave institution be right, which deprives the slave of the free knowledge of God and his holy worship; of the free acquirement and use of the means for the salvation of the immortal soul? Whatever else there may be in Slavery which is right, surely this quality is wrong. Mr. Rice concludes this part of the subject with solemnly declaring that, "the injury done the slave is much greater than what is generally esteemed a just ground of war between different nations; it is much greater than was the cause of the war between us and

Great Britain." This was said in a very few years after the close of that war.

Mr. Rice now, as a statesman, turns his attention to the effects of Slavery upon the master and the State. He says: "Slavery naturally tends to sap the foundation of morals, and consequently of political virtue; and virtue is absolutely necessary for the happiness of a free people. Slavery produces idleness; and idleness is the nurse of vice. A vicious Commonwealth is a building erected on quicksand, the inhabitants of which can never abide in safety."

"The prosperity of a country depends upon the industry of its inhabitants; idleness will produce poverty; and when Slavery becomes common, industry sinks into disgrace. To labor is to *slave;* to work is *to work like a negro;* and this is disgraceful; it levels us with the meanest of the species; it sits hard upon the mind; it can not patiently be borne. Youth are tempted to idleness, and drawn into other vices: they see no way to keep their credit and acquire some importance. This renders them like those they ape, nuisances of society. It frequently tempts to gaming, theft, robbery, and forgery; for which they often end their days in disgrace on the gallows. Since every State must be supported by industry, it is exceedingly unwise to admit what will inevitably sink it into disgrace, and that is the tendency of Slavery is known from matter of fact." How accurately has Mr. Rice daguerreotyped the moral condition of the Slave States in this extract! "Put all the above considerations together," he says, "and it evidently appears that Slavery is neither consistent with justice nor good policy. These considerations one would think sufficient to silence every objection; but I foresee, notwithstanding, that a number will be made, some of which have a formidable appearance."

It will be hard, we think, to defend Slavery as an actual and practical institution against these statements of its characteristics, whatever might be said in its defense as an abstraction. As we have intimated, all are not disposed to war upon the institution, in its abstract relations, if it have any such. It is, as it exists among us, that we arraign it at the bar of the public judgment. Let the relation of husband and wife be rendered legal and inviolate by law—let the relation of parent and child be recognized as sacred and inviolable—let the slave be secured in the full enjoyment of religious instruction; the right to be taught to read the Word of God, and we are content, and wait the progress of things to secure him his ulti-

mate liberty, which would assuredly come in due time. Now, who will say he ought not to enjoy these relations and rights inviolate? Is there any Christian man under heaven that can refuse them? But the abolitionist will exclaim, he ought to have these and all other rights immediately—Slavery is a sin against God, and all sin ought immediately to cease. This is a practical world we live in, and we have to be governed sometimes by what can be done—what is practicable, and to be content therewith. The immediate abolition of Slavery is impracticable, impossible, beyond any human power. The President of the United States a year and a half ago hurled his proclamation of freedom against it, and all the power of the United States in arms has been since wielded against it, without accomplishing its overthrow as yet. The Saviour and his disciples contented themselves with laying down principles which would ultimately overthrow this and every form of evil. We must endeavor to inculcate and wisely enforce these principles as fast and as far as it may be done. Further than this is impracticable and impossible, and therefore hurtful. We may insist upon and obtain the moral and religious improvement of the negro race. This is necessary to their welfare, slave or free: indeed freedom without virtue and religion, would be no boon to them, rather a curse.

Mr. Rice then turns his attention to the objections against the doctrines of freedom. First, it would prevent the immigration into the country of settlers. He replies, that it would prevent no immigrants but slaveholders, and their exclusion would be a blessing. He alludes to another *ad captandum* objection urged down to the present day to raise the prejudices of the people—"that should we set our slaves free, it would lay a foundation for intermarriages, and an unnatural mixture of blood; our posterity, at length, would be mulattoes." This objection ought to be received as an insult by the whole white race. It is directly supposing that it is only slavery that prevents our seeking the negro race in marriage, and that as soon as they are free, we shall rush into their arms. Of course, no such intermarriage would take place without the seeking and consent of the whites, and to suppose such is irrational and insulting. If it were addressed to us under other circumstances, it would be so esteemed, and the man who offered the insult would go near to getting his head broken for his pains. But we assert that the very contrary would be the fact. That amalgamation which is now going on so rapidly, and has been from the beginning, would immediately

cease. The degradation of the African female ceasing, and the proximity produced by Slavery between the races ceasing, illegitimate—and much more, legitimate—intercourse would almost cease. The two races would be cast farther apart, and intermarriage between a white and a black would be a rare occurrence, and compared to the present and shameful course of amalgamation produced by Slavery, of which we hear no complaint whatever by these purists, a nonentity.

PATRIARCHAL SLAVERY.

Mr. Rice refers to the support so greedily sought by the advocates of Slavery from the example of Abraham. In the first place, if the example of Abraham be taken in support of Slavery, it may be quoted equally in support of the marriage of a half sister. If we quote the example of the patriarchs in support of Slavery, why may it not be quoted in support of Polygamy? Jacob married four wives. But let us look at the character of Slavery existing at the time of Abraham; for all Slavery is not the same Slavery. It is as a practical institution we regard it—not what it may have been in former ages or other countries, but as it actually is among us. This scrutiny will prove too much on the one hand, and too little on the other, for the use of the advocates of modern negro Slavery. The slaves of Abraham's day must have been of the same race with himself—the white race. Then his example justifies not the enslaving of the negro only, but also of the white men, women and children. Secondly, they must have been either recent captives in war, or persons who, like Joseph, were seized and sold into Slavery violently, or those who had been sold for debt, or who sold themselves or their children into Slavery. For these were the methods in which Slavery then originated; for it was a very recent thing. Then the example of Abraham would justify us in selling into Slavery the captives whom we take in this wretched civil war from our brethren of the South; or the holding in Slavery persons like Joseph, whose unnatural relations should sell them into Slavery; or unfortunate persons who might be induced to sell themselves or children into Slavery, of our own race, which might easily be brought into practice if the laws of the country would sanction it. It is white Slavery then, and the enslavement of our brethren and neighbors, that the example of Abraham justifies. It does not, therefore, suit the case.

Again, Slavery in the time of Abraham was a mild affair compared with negro Slavery among us. Why, that very thing against which the objectors turn up their eyes in holy horror, intermarriage between master and slave, actually took place in Abraham's own case. He married—that is, took as a second wife, and what is worse at his wife's solicitation, his maid-servant. If they quote Abraham in support of Slavery, we could as legitimately quote him in favor of Amalgamation. Indeed, Jacob married two of his slaves at the solicitation, again, of his two wives, and four of the tribes of Israel were actually the descendants of his two slave women. This proves too much. Nay, the whole of Jacob's slaves went down with him and his children into Egypt, and were incorporated with the Israelites, and became a part and parcel of the Israelitish nation.

The character of Slavery as existing among the Patriarchs may be seen, in that Abraham armed three hundred of his slaves and pursued after Chederlaomer and the kings that were with him, and defeated them and retook his nephew Lot, and all the spoil of Sodom from them. He sent his slave Eleazar to perform the important and delicate duty of selecting a wife for his son Isaac; which duty he performed with consummate tact, promptness, piety and faithfulness. In view of his childless condition, he had moreover previously declared that this same slave, Eleazar of Damascus, in case he should die without a child, would be his legal heir. Meaning no doubt that as next to himself in authority, his chief steward, he would naturally and necessarily succeed to the headship of the tribe which he had gathered and established. In fact, these slaves of Abraham were his dependents—his subjects. He was their prince. "Thou art a mighty prince among us," said the children of Heth to Abraham on the notable occasion of purchasing from them the Cave of Machpelah for a burial possession; as so beautifully and exquisitely related in the 23d chapter of Genesis. Some of those Abraham had, no doubt, bought with his money—but it is hardly to be supposed that so many as three hundred men, and all the women and children, their wives and offspring, had been purchased by Abraham, or had been born in his family. Doubtless, many of them had voluntarily put themselves under his authority, had become his slaves, or subjects, or dependents for protection. There was a mutual relation between them of fealty, and service, and protection, something similar to the

condition of vassals under the feudal system. They were his liege subjects, servants, slaves—he was their liege lord. But whatever was their condition, it was utterly different from that of a negro slave. They intermarried with their master—they were his soldiers or warriors—their head was his legal heir. Moreover, they were introduced by God's express command into a state still more intimate, and which, according to the subsequent laws of Moses, was equivalent to an act of manumission—at least made them Israelites by adoption and entitled to complete freedom on the seventh year; for no Israelite could be held in Slavery more than seven years. Abraham circumcised every member of his family and every male servant, thus making them members of the Church of God, and virtually members of his own family and entitled to all their privileges. These facts will show the very different relations in which Abraham's slaves stood to him from those in which our negro slaves stand to us, and how preposterous it is to quote Abraham in support of a system of Slavery as different in character as it could well be. We hear nothing of Abraham selling his slaves—separating husband from wife and parent from child in so doing; and the facts above alluded to, show they were not held as mere chattels in the sense in which he held his camels, asses, sheep and goats.

The whole of ancient Slavery, not only among the Israelites, but among all ancient nations, was different from ours. In ancient times, princes and princesses were liable to and were often actually reduced to the abject condition of menial servants; but, on the other hand, slaves were often raised to the highest position, as was Joseph. Female slaves were often raised to the beds of their masters, and became their favorite wives, and sometimes to thrones, as is still the fact in the East. Slaves were made freedmen, and stood in the most confidential relations to their masters—their descendants rising to the highest position in society. Horace was the son of a Roman freedman. Tiro, one of Cicero's slaves, wrote a life of his master, and to him we are indebted for collecting and transmitting to posterity Cicero's letters.* Tiro was trained up in Cicero's family, among the rest of his young slaves, in every kind of useful and polite learning, and, being a youth of singular parts of industry, soon became an eminent scholar, and

* Middeton's Life of Cicero.

extremely serviceable to his master in all his affairs, both civil and domestic. The ancients were not afraid to educate their slaves—many of them were the most learned men of the times. Here is a letter which Cicero wrote to him on occasion of having left him behind in sickness:

"I thought I should have been able to bear the want of you more easily, but in truth I can not bear it; and though it is of great importance to my expected honor to be at Rome as soon as possible, yet I seem to have committed a sin when I left you. But since you were utterly against proceeding in the voyage, till your health was confirmed, I approved of your resolution; nor do I now think otherwise, if you continue in the same mind. But after you have begun to take meat again, if you think that you should be able to overtake me, that is left for your consideration. I have sent Mario to you with instructions, either to come with you to me as soon as you can, or, if you should stay longer, to return instantly with you. Assure yourself, however, of this, that, as far as it can be convenient to your health, I wish for nothing more than to have you with me; but if it be necessary for the perfection of your recovery to stay awhile longer at Petræ, that I wish nothing more than to have you well. If you sail immediately, you will overtake me at Leucas; but, if you stay to establish your health, take care to have good company, good weather, and a good vessel. Observe this one thing, my Tiro, if you love me, that neither Mario's coming, nor this letter hurry you. By doing what is most conducive to your health, you will do what is most agreeable to me; weigh all things by your own discretion. I want you; yet so as to love you; my love makes me wish to see you well; my want of you, to see you as soon as possible; the first is the better; take care, therefore, above all things, to get well again—of all your innumerable services to me, that will be most acceptable. The third of November." During his sickness, Cicero wrote letters to him by every ship, and sent a servant to see him, and bring word of his health. How should this letter make us Christian masters blush!

THE MOSAIC INSTITUTIONS—A THOROUGH SYSTEM OF GRADUAL EMANCIPATION.

But the laws of Moses are appealed to in behalf of Slavery. Here it will be found again that, on the one hand, they prove too

much, and, on the other, not enough for our negro Slavery. By the law of Moses, a man might sell his child into slavery, Ex. xxi: 7: "If a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant," etc. A man might sell himself into Slavery, Lev. xxv: 39: "And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee," etc. The children of solvent debtors might be sold into Slavery for the payments of their parents' debts. See 2 Kings iv: 1. A thief might be sold into Slavery if unable to make restitution, Ex. xxii: 3. If Moses be good for one form of Slavery, he is equally good for another; and therefore a free white man may sell himself into Slavery; he may sell his children, or his children may be sold for his debts Our Legislature, under constitutional authority, might pass laws to sanction these acts, and justify them by the laws of Moses. It is in vain to try to escape these facts. Moses proves too much; but, again, he proves too little. For, in the seventh year, every Hebrew slave recovered his freedom, Deut. xv: 12: "And if thy brother, a Hebrew man, or Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee." Nor was this all: "And when thou sendest him away free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty: thou shalt furnish liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-press: of that which the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, shalt thou give him." Again, at the year of Jubilee, every Hebrew slave was set free. See Lev. xxv: 39, 40, 41. And the slaves who were foreigners were allowed to join themselves unto Israel, and to become circumcised, and so to become entitled to every privilege of an Israelite. Now, if American slaveholders, who appeal to the laws of Moses, are content to abide by them and follow their regulations, we are content they shall have the full benefit of his institutions. The truth is, Moses found Slavery as he found other evil institutions; the right of divorce, for instance, at pleasure, on the part of the man; the right to put away his wife, with reason or without it, and without assigning any, firmly imbedded in the habits of the Israelites, as in all the nations of the East, and not being able to eradicate it, by immediate emancipation, he instituted a thorough system of gradual emancipation, which cut it up at the seventh year, and again at the year of Jubilee, and thus prevented it from ever becoming permanent. And the permission and encouragement of foreigners

to become proselytes, placed them on a voluntary equality with the native-born Israelite; and so there was and could be no such institution as American Slavery among the Israelites. If a man fell into Slavery, he was delivered in seven years, and at the year of Jubilee freedom was proclaimed to the whole land. How absurd, then, to appeal to such a system of laws—expressly framed to render Slavery, as a permanent institution, impossible, and to break it up as far as it could be done in such an age and in such a state of society—in support of Negro Slavery, a perpetual institution, with concomitants such as we have above described it! The Mosaic system was expressly intended to abolish Slavery, and did do it. Slavery among the Israelites was hydra-headed, and the Mosaic system cut off the head every seven years, and at the day of Jubilee slew the monster. When it again reappeared, it was again, and through every succeeding age, destroyed.

But, hard pressed in conscience, the Christian slaveholder appeals to the blessed Jesus and his disciples for countenance. He pleads that Jesus did not forbid Slavery. He approved of every thing he did not, in so many direct words, forbid, did he? Then he approved of the oppressive and atrocious tyranny of the Roman Empire, under which the Jews groaned. He approved of all the wicked civil and political institutions and practices of the Empire. He approved of the cruel death by crucifixion, by which He himself was to suffer, and under which so many persons, criminal and innocent, perished in unutterable agonies every year. He approved of throwing their aged and worn out slaves into their fish-ponds for food for their fish. He approved the bloody gladiatorial exhibitions, in which hundreds of innocent men were yearly condemned to fight each other and wild beasts unto the death, for the amusement of the populace in all the principal cities of the Empire. What did He not approve of under this rule of interpretation? His apostles enjoined on servants to be obedient to their masters; they, therefore, approved Slavery. They equally enjoined on masters to give to their servants that which is "just and equal." If this precept were literally obeyed, it would soon break up our slave institution. But can the apostles of Christ be quoted in favor of an institution which, in detail, violates every principle of Christianity? which does not only not give to the servant that which is "just and equal," but tears away from him his wife and children, and sells them into distant bond-

age at the pleasure or interest of the master; which regards them equally as chattels with the horses and cows of the field; which tears him from his wife and children, and sends him into distant bondage; nay, which denies to him the right of marriage, and the right of the control and education of his own children; and, to cap the climax of moral wrong, denies to him the right, and forcibly withholds it from him, of learning to read God's Holy Word; and yet appeals to that Word in support of its unjust and unprincipled ordinances!

The Saviour and his apostles were careful to abstain from interfering in all matters of "Cæsar"—in all matters of civil and political institutions, however wrong, or even atrocious. These he proposed to correct by correcting the private characters of both subjects and rulers—the only way in which they could possibly be corrected. To have done otherwise, would have been to strangle the infant religion in its birth. But the law of universal love was applied to every evil institution, moral and political, and cut it up by the roots.

THE REMEDY.

What remedy do we propose for this great evil? We do not now propose emancipation, either immediate or gradual. We were not in favor of the President's proclamation of freedom, or the arming of negroes. Our only remedy is that which the Saviour Himself proposed for every human evil, moral and political: the Gospel. It is the full and free communication of the truths of Christianity, and moral intelligence, and the Bible itself to the negro race among us. We would be perfectly content then to leave their fate, in every other respect, untouched, and their ultimate destiny to be worked by the gospel alone. We insist upon the full performance of this duty on the part of the white race—a duty that can not be neglected without overwhelming guilt, and without most destructive consequences to both races—a duty which God has imposed, and which is not to be shunned with impunity. It is a duty as yet scarcely at all performed to any appreciable extent. It is the duty of the North and of the South. It is our duty, if Slavery continues to exist; it is our duty, if it is overthrown by the war. It is the object for which God, in His Providence, permitted this oppressed race to be brought among us.

The African race is one of the permanent races of the earth—their number is variously estimated from fifty to one hundred millions. They will be christianized. The gospel can be better taught to them by men of their own race than by the whites. Providence has brought and raised up among us over four millions, under most favorable circumstances for improvement. This has been slowly advancing for two centuries. But the time has come for more effective and rapid progress. Besides all the usual and obvious ways of proceeding in the execution of this great duty, there are two things which we desire to suggest as, in our view, indispensable to success. The low and exposed moral condition of the female slaves has been very distinctly alluded to by Mr. Rice. Here is a point of vital importance. If the women of this unfortunate race can not be raised in character, nothing can be done of much effect in their behalf. In this matter we are peculiarly guilty. The virtue of our female servants has been little more to us than that of our cows. We have given no attention whatever to their training. Not a virtuous idea has ever been inculcated—not an admonition given. Not a spark of interest in their moral welfare manifested. Their lapse from virtue has never, in the slightest degree, disturbed master or mistress, or even young mistress, upon whom they have waited, only so far as its consequences may have interfered with their convenience or interest. The character of the unfortunate girl, to refer to a single instance, has not suffered in the least. She is neither more nor less esteemed than before. She and her child are well and kindly cared for as property, and perhaps even affectionately cared for as human beings. The babe is smiled on and even petted. But nothing more is said or done. No inquiry made; no questions asked; no regret expressed; none felt. The whole matter is passed by with as much nonchalance as the birth of a calf or colt, perhaps more. The poor girl is undegraded in the eyes of all around her, and, of course, in her own eyes. She has no character—she is conscious of possessing none. She feels no responsibility to God or man. She has grown up without religious ideas, and lives without them, and dies without them. If a different result follows, as often does, it is of spontaneous action. The female heart, at length, yearns after a mate of its own and finds one, and honorable to human nature, remains faithful to the husband of her affections till he is torn from her. His loss or that of some of her children

by sale, if it does not harden and brutalize her heart, or some other afflictive providence at length, brings her in tears of penitence before God, of whom she has learned something, and to seek for the sympathy of Christ, of whose love to sinners she has heard whisperings, which have sunk into her heart. She becomes, in her simple way, a faithful Christian; with a few plain principles of the gospel and her own good sense, and renewed heart alone to guide her.

Now, all this must be changed. Those servants must be cared for from their infancy—instruction in all virtuous principles and conduct must be given them—they should be watched over and admonished, encouraged and threatened. Lapse from good conduct should bring disgrace and punishment. Marriage should be promoted and held sacred. The separation of husband and wife, parent and child, should be considered infamous and inconsistent with the first principles of a Christian profession. In a single generation, under such a course of treatment, the whole character of the negro race would be greatly changed for the better. This course of treatment is our bounden duty, for which we shall be held to fearful responsibility, whether the present war shall result in their liberation, or not. If it does, every principle and motive of Christian duty, and private and national welfare and interest, will impel to the full and faithful communication of the gospel to this race, whom God has placed under our care for that express purpose, and none other. Woe, woe—tenfold and unutterable woe to us, if we are found delinquents toward them in this behalf. Better, as a nation, we had never been born—better a mill-stone were hanging about our necks, and we were cast into the midst of the sea.

PREPARATION OF A NATIVE MINISTRY.

In order to the effectual communication of the gospel to the negro race, an intelligent, native ministry must be raised up. Their present religious opportunities are wholly haphazard. They are in some churches allowed an obscure corner in the house; which a few of them creep into, as if ashamed to be seen there, and where they gather up a few of the crumbs which fall from the master's table. Many more of them have to rely for all their religious instruction upon native preachers wholly, or nearly wholly, ignorant of letters—blind leaders of the blind—sometimes men of notoriously bad character, who assume the position from sinister motives; while some of them are, no doubt, sincere men in their way. Their readiness

to attend upon a native ministry in crowds, and their unwillingness to attend upon the preaching of white men, are notorious. It is useless to say, they must or ought to attend upon the same ministry with their masters, or, if free, with the whites. The answer is, they won't do it, and there's an end on't. An intelligent native ministry they must have, and it is our duty to provide it for them. Pious colored youths should be raised up, and sought out, and brought into the ministry, both free and slave, with more or less education, adequate to the calls of the case. This must be done, or the negroes will remain semi-heathen, however, many of them may crowd the native meeting-houses, for long years to come. We are profoundly impressed with this fact, and only wish we could impress our readers as profoundly as it stirs our own bosom. Here is the great mission and duty of the Christian Church of America. Let us do our full duty to the heathen abroad; but we are unspeakably guilty if we neglect those at home for whom Christ died, and whom He has placed in our very families to be brought up in His kingdom for Him—instruments to be prepared for the further and greater work of evangelizing the many millions of their brethren in the father-land. It especially behooves the Presbyterian Church, as foremost in every good work of education, to take the lead in this matter, and establish a school in Kentucky for the education and training of native negro ministers of the gospel. This will, no doubt, be thought by some a startling proposition; but we live in an era of revolution and startling events. A new order of things has come. Let us remember it has come under God, and must be met by the Christian Church and its members at least, and dealt with as these terrible events demand. There will be no escaping and shirking duty. It has seized us unceremoniously by the throat and sternly demands payment and performance. Obedience will be life and health, prosperity and happiness—the favor and approval of God, of our own consciences, and the whole Christian world. Disobedience will be—but we turn our visions with fear and terror from the dark and fearful retributions which would follow. We will not anticipate them.

The duty is plain, and we content ourselves for the present with having done our duty in its simple proposal, leaving it to the Church for matter of thoughtful consideration. We pray God this may be done in a manner becoming the gravity and importance of the subject and duty.

Art. VI.—*Experiment in Translation of the Talmud—Valuable Things in the Talmud.*

Abodah Zarah is the Hebrew word for idolatry, or heathen worship. It is also the name of one of the thirty-six divisions of the Talmud—that division which is the treatise on the relations between Jews and Gentiles. The Rev. Ferdinand Christian Ewald, of London, in 1856, presented to the theological world a book, with the title Abodah Zarah—a translation of all the division or treatise in the Talmud bearing this name. He felt that, in this translation, he was cutting out a new path, in which there was no forerunner for him, on whom he could keep his eye. He says, in his Preface, that while the sacred literature of the most distant nations has been given to us in translations and treatises, the Talmud still remains a sealed book. No complete translation of even a single division of the Talmud had ever come to his knowledge. We rejoice at the sight of this translation. There are many facts locked up in the Talmud, sufficient to build up a new Fort Defiance for Christianity against modern Rationalists. Very few Christian Theologians know what weapons there are for them in the Talmud against infidels, and what help there is for the elucidation of Scripture. If any scholar wishes to make the Talmud, in its original language, a particular study, there may be no better help for him in the world than this work of Ewald.

Many readers would pronounce the translator's introduction by far the most instructive and entertaining part of the whole book. The introduction explains that tradition of the Elders, or oral law, so often mentioned and censured in the New Testament, and which is embodied in the Talmud. The writer considers the Talmud as covering a period of about eight centuries—two centuries before Christ, and nearly six centuries after. Our previous impression was, that the Talmud was, in every sense, finished in the fifth century by the Rabbis Ashi and Abina, but we see that this writer considers Rabbi Jose as making a final slight addition to its contents in the sixth century. It was, accordingly, about two hundred years before Christ when the Rabbis began to talk in their schools about an oral law, a second law, a tradition, a Mishna, which should have traveled down to them from Sinai, in a line parallel with a line of the written law, and in the light of which

the written law shines in its true meaning, and it is inexplicable without this light. This oral law, or tradition, soon became as sacred as the Scripture of Moses. In the time of Christ the knowledge of the tradition, which must be acquired in the schools under Rabbis, was the chief thing to constitute a Jew a learned man, and draw to him the sacred admiration of the multitude. The chief study of Paul, in the school of Gamaliel, was the tradition or Mishna. The name of Paul's teacher occurs very frequently in the Talmud. We become rather intimately acquainted with Gamaliel through the Talmud. Each new century made additions to the sacredness, and even the contents, of the Mishna; and, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the persecution under the Emperor Hadrian, it began to be believed that it could not any longer be preserved in the memory, or in merely oral instruction, and that there was the most binding necessity that it be transmitted to the next generation in the form of a book. Rabbi Judah, the Holy, of Tiberias, was the man to compose this book, about the close of the second century. His book was then, and has ever since been, called the Mishna. It has always been admired for the accuracy, completeness and arrangement of its contents. No other record of Jewish tradition has ever aspired to fill its high and wide place. It went into every school as the text-book. Each different school had its peculiar comments on the Mishna. It was about the year of Christ, 270, when Rabbi Jochanan, of Jerusalem, the head of all the schools of the Holy Land, taking the Mishna of Judah for his text, wrote a commentary on it—the object of which was to collect in one work all the comments of any account in the different schools. This text and commentary constituted the Jerusalem Talmud. Its great defect was that the voice of the schools on the Euphrates was not heard in it. This defect was supplied by two distinguished Rabbis, of the schools of Babylon, Ashi and Rabina, who labored together during sixty years of the fifth century, to give the world a new and complete commentary on the Mishna of Judah, the Holy. The Mishna, as the text, and their commentary constitute the Babylonish Talmud; and when we use the unqualified term, the Talmud, we always mean this Babylonish Talmud. It has for its foundation all the Jerusalem Talmud, and an immensely wider space. The last of the two Rabbis, who prepared it in the fifth century, died near the close of that century. The whole object of these two Rabbis, in their

labors of sixty years, was to collect and incorporate in one book, with the Mishna as the text, all that had ever been taught in all the Jewish schools of the world, as sacred tradition. They built a magnificent new sepulcher for the Jewish tradition, and we may now enter their sepulcher and find their tradition just as they laid it, in wonderful preservation, a most wonderful body; and there are wonderful sounds there that are heard from the dead. The Rabbis had no doubt that when Elijah comes, he will go to that sepulcher, survey its innumerable vaults, and scrutinize every arrangement.

The learning of the Rabbis developed itself in three different directions, Masora or tradition, Kabbala, and Midrash, and each shows itself all through the Talmud. The Masora gave its chief attention to manuscripts, words, letters, and points, and every saying of the past which was connected with any thing in the Bible. The Kabbala tried to go beyond the outward, visible and limited, in God's Word, and penetrate far into the hidden, invisible, unlimited, essential and eternal truth. The Midrash was busy with allegories in the Bible. The same text had many meanings. God's Word is like the fire and hammer: who can tell the number of the sparks which fly out at one stroke? There are seventy faces to the Pentateuch. The true light of Scripture shines in the seventy languages, and in each language the color is different.

The introduction comes to a close with some account of the high estimation in which some of the Reformers held the study of the Talmud. The eulogy of John Buxtorf, the Elder, is quoted. Luther wished to advance in Hebrew, with the diligent study of Moses and David Kimchi. The similar language of other most distinguished scholars is quoted.

But we fear we have delayed too long on the outside steps. Our chief object is, with the aid of this translation, to walk into the Talmud itself, and make some kind of a short ramble through some parts of it. There are so many points in Abodah Zarah on which it would be instructive to dwell, that it is hard to make the best selection for such an article as we are now writing. We have, notwithstanding, made a selection of three points. We know that these are not the best points, but we hope to attend to the other better points on a more appropriate occasion.

The *first* point to which we call attention is the lesson on sacred Chronology, which we find in Abodah Zarah. Every person who makes general chronology a particular study, may be assured that

there is an immense and valuable treasure for him on the ninth leaf of this part of the Talmud. We say the ninth *leaf*, because the pages are never numbered in any Talmud, but only the leaves. The translation gives us only a very incomplete idea of the rich treasure that is on that leaf, since the translation does not include the thorough commentary of Rashi, and the other commentary. Some of the points, which Talmudic chronology considers as settled facts, are: That the world was two thousand years old in the fifty-second year of Abraham, when he first began to proclaim the truth publicly, and make an impression on his hearers; that the world was just four thousand years old in the year 172, after the destruction of the Temple by Titus; and that there were 448 years from the fifty-second year of Abraham to the Exodus, or the giving of the law. After this general statement, our limited space requires us to confine our attention to the following few lines on the instructive leaf:

TRANSLATION.—"Only one hundred and eighty years for the power of Rome over Israel after the Greeks!! No more than this!! But how has Rabbi Jose Brebi said: Persia ruled in the time of the second temple, 34 years; Greece ruled during the second temple, 180 years; the Asmoneans ruled in the period of the same temple, 103 years; the house of Herod ruled 103 years, with the temple still standing. From this time go forward and reckon the years from the destruction of the temple. In any way they are 206 years, and you have said they are only 180. But understand, 26 years the Romans stood faithful to their treaty with Israel, and did not subjugate Israel to themselves; and this is how it comes that these 26 years are not counted in the period of the domination of the wicked Empire of Rome over Israel."

This brief extract throws a clear light on several points. First, we learn how it has come to be such a universally received saying among the Jews, that the second temple stood just 420 years. Here is the calculation: 34 years under the Medo-Persian Empire, 180 under Greeks, 103 under the Asmoneans, and 103 under the Herods—the whole being 420 years. Secondly, it is easy to see how the 2000 years are calculated from the fifty-second year of Abraham till the year 172, after the destruction of the last temple, or how the year 172 after the temple comes to be the year 4000 A. M. The calculation is from the named year of Abraham till the giving of the law, 448 years; from this last, till Solomon's

Temple, 480 years, (1 Kings vi : 1); duration of Solomon's Temple, 410 years; captivity in Babylon, 70 years; duration of second temple, 420 years; then, 172 added to the above make 2000. Thirdly, it is not difficult to perceive how the Jews count precisely one thousand years from the giving of the law till Alexander the Great, when they commenced a new era, namely: From the law till Solomon's Temple, 480; duration of this temple, 410; Babylonish captivity, 70; Persia's rule, 34; and 6 years under Alexander the Great, before the Jews commenced their new era*—all of them amounting to just 1000 years.

Hence we perceive how Hebrew Chronology makes these few lines in the Talmud one of its most essential pillars. As we inspect them, the first and chief object of amazement is that all the rule of Persia, in the time of the second temple, is set down at the low figure of 34 years. What a blunder! Amazing, indeed! We would say, utterly incredible! But here we are compelled to believe our eyes! Amazing mistake! when we know from Neh. xiii : 6, that the single Artaxerxes Longimanus reigned considerably more than 32 years. Amazing mistake! when we know that almost all chronologists place the beginning of the reign of Xerxes in the year before Christ, 485, and the death of his son, Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the year before Christ, 423, thus assigning to these two reigns fully 61 years. Amazing mistake, indeed! Please commence with Alexander the Great, when he overthrew the Persian Empire, in the final defeat of Darius Codomanus, and travel backward: we must assign to this Darius a reign of 4 years; to his immediate predecessor, Arses, 2 years; to the next predecessor, Darius Ochus, 21 years; to the next, Artaxerxes Mnemon, 46 years; to the next, Darius Nothus, whose name is the first word in Xenophon's Anabasis, 19 years; to his predecessor, Sogdianus, 7 months; to the next predecessor, Xerxes II, 2 months; and, accordingly, we find the line 93 years long, which runs from Alexander back, so as to cover

* There is the following anecdote in the Talmud, which is additional evidence that it is right to count these 6 years: A bill or note was brought before a court, the date on the face of which was 6 years after that time, as if, for illustration, it were presented this year, 1864, but its date is 1870. Some of the judges thought the object was to defer the beginning of the debt until 6 years later; but Nachman said he was an accurate scribe who wrote it, for he went back 6 years before the Jewish era, commencing with Alexander, to the true time of the beginning of Alexander's reign.

the last three months of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Yet the Talmud would compress these 93 years, with all of the Artaxerxes of the Nehemiah, and Xerxes, and Darius Hystaspes, and Smerdis, and the still earlier Persian Kings, into the little figure of 34 years? Who would not be amazed at such a mistake?

Let us now do what the Talmud ought to have done: give the 93 years from Alexander back to Artaxerxes, their right place, and see what assistance the Talmud may give us in identifying the sixty-nine weeks of Daniel's signal prophesy. Daniel's words are: "Know, therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks." (Dan. ix: 25.) These seven and sixty-two weeks make sixty-nine weeks. Most clearly they are not weeks of days, but of years. The sixty-nine weeks are 483 years. Keep this in mind. Now we take Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messiah, the Prince. We start from the year when he was thirty years of age, and when he commenced his public ministry, and travel backward: His birth was in the last year of Herod the Great, probably about fifty or sixty days before Herod's death. We, accordingly, add to the 30 in the life of Jesus, the 34 of the reign of Herod, the number which Josephus repeatedly gives us for Herod's reign. We are now back at the moment when the Asmonean dynasty expired. The Talmud is now our guide back to Persia; 103 years for the Asmoneans; 180 years for the Greeks; the first 6 years of Alexander's power, which preceded the new era of the Jews. Having now got back to the last hours of the Persian Empire, we correct the Talmud, and introduce the 93 years from the last Darius till the last year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. We add the last 37 years of this Artaxerxes, and the sum of all is 483 years—exactly sixty-nine weeks. After taking this full measure of the weeks, there are still left the first 13 years of Artaxerxes, if, according to some, he reigned 50 years, or the first three years, if he reigned about 40 years, as others compute. The conclusion, which can not be evaded, is, that if we only correct the Talmud in its prodigious blunder touching Persia, and then make it our guide in nearly all the other points, the 483 years, or sixty-nine weeks which end with the thirtieth year of Jesus, must begin at some year in the earlier half of the

reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Now, when was the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem? Let Jews and infidels give attention to this question. It was this Artaxerxes who did more than any other monarch did: he issued two mandates for the restoration of Jerusalem. In his seventh year, he sent Ezra to be Governor at Jerusalem. In his twentieth year he sent Nehemiah to be the Governor in Jerusalem, where the walls were still thrown down, and the gates consumed with fire. The sixty-nine weeks running backward from the public ministry of Jesus, terminate in that reign of one Persian monarch, which is most brilliant with commandments and commissions for the restoration of Jerusalem and good will toward the city; even, according to the Talmud itself, if only one mistake is corrected. The Talmud here easily becomes a witness against the Jews and for Jesus.

The preceding, however, we do not take to be exactly the true calculation of the sixty-nine weeks. The following appears much better: It is considered well established in Chronology that Alexander conquered Darius in the battle of Arbela, 332 years before Christ, or before the vulgar era, the common A. D., of which the proper name is the Dionysian era. Now remember Jesus was two years of age when this era commences,* that is, he was thirty years of age in the year 28 of the common A. D. Take then his thirtieth year, same as 28 A. D., and add to this the 332 years running back to the moment when Alexander became

* With the first verse of the third chapter of Luke before us: "Now in the fiftieth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar," etc., which connects the first year of Christ's public ministry with the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and is followed by the statement that Jesus was then about thirty years of age, the first idea most naturally and readily suggested is, that it is precisely the first fifteen of Tiberius and the last fifteen of Augustus, which are the first thirty years in the life of Jesus. But the last fifteen of Augustus do not run back to the death of Herod the Great, and Jesus was born certainly at least about 50 days before Herod's death. If you run back from that 19th day of August, 767 U. C., when Augustus died, sixteen full years, you have still to travel back from August to the middle of the preceding March, to reach the time when Herod died. Accordingly, we must decide that the last sixteen years of Augustus, and the first fourteen of Tiberius, make the first thirty years in the life of Jesus, and that when Tiberius had finished fourteen years, the age of Jesus was thirty years and some months. The death of Augustus is placed in our A. D. 14, but clearly it ought to have been 16, at least, and need not be more than sixteen. So our A. D. 14 is 16 in the life of Jesus, and our A. D. 28 is the true 30 of the life of Jesus, and the first great year of his public ministry. The statements of this note are sustained by abundant facts.

the master of Persia; then add to this the 93 years from Alexander back to Artaxerxes Longimanus; then add to this the last 30 years of this Artaxerxes, and we have exactly the sixty-nine weeks or 483 years; and if Artaxerxes reigned 50 years, which is the computation of the ablest scholars, we stop with the full measure of the weeks precisely at his twentieth year—the very year when he sent Nehemiah with the commandment and commission to restore and build Jerusalem. Hengstenberg argues with great force that the reign of Artaxerxes was 50 years, and he finds the very same sixty-nine weeks on a perfectly independent parallel line. He quotes the assertion of Thucydides that when Themistocles fled to Persia, Artaxerxes was then newly on the throne. This flight of Themistocles is placed in the year 473 before Christ, and one year earlier, that is 474, must be about the time when Artaxerxes ascended the throne. If this was his first year, his twentieth year was about 455 before Christ, same as 299 of the city of Rome; add to this sixty-nine weeks, or 483, and the result is 782 u. c.—the very year of the city of Rome, when Tiberius was in his fifteenth year, and when, according to the record of the Evangelist Luke, Jesus was in the first year of his public ministry, being about thirty years of age.* (See Luke iii: 1.) These last two calculations are two lines perfectly independent of each other, and having no particular fact in common, while they measure the same exact sixty-nine weeks from the public ministry of Jesus back to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes. If the public ministry of Jesus lasted only three years and a half, this is just half a week, and, accordingly, in the middle of the seventieth week, the great atonement was made, and the sacrifices at the temple were no longer valuable. Most wonderfully does the prophesy of Daniel suit the facts in the life of Christ, and in the earliest history of the Church.

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* A calculation very satisfactory; and Hengstenberg could have identified the sixty-nine weeks in another way. Here he has the twentieth year of Artaxerxes in the year 455 before Christ; add to this the 28 of our era, reaching to the thirtieth year of Jesus, and here are the 483, or sixty-nine weeks. Hengstenberg, however, is pleased to present a calculation as above, which is not in any way entangled with what he calls the difficult question of the year of the birth of Jesus. The Germans universally, as far as I know, place the birth of Jesus four years before our era. Let them make it two years and they get at the truth, as we confidently allege can be clearly proved.

This mistake of the Talmud in assigning only 34 years to the Persian Empire, is probably the worst mistake of the kind in all history. First. It does injustice to Christianity. The most reliable history clearly gives to the evidences of Christianity, the fact that there were sixty-nine weeks of years between the fifteenth year of Tiberius and the earlier years of Artaxerxes; but while this mistake is not corrected, it is impossible to see this fact. Secondly. It does injustice to Daniel as a prophet. While it stands without correction, there is a prophesy in Daniel which can not ever be explained. No Jew knows what this prophesy means. To find the seventy weeks by counting the 70 years of the captivity with the 420 years of the second temple, is to give them their beginning from the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and not from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem. We add, thirdly, that this mistake does injustice to the chronology of the world. It is an act of injustice to all the race of man. It is a question of great interest to every human being, how long man has been on the face of the earth. The mistake we are considering, leads to a false answer, and, in consequence of it, every Jew misses by a great space the right number of the years of the world. If the 34 years and about 177 more had been assigned to the Persian Empire, as is required by both the Bible and the best profane history, then it would have been clear that the year of the world 4000 comes before the destruction of the second temple, and not 172 years later.

Jews and Christians have very nearly the same chronology for the other ages of the world. The year 1864 is, in the current Jewish chronology, A. M. 5624; and as they place the destruction of the temple in the year 3828, they reckon back, from the present, 1796 years to the end of the temple. Now, if we subtract this from 1864, we see that they place the destruction of the temple in our A. D. 68. We generally place it in 71: all the difference only 3 years. Start now from the commencement of our current Anno Domini 36 years after Herod became king of Judea, and count back, as the Talmud does, 103 for the Asmoneans, 180 for the Greeks, and then the first 6 years of Alexander which are not in these 180; and the whole sum is 325 from our era back to Alexander. We have just been counting it 332: the whole difference only 7 years. And it was because these 7 years were out, that in a previous calculation, with the Talmud as our guide, we fell on the thirteenth

year of Artaxerxes: if they had been in, we would have fallen just where Hengstenberg does, and where the other calculation landed us, namely, on the twentieth year of Artaxerxes. The Talmud's great mistake is the 34 years for the Persian Empire, and it was the capital mistake, the very best, to shut out the light completely from Daniel's prophesy, and obscure and hide the fact that when Jesus did enter on his public ministry, it was the time—according to our best calculations the time to the very year—when Daniel had said the Messiah the Prince should appear after the going forth of the command to restore and build Jerusalem.

We have chosen for the *second* topic of the present article, the light in which the Talmud looks at the bread and wine of Gentiles. The Talmud treats the wine of the heathen as if all the worst abominations of idolatry were centered in it. It is amazing to learn the particular and almost unlimited regulations touching the use of wine. When a catalogue is given of those articles of property among Gentiles which the Jew is never allowed to use, and which he dare not even sell to any person, wine is made the very first in the long catalogue. It is inferred from the verse: "Which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, and drank the wine of their drink-offerings" (Deut. xxxii: 38), that the sacrifices of the heathen and their wine are placed on the same level, and that as a Jew never can partake of an idolatrous sacrifice or even sell any part of it to another, so all wine among the Gentiles is utterly prohibited to the Jews. The prohibition of all wine offered to idols is of such tremendous potency, that its remote circle includes all wine except what is made by Jews. Only look at the catalogue of those things which themselves are utterly forbidden either for use or for sale, and if any part of them mixes in any other thing, all is forbidden: here are mentioned the idol, the ox which the law required to be stoned, the birds sacrificed in the purification of the leper, the hair of the Nazarite, the meat which has been cooked in milk, the goat which was sent from the temple as loaded with the sins of the people on the great day of atonement; but the thing which is mentioned before all these and first of all, is the wine dedicated to the idol.

Rabbi Asi said in the name of two Rabbis preceding him, that there are three kinds of wine. First. There is the wine dedicated to an idol; this must not be tasted by any Jew, it can not be sold, and he dare not keep in his pocket the money received for it. If

he carries as much of it as the weight of an olive he is unclean, even if he has not touched it. Secondly. There is the wine prepared by those who are not Jews, but it is not dedicated to an idol: both its use and sale are prohibited to a Jew: still it has a much less power of pollution than the other. Thirdly. There is the wine prepared by Jews, but kept by Gentiles. This wine the Jew dare not drink, but he may make profit out of it.

It is clear from these extracts that wine was viewed as the eminent symbol of religious concord and fellowship—of oneness in faith and oneness in heart. To enter the house of an idolater and drink the wine on his table for which he had given thanks to his idol, was considered one of the most inconsistent and unlawful acts ever committed by a Jew. To drink wine with another was the indication that you were his sacred friend, that you believed in his god, and worshiped and prayed as he did. The Jews abhorred the wine of the heathen, just as they did their idols. They have the same aversion to the wine of our Lord's Supper that they have to Jesus.

Bread is not the same strong symbol of religious fellowship that wine is, still it is so strong that a Jew must not eat the bread of Gentiles; he may, however, sell it. One Rabbi asserts, in the name of Rabbi Jochanan, that no court (house of judgment) has ever allowed the eating of the bread of Gentiles. From this it is inferred that possibly there was some individual who allowed it. Let us examine. When Rabbi Dimi came from Palestine, he brought this story, that once a Rabbi went out in a field and a Gentile brought him a large beautiful loaf. He said: How beautiful is this bread! Why have the Rabbis prohibited it? It is strange that he asked why the Rabbis had prohibited it: he certainly knew the reason was that the eating of the bread of Gentiles would lead to proposals of marriage with them: but what he really asked, must have been why he could not purchase bread from a Gentile out in the open field where there was nothing to lead to any proposal of marriage. The inference is not warranted that he ever allowed the bread of Gentiles to Jews. Others tell this story differently, namely, that once a Rabbi came to a city with his disciples, and observed that they were out of bread; he inquired: Is there no baker here? Some thought he inquired after a heathen baker, and so made the bread of such lawful, but this was not so; it was after a Jewish baker that he inquired. Rabbi Chilbo says: That teacher who allowed heathen bread, allowed

it only where there is no Jewish baker, but where there is such a baker it is prohibited. Rabbi Jochanan says: That teacher who allowed heathen bread, allowed it only out in the field, but not within the city, where a sociability might start with it leading to a proposal of marriage. And there is doubt whether this is the correct statement; for a certain Jew, named Ibu, once secretly checked his hunger with Gentile bread in the open field, and when it was found out, either Rabba, as some say, or Nachman, son of Isaac, as others think, said to the people: Speak not with this Ibu, because he has eaten Gentile bread.

These facts clearly prove that bread and wine were the established impressive and universally acknowledged symbols of sacred friendship, or oneness in faith and oneness in heart. The Jews viewed the bread and wine of the heathen, and especially the latter, as closely connected with idolatry. According to the sacredness of their own wine which came to their altar in Jerusalem, was their abhorrence of the wine offered to idols. This makes it clearer why the friends of Peter, of the circumcision, censured him that he went in to men uncircumcised and did eat with them. This explains why Peter in Antioch, when the strenuous Jews from James had come, was afraid to eat with the Gentiles as he had been doing, and Paul charged him with inconsistency in withdrawing himself. This question of the lawful use of the wine and meat sold in the heathen market, troubled the Church of Corinth and almost every church; hence, Paul in different Epistles gave his judgment on both the inherent lawfulness and the rule of expediency and charity. This same question was prominently in the minds of the imbittered Jews when they almost tore the Apostle in pieces in a court of the temple.

Further, the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper must be viewed in the same light: they are, on that table, the symbols of sacred friendship, oneness in faith and oneness in heart. Jesus had special regard to the symbolical meaning which past ages had given them, when he gave them their place in his last supper. The wine is consecrated to Jesus, and to drink it is the profession of oneness with him. The meaning which this bread and wine have from the customs and associations of the Jews in all ages, is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one family, one brotherhood, one blessing, one thanksgiving, one and the same strength, one conflict, one victory, one hope of eternal life.

"*The letter killeth*," so wrote the apostle Paul, and when did he

ever write a sentence containing more profound universal and awful truth? Any religion which is only a religion of the letter is dead, and leads men to death. By the letter, Paul meant any religion which governs the outer man, and which may have a perfect system of rules for the outer man, but it does not possess the soul or penetrate through the innermost man. A religion of the letter is any religion which may give the man's body every rule that it needs; which requires all rightful obedience from the ears, the head, the eyes, the lips, the hands and the feet; which may have its strict rules of Taste not, Touch not—what may be eaten and what cups may come to the lips, and it may have its multitude of rules for fasts and feasts, the forms and the times of prayers and blessings; it may require of the feet many stated visits to the place where the altar is, and it may require the lips to utter there many of the best prayers that have ever been written; it may prescribe excellent orthodoxy and outward morality: but it fails to give the man a new heart, and leaves him a stranger to spiritual regeneration. Any religion is the letter which killeth, if it omits the great lesson, "Except a man be born again, he can not see the kingdom of God." It may place on the man the most gorgeous livery of heaven, but it leaves him in his innermost being still the child of hell.

When Paul uttered the words, "*The letter killeth*," he did it with the great fact before him that his own nation, the Jews, in their rejection of Jesus and opposition to Christianity, in their hope of a temporal deliverer and increasing zeal for their temple, their forms of worship, their isolation from other nations, and their Rabbinic laws, were changing and degrading the holy religion of patriarchs and prophets—the religion of which they were the distinguished heirs—into a religion of the mere letter. We may consider his words as a prophesy, "*The letter killeth*." It was the same as declaring to the Jews that they were killing the religion of patriarchs and prophets—that they were putting away from them all the life of the religion of their fathers. Have subsequent ages proved the prophesy true? Has the religion of the Jews proved itself ever since, before the eyes of all nations, a religion wonderfully dead? Is there all through the immense structure of the Talmud, sounding along every wall and reverberating from every arch, the ring of that awful death which Paul pronounced on the letter? Does this death become more and more visible and

offensive as Rabbinism travels on toward us from the last temple, in an increasing divergence from Christianity?

We will select some of the excellent things in the Jewish Scriptures, and show how the whole work of the letter toward them, or we might say, the whole work of the Talmud toward them, has been killing. Take first that most Divine principle, the Unity of God: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord." That same letter which the apostle condemns, has made the Unity of God among the Jews the same thing essentially that it is among Mahommedans. It has become such a Unity that there is no Holy Spirit, one with God, which He puts into His people as the prophets promised—no Holy Spirit which God pours out upon all flesh, and is the life of the Church—no creation of a new heart or new and heavenly birth of the innermost man by the power of this Spirit. A religion with no Holy Ghost is dead.

Again, we will select the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and show how there has been on this command the killing influence of the letter. Already had this influence gone far in its destructive work when the Jews came to Jesus with the question, "Who is my neighbor?" It was disputed among them whether the Samaritan could be their neighbor. The doubt whether the Samaritan could be their neighbor, whom they should love as themselves, was itself a wound going to the very heart of their religion. The Talmud shows us in what principles and maxims such doubts landed them in the ages following. Rabbi Joseph chose to expound the place where it is said that one shall neither throw heathens nor Jewish shepherds of small cattle into danger, nor shall he deliver them from danger, in this way, that he may for a price deliver them from danger, to the end not to bring on himself their hatred. There are three words which come together in the Talmud, *Minin*, *Mesuroth* and *Meshumadim*, and may be translated *heretics*, *betrayers* and *apostates*, and when these words are used they always refer especially to Jews who have embraced Christianity. Now notice some of the directions in the Talmud in relation to these heretics, betrayers and apostates, which are the words to designate Christian Jews. One rule is, let a man drive them into danger, but let him never rescue them from danger. One of the Rabbis of the Talmud says: If one of them has fallen into a pit where there is a kind of stairs on which he may climb up out of the pit, then destroy the stairs immediately, and make it your excuse that you

were afraid an animal of yours would get down on the stairs. Another says: If there is a stone for the top of a well which has been removed, and one of these persons has fallen into the well, then put the stone on the top immediately while he is below, and make it your excuse that you must drive your beasts close by it, and it needed to be covered. A Rabbi says: If there is a ladder in the pit where the man has fallen, which might help him to get out, then get the ladder away immediately, and make it your excuse that you wanted to get your child down from the roof, where it was in danger of falling. The true law of love to our neighbors can hardly be found breathing under such weights of rubbish as this.

Again, the command to remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy, has itself been blasted by the letter that killeth. It was this same letter which produced such blindness of the Jews that they could hardly see the great truth that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, or that man's welfare is above the Sabbath, and is the higher and ultimate end to which the Sabbath looks up. They manifested this blindness when they indignantly accused Jesus that he had on the Sabbath given sight to a man who had been born blind. We wonder at the superstition of this objection: but there is a line running from this fact straight forward through the later ages of the Talmud, on which there are fixed many just such blazing facts. The story is in the Talmud, that there was once in the house of Rabbi Samuel, a servant girl, in whose eye an inflammation commenced on the Sabbath; she complained the whole day, but no person paid any attention to her, and on the next morning her eye was out of its place in her head; and from that event Samuel ordained that a man might apply a cure to a disease of the eye on the Sabbath, if there was danger of the loss of the eye. The question is asked in the Talmud, what diseases of the eye may be cured on the Sabbath? Rabbi Judah answers, an eye that has an issue, a wounded eye, a bloodshot eye and an inflamed eye. When the disease of the eye is beginning, or when the eye is already better, it is not permitted to apply a cure on the Sabbath. According to these rules, as the man was blind from his birth, Jesus ought not to have applied the clay to his eyes on the Sabbath. All these Talmudic directions touching the Sabbath, proclaim the fact that the letter has already killed.

Through all the immense structure of the Talmud, on every wall

and in every dark corner, the truth is before us that the letter killeth. It required thirty years of close labor to write the first copy of the Talmud, and we may view it all as one sermon of the length of thirty years on the text: "*The letter killeth.*" If these words were written at the head of every page of the Talmud, it would be a singular page indeed in which there would not be something pointing up directly to the words at the head. How appropriate the reflection that it is just as true in the Christian Church as among the Hebrews, that the letter killeth! Even if the name of Christ is in the letter, nevertheless, if it is the mere letter, it killeth. Genuflections, attention to all prescribed prayers, fasts and feasts, daily worship, payment of debts, outward morality, religious intelligence, and all the other things of a perfect outward religion, never of themselves make the living Christian. All men are spiritually dead except where there is the new heart, the work of the Holy Spirit. As circumcision is of the heart, so the true baptism is of the Spirit, not of water.

When Ishmael, the son of Jose, was dangerously sick, he gave his friends, according to their request, some historical items which he had received from his father, to be preserved by them as highly valuable. One of them has already been mentioned repeatedly, that 180 years before the end of the second temple the wicked Rome extended the arm of her domination over Israel. Another item was, that eighty years before the temple's destruction the wise men of Israel decreed the impurity or uncleanness of the land of Gentile nations, and that glass vessels came under the laws of religious impurity if they were touched by any unclean person, or reptile, or beast. Observe that this new decree of impurity touching all lands except the land of Israel, and glass vessels or cups, has its date eighty years before the temple's destruction, and accordingly close to the time of the birth of Jesus. And as we reflect on this date, we are appropriately reminded of another fact that occurred about forty years later, or about the middle of the period between that decree and the destruction of the temple. This fact is the vision of Peter on the housetop in Joppa, when the Great Sea was under his eye to the West. A great sheet, knit at the four corners, descended from heaven, and came down so as to reveal all that was on it to the apostle's eye, and on it were all lands of Gentile nations, and all the Gentile nations with all their unclean glass and all other pollution—"all manner of four-footed

beasts of the earth, and wild beasts and creeping things and fowls of heaven;" and when Peter felt as if he could not touch such uncleanness, the voice from heaven said to him, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." Three times Peter heard that God had cleansed all that was before him, and then the sheet was taken back into heaven. These two facts, separated by about forty years, may well be called most suggestive representative facts. The earlier is the excellent miniature of the Talmudic system; the later is the finest miniature of Christianity. The earlier fact pointed out the road in which anti-Christian Judaism has ever since been traveling; the fact at Joppa pointed out the road in which true Christianity started out, never to turn back. We may identify in the earlier fact the capital principle of Rabbinic development; and in the later fact we may identify the central principle of Christian development and life. There is in the earlier fact the germ of all the Talmud, and there is in Peter's vision the true germ of Christendom. In that decree of Rabbinic sages, we see a greater darkness of impurity settling down on all lands of the Gentiles; but in that vision of Peter, we see all heathen lands cleansed by the holy blood of Calvary so as to have a right to claim the preaching of the gospel to every creature. In that decree we see the Jews trying to separate themselves more and more from the Gentiles, and practically saying, *Let me be further from you; come not near me, for I am holier than thou;* but in Peter's vision we see the wall of separation falling instantly, and Christian Jews going forth to embrace, in the arms of love, all the heathen world. In that decree we see the growing solicitude about the cleanness of the outside of the cup, and it appears to have been such a solicitude about vessels of glass as was something new in Israel; but in Peter's vision we identify the principle that it is more the words going out from the heart at the lips, that defile the man, than any cups coming to the lips; and that it is the heart, the inner man, which most needs to be cleansed. In that decree, which has its place eighty years before the temple's destruction, we see the glorious moon, which was shining high in heaven during a long night, now sinking to the earth, and touching the ground, and even falling below the ground, and the moment becomes unusually dark to all lands; but in that apostolic vision, forty years later, we see the new sun rising in the East, which the world never saw before, and sending its beams to every habitation of man.

Art. VII.—*The Divine Origin and Supremacy of Civil Government.*

Among the premonitory symptoms of that decay that is now preying upon our country's vitals, and which will ultimately paralyze it in death, unless arrested, was, and is a constantly increasing disrespect for law, and legal forms, and a chafing under its restraints. Disrespect for law, whether it be physical, mental, moral, or civil, is the sure precursor of decline, in whatever phase it may appear. There is no true patriot, who has not been pained at the eruptions of this deep-seated disease in the body politic, in the form of mobs, that have been a burning stigma upon the land. The disease has not been located in any particular member or members of the body, but has permeated the entire system. In the rebellious States, negro Slavery has been the core around which the *pus* has gathered, which is now suppurating in the form of a terrible rebellion. The remark has often been made, and nowhere more frequently than at the South (for here its truth is most apparent), that the worst blight of Slavery falls upon the South herself. The wide chasm between the laborer and proprietor, destroys that happy adjustment of power, so essential to the preserving of society from despotism and monarchy on the one hand, and lawlessness, in the name of popular sovereignty, on the other. But when we turn to the other side, the loyal States, we find the disease there again gathering around that irritating core, Slavery, and suppurating, in many instances, in lawless attempts to get rid of it. And so Slavery has been as productive of disease in both parts, as a grain of sand in the eye of unceasing pain and irritation. It matters not whether it be lawless efforts to defend Slavery against those assailing it, or whether it be lawlessly attacking it; the demoralization is the same, for it is not right to use unjustifiable means for the attainment even of good.

We may as well open our eyes to the foreboding fact, that the whole body is diseased, that the whole heart is sick, and both are struggling to be relieved of their own corruptions. We discover its outworkings in the loyal States, in the resistance of constituted authority, as in the mob in New York, in dangerous secret combinations, dangerous symptoms of lawlessness, like smoking flax, only waiting a breeze to flame. And its tendency is as much

more dangerous than that in the South, as conspiracy is in crime above rebellion.

We will try to enumerate, briefly, what seems to us some of the causes leading to this state of affairs: and one of the most vicious is that infidel, superficial and degrading theory of the origin of civil government, that puts it on no higher ground than a mere convenient adjustment of communities for protection and profit. A theory essentially atheistic, and whose necessary consequence is anarchy, as is every arrangement that has no God in it.

We have imbibed the notion from our statesmen, that government is a sort of compact among men, instead of an eternal principle, and whatever its form may be it is a modification of the same principle, and it is the working of this principle that makes it even possible for them to be compacted together. Without it you could no more league men together, for any purpose, than you could confederate a heap of sand. The fable of the eleven oxen confederating themselves together to resist the attacks of a neighboring lion, is the history of the origin and end of civil government on this theory. Nay, we owe the beasts an apology for thus caricaturing them. Their instincts are not so superficial and senseless; even they obey a necessity of their nature, to be gregarious, which they never acquired by their own efforts, but is the impress of their Creator, even as matter, by a necessity of its nature, is attracted inversely as the square of its distances.

The sooner the world cracks the nut, and finds the kernel of civil government, the better it will be for mankind, civilization and religion. As it now is, infidelity gives them the husk, and bids them live, and be in health. What has the idea of civil government, being a compact, done for us? It has hatched in our own bosom the monstrous prodigy of secession and anarchy. Government is a compact, say they, and all the disaffected members have to do, is to withdraw from the body, until a limbless trunk will alone remain to die of sheer exhaustion, reproducing, on a splendid scale, the secession of the limbs from the stomach; and the nation, adopting the suggestion, would be left to write the moral in her own blood, that has oft been written of those systems that ignore God. Any system of government that can not point to a Divine progenitor is futile. The poet Coleridge, on hearing a friend descant on the probabilities of an infidel system of philanthropy regenerating the world, plucked a thistle down,

and flung it to the winds, saying: "The tendency of this down is to China, but I know, certainly, it will never get there; but after a few gyrations, it will fall near the place where it started. So government born outside of the Divine Mind, will perish upon the lap that gave it birth."

It must be a source of shame and wonder, that our Constitution, the embodiment of our system, has no mention of God in it. How in this its power is weakened, what bad morals it teaches the young offspring to be born and reared under its protecting ægis? And bitterly are we reaping the effects of its implied atheism, as well as presenting to the world the astounding fact of a Constitution ignoring the only source of its power, without which not a single wheel of its machinery would ever move upon its pinions.

A system ignoring God, and yet so dependent on him, that not a hand can touch this ark of our liberties without a solemn oath by him to insure fidelity in the exercise of its functions. If we would perpetuate civil government, we must educate the moral sense of its citizens; we must put the violations of its laws first in the domain of conscience, where this primary minister of justice will punish those infringements before they become overt, which, though they will ultimately lead to, as yet are not within its grasp. The resisting and upturning of it is not only a sin on account of its effects of derangement and ruin, but an absolute sin against God. When the Psalmist came to a review of his great sin in breaking the law, in violating its sanctity in the rights it secured to the citizen; when all this came up before him, we do not hear his confession hinging on the wrong he had inflicted on *Uriah*, his duplicity, his ingratitude to a faithful subject; but rising above these he bemoaned the fact that it, at last, was all against God: against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned and done this great evil in Thy sight. And while it is always incumbent upon us to correct the abuses of the government by its functionaries in bad legislation, or in the wresting of good laws to bad ends; for mal legislation, or administration, is no more a part of the Divine ordinance of civil government than sin, and it is as much our duty to uproot the one as to conserve the other; yet while this is true, its very abuses must be corrected according to appointed order; so that it shall not be paralyzed under the shock. For government, like the human body, is arranged to repair its own injuries and correct its own humors; and, as in the body, all act on the principle in

effecting cure, *to assist nature;* so in civil derangements, all that is required is to start and uphold its dormant, or impeded functions, and it will cure itself. Not a jot further than this can we go without being conspirators against God himself; for he who arrays himself against the laws of God, whether mental, moral, civil, or physical, seeks to destroy almost the only way by which God manifests himself to the world; that is, by His government of it. One part of the mission of the Saviour into the world was to vindicate and give supremacy to law and government. Not only moral government, but civil too; which is, in some sense, an offspring of God's moral government. The germs of its existence are here; there could be no such thing as criminal law for the defense of property, reputation, or life, without it; for those moral distinctions in which criminal law is grounded, would be wanting. The laws against theft and arson, suppose the fact that these are understood already and blamed as being wrongs against moral obligation. And there is no way of defining these crimes and bringing them to judgment, except by reference to those distinctions that lie in the domain of moral government. Take, for example, murder; we can not punish it, or define it, until we enter the territories of moral government; we define it as killing with malice aforethought, done with a consciously criminal intent. Civil society is a chimera when divorced from moral government. Without it, we are not above the race of pismires. We have no moral and religious ideas, and can not legislate. Civil society and government is impossible, and all that is genial and benign in the State is lost. If your house is burned, you only conceive of it as a loss, and not a crime. If your children are killed, you are in the condition of the bees, when their hive is rifled; only mad with a sense of loss, but no sense of the crime or wrong.

Or to illustrate further, take our civil provisions to protect virtue; unless you travel over into the moral domain, what value are they? Without our moral allegiance, licentiousness is no more harm than hunger. But this is enough to show that even the humiliation and sacrifice of Christ was to maintain honor, and magnify all law, at whatever point it was broken, or infringed. And hence we find Him just as careful to uphold and support the civil government while on earth, as the moral; nay, it was impossible to divorce them; He pays tribute; He enjoins obedience to the civil ruler, and yields Himself an example of submission to an illegal

arrest; and rebukes His disciple for drawing his sword against it, even in his own defense. We are told by theologians that there was something in the nature of things that made it necessary for God to sacrifice His son. But we confess it is not clear to us. We can not see that any could have called the Judge of all the earth to an account if He had pardoned every sinner that breathes, without any sacrifice. Who would have dared to say what doest thou? So, with becoming deference, the Lord Jesus humbled himself and died, to magnify the law and make it honorable; the whole law; no matter in what division, whether mental, moral, civil, or physical, in whatever phase it has been wrested by transgression from its original design, the control, development, and perfection of man, its subject.

In every being there are certain marks of life. If man lives physically he breathes, mentally he thinks; morally, conscience holds her blazing torch, discriminating between right and wrong, and mutters wrathfully in the soul, when her dictates are unheeded; so, if there is a God, there are certain characteristics of His being; and it seems to us most of those characteristics are comprehended in His government, at least so far as we know. Now, laws are the means by which government is attained as an end. God governs by laws. Law is the mode in which a cause acts; moral laws, mental laws, and civil laws, are the modes in which intelligent causes act. It seems, therefore, to us conclusive that moral, mental, civil, and physical laws are the modes by which God, the *great cause*, acts through and upon us to the attainment of the *great end*, the government of the world. If this be so, how inevitable and startling the conclusion: that they who violate or infringe any of these laws, the *modes in which God acts* in the attainment of the great end, the government of the world, conspire against God, aiming at His very existence. We know it becomes us to speak with great modesty on such a subject; but with us the conviction is irresistible. We will illustrate. It is a law of matter, "that every particle in the universe attracts every other by a power which diminishes as the square of the distances between the particles increase." Now, whoever would invert or subvert this order or mode of Divine action, whereby the physical universe is governed, and worlds are kept harmoniously in their places, is a conspirator against God, seeking to obliterate His image from the world, which is reflected in the order and adjustment of means to

ends, and would destroy the tracings of the Almighty in the work of His hands.

When God created man, it was in His own image. "In the image of God created He him." This word image seems to us to be the kernel of all government, at least as far as our knowledge extends. The image of God in man is not only reason, will, or the intellectual faculties, nor does it consist alone in the right use of these, but also impressing him with a capacity for government: God manifesting His own being in man by impressing His own eternal principles of order upon him, as the seal leaves its image on the wax. It is remarked by Bush on these words, and it is but the reiteration of the opinion of other commentators, "That while the image of God implies likeness to Him in moral attributes, as is intimated in Col. iii: 10, there can be as little doubt that the phrase in this connection denotes primarily the possession of dominion and authority. This is evinced by the words of the ensuing clause, 'let them have dominion,' which is to be regarded as explanatory of the term image in the first clause." Then the primary idea of the image of God in man is dominion, authority, not only over the animal creation, but in that ability to construct laws and execute them for his own government in the community and State. The image of God in man is seen in that tendency of his nature to society, and the devising of laws to regulate himself in this capacity. And hence man upon earth represents or bears the image of God nearly in the same sense in which the governor of a province is said to represent or bear the image of his sovereign. To illustrate: We believe there is a sense in which the physical man is made in the image of God. It reflects the Divine skill; it is a monument in its exquisite adaptation, in its wonderous functions, of the omniscience and omnipotence of God. The poet Ovid has drawn a true portraiture in these lines:

> "While mute creation downward bend
> Their sight, and to their earthly mother tend,
> Man looks aloft, and with erected eyes
> Beholds his own hereditary skies!"

Now, let man violate any of these physical laws of his being, and he is guilty of conspiracy against God's government and his own happiness; he is arresting the progress of his being, and introducing anarchy into the government of God; seeking to

destroy God's image in him. And how soon a troop of ills, the avengers of his treason, come down upon him with frightful swoop! Or take his mental nature, where the image of God is not questioned, and they that violate these laws conspire against the government of a world. They rise in their rebellion to the very throne of God, shattering His image in His own temple, and as certain as thought rises out of the depths of the mind, specters will haunt them, reason will reel on its throne, and the functions of their bodies will run as wild as an engine unbelted from the friction and regulated motion of a thousand wheels.

But we go a step further, and here, if we have reasoned correctly, we have now attained the point we have desired to establish. There is a government resting on even stronger basis, which we call civil. It rests on all the others as its piers. They are the arches for its support. It commands to its aid all their accumulated authority. It is an eclectic, selecting out of all the rest the elements peculiar to its own nature, each chosen element bringing with it the sanctity and authority of the system from whence it was taken, and when civil government spreads over us its sheltering wings, it demands our loyalty by the authority of all the systems from whence its component elements were selected.

We speak of God's moral, physical and mental governments. These are the systems by which God governs mind, soul and matter. Their laws are the adjustment for the attainments of these ends, the means by which God manifests Himself to and in the world. Now, civil government is the aggregate of these same laws; so adjusted that they reach from the individual, and clasp communities and States in their embrace. They assume more general application, and are called civil. But they are the modes by which an intelligent and benificent God deals with States, and have the awful sanctity of all the rest, and the violation of which is conspiracy against all the rest in one form or other, as well as an attack against the entire government of God in all its systems.

And how do we arrive at this conclusion? On this wise:

The moral law, written at first in the heart of man, no one will dare deny, is the image of God. Now, we have from Sinai a transcript of that law, and in this we have the entire elementary principles of civil law. Every feature of it may be found in one form or other in that decalogue. For example, we have there a bill of rights: One man shall not wrong another in his life, property, or

character; and were it necessary, the whole system might be evolved. Now, they who *attack* civil government, either with a view to its ultimate overthrow, or breaking any of its laws, can be viewed in no other light than conspirators against government, both civil and moral, lifting their puny arms to smite down the image of God.

And that this is true, is evident in the fact, that the murderer is charged with the destruction of God's image. Murder falls in the category of civil crime, but it runs directly over into the moral system, in the reason assigned for the execution of the murderer: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He him." He that mars or shivers that image, strikes through his victim at God, and true to this conception that the image of God in the world is his government, and the execution of its various laws, God orders in the Israelitish government to be set aside those four cities of refuge, into which the one charged with murder might flee for safety, to escape the avenger of blood. This in that system was a provision extraordinary for peculiar cases.

Now, what is most remarkable about this provision is, that there is no real need for it. The persons involved were not by the law guilty. They were not murderers, but those who by accident had taken the lives of others. They could, in our code, have been discharged by a court of inquiry; a justice's court. Then why this necessity? God had a government to sustain over that commonwealth, and while He would give protection to the innocent, He would make their very deliverance teach the supremacy of law, and proclaim its awful sacredness. He, though not guilty of murder, was, in his misfortune, made a teacher of a fearful lesson to others; his life for a time is in as much danger as if a criminal; that his fellow-citizens beholding it, might exclaim, how dreadful it is to violate the laws of man and God when one who is innocent is treated thus!

Here is one point in which the Jewish system of civil law is superior to all others. It had two ideas ever in distinct view in its execution: first, the protection of the public interests and punishment of crimes; and second, it was didactic in its *modus operandi*, conveying the highest moral impressions.

And here is a radical defect in our system. Take, for example, the administration of the oath, which is almost vital to our system,

nothing can be accomplished without it. Yet the oath is administered usually in so perfunctory and farcical a manner that it is no wonder it is treated so lightly, and practical infidelity and atheism will obstruct our very vitals unless this abuse is arrested. There is no solemnity or any moral impression made in the exercise of this most sacred function; so that public morals are undermined and vitiated on this subject, until it sometimes looks as if there is not soundness and veracity enough in the nation to perpetuate its existence. Perjury outright is a matter of every-day life; and communities have ceased even to scowl at it. Oaths are taken for every pretext, until the Government seems to be paying a bonus for perjury. Nay, perjury itself, if accomplished by mental reservations, perfidy, or that devilish smartness whereby an oath is shorn of its power, is now laughed at, as a smart jest. Men and women, unrebuked, talk of taking an oath; and ignoring its obligations, because disliking the power administering, to subserve some selfish interest, go and take the oath, and then declare it null, because they were compelled to take it. And why all this? Oh! it is the ruins of the temple of government falling upon us, because its pillars have been removed by wicked hands.

"When the foundations are removed, what shall the righteous do?" These are the death strides on a nation's life, the death blossoms of her decay, until there remains no hope but in gaining the right, placing law on the throne, and crowning it in the name of the Most High, and then forever maintaining it there, by might and right, against all its foes. It were better for a nation that one-half its inhabitants should fall; nay, that its soil should glisten with the whitening bones of its slain—that the other half should be reduced to want—that the forest should reconquer its territory, and that the wild beast should again make his lair where once its fields were graced with the golden sheaves of abundant harvest; that Neptune should blockade Eolus in his cave, and not a breath should stir to rustle a sail, and its navies should rot in port, and all commerce should cease from ocean, land and river, than its government should be overthrown, or even totter; or that its laws should become impotent to control its citizens. An outraged people might, by the ballot, or even by the sword, hurl every executive from his throne of power. They might strangle tyranny with their own hands, and fill the sacred places with better men, and still the system and principles of government would remain intact.

This would be a great calamity—great in proportion to the violence or irregularity with which it was done. But after the system had recovered the shock, all would be harmony and health again.

When a nation is struggling for its existence, all the calamities of war may come, and hope remain. The father might fall in the struggle, cheered, even in death, with the thought that his children might enjoy peace and security under good government as the reward of his death. But if government, even though defective, perish from a nation (for, like our mortality, we possess it but once), human hopes lie buried in its ruin; civilization wraps itself as the shroud around its body; religion begs a burial in the same sepulcher. Tyrants may fetter government; they may restrain the free exercise of its members; they may infect it with disease; nay, array it in its death-robes, but if the spark of life is not extinct, it will, in time, arise, like a giant refreshed with wine, shaking itself out of its fetters, as the lion shakes the dew of morning from his mane. But if it is rent in fragments, or its cohesion destroyed, or even the fatal elements of dismemberment injected into its life, then we may come and weep over its grave. But it will not live again. We may, like those devoted virgins, who went up and down the world in quest of the dismembered limbs of Osiris, seek to join its remains, but we will be impotent to inspire these disjointed members with life again. The mirror, from which is reflected the image of God in the world, will be broken, and neither finite head nor hand shall conjoin its fragments. Let us not forget that when the civil government of a nation is destroyed, that the image of God in the world is gone; for mental, moral and civil government are so intimately connected, that they go down in the same crash. Who is so insane as to hope to subvert civil order, and conserve religion and civilization? What is the experience of this hour? As well crush the limbs of your body and expect the head not to feel the shock, or the heart not to swoon or grow sick.

Government, says a great writer, is the exponent of a nation's civilization, and, we might add, its religion too. It is not enacted for society, but the outworking of the instincts of society. If it is arbitrary, or if a tyrant sways its scepter with freedom's image under his feet, it is because he is the ruler of a people only fit for a tyrant to govern. If the laws are corrupt or unexecuted, it is

because corruption has first invaded the people. Law is the development of civilization. This is a great idea, dug from the ruins of dead empires, and when subverted, these two, like Saul and Jonathan, lovely in their lives, in death are not divided. Look at any dead empire, and we discover the grave of that nation's hopes, temporal and divine. How is it in Central America, with a climate that might almost rival Eden? But what do we behold? Superstition muttering her incantations over the grave of pure religion; her civilization only the straggling rays peering into the sepulcher upon a nation's corpse; her people dwarfed by the capriciousness and instability of government, until her only befitting epitaph is, Dead while she liveth. What do we see better in Mexico? Nothing but the same degraded humanity; unfitted by the same causes to govern themselves; unfit to be subjects; civilization gone; her religion a stupendous system of corruption and fraud, preying on the vices and abominations of a most degraded people. But why dwell longer on the sickening picture? We have seen enough to convince us that there are no efforts too great, nor price too dear, to pay for the security and perpetuity of civil government, and no bribe for its overthrow that can do aught but reflect our madness. Would that we, as a nation, might learn wisdom, even at this late day, in the lessons of the past, and return to our loyalty to established order, and if corruptions invade the sacred places of our nation's power, let us drive them out, as the Master did the temple swindlers, from its threshold; but never be guilty of the amazing folly of tearing down this beautiful temple, which our fathers built and cemented with their blood, which they consecrated to the honor of their God—this magnificent structure, the wonder, admiration and hope of the world, merely to rid ourselves of its supposed or real corruptions. No, no. We will labor both to elevate our government and our sense of loyalty and devotion with it. We will seek, by the blessing of our fathers' God, for that blessed time when all the people of this once great and happy country will regard obligation to it a privilege, a source of elevation and happiness, and when, with a religious loyalty, we can say: Her statutes shall be our songs in the house of our pilgrimage.

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ART. I.—*Conflicts of Revelation and Science—The Science of the Bible Phenomenal.*

WHETHER the last battle, which the friends of Revelation will wage in its defense, will be fought mainly on the fields of Science, can not now be certainly known. Error, in order to deceive, always associates with truth. It hopes to escape detection by being found in good company. Science and the Word must necessarily be the principal theaters of conflict. They are the chief sources of truth, moral and physical; and while the intense anxieties of the human heart in reference to the remote future find relief in one, any advance in material interests is sought in the other. Those who cultivate exclusively either department, obtain imperfect views of the other; false deductions are made from scanty premises; discrepancies and contradictions arise; and great truths, which are really harmonious, are set sharply at variance. Any sneering by scientific men against the Bible, or by theologians against Science, is unseemly, and can alarm only the thoughtless. The more important and extended the relations of any truth may be, the more likely is the human mind to mingle error with it. It is the vast fathomless ocean that rocks under the rough handling of the tempest; pools and puddles remain quiet. The terrible blows which have been struck at Revelation and Science, and the fierceness of the recoil, but show the amazing reserved force inherent in both. The truth in either can not be set in array against the other. False interpretations of both may clash; true ones never. It is not designed in the present article to attempt a reconciliation of the apparent discrepancies, which may have arisen in the progress of Science between it and

Revelation. Every year removes some difficulties, but introduces others; and such probably will be the case while our knowledge of Science and Moral Truth remains imperfect. We regret the discrepancies, inasmuch as they indicate our ignorance; we rejoice in them as showing that the subjects between which they arise originated in the Divine Mind, and therefore extend beyond the reach of human thought. If the Bible be true, and Science be true—and both *are* true if there be a God, and if there be none, the existence of both is the most inconceivable of all things—if they be true, then there is some mode of viewing their relations which will satisfy any reasonable mind. The statements in the Bible, involving scientific facts and allusions, must be in accordance with some law that commends itself to sound reason. The harmony of God's truths are not always to go begging for credence. They shall yet sweep the field of thought of every obstruction; and sweetly command, by their beauty and glory, the loving confidence of every soul of man. And surely we are not debarred from getting glimpses of this glorious vision now.

In our search for the law, which controls the use of scientific language in the Bible, we shall assume, as proved in a preceding article, that the Word of God is not a text book on Natural Science; that it is not intended to explain its facts and phenomena; that its references to Science are incidental and subordinate to its one great purpose—the restoration, through a mediator, of fallen man to the image of God, and to communion with him.

The true position which, it is believed, the Bible holds in its relations to Science, may be presented under two heads:

1st. Its scientific language is phenomenal. It enters into no details, and no explanations of the facts or laws of any Science, but *states them as they would appear to an observer.*

2d. This mode of statement is not merely admissible, but, under the circumstances, *is the only possible mode; and is eminently fit and proper, and in entire harmony with the design of the Bible.*

There are two aspects in which almost every scientific occurrence may be contemplated, and consequently two modes of stating such occurrence. 1st. It may be stated *phenomenally*, that is, just as it would appear to any one who saw the occur-

rence, and without any reference to the causes concerned in its production. 2d. By going back of the mere appearance and stating the law or the causes of the occurrence. In some cases, the appearance and the law are the same, and of course but one statement can then be made.

The sun rises in the east, passes across the heavens, and sets in the west. This is the phenomenal aspect; as the thing appears to us. But by a process of reasoning and an effort of the imagination, we resolve this appearance into a higher law, *i. e.*, the rotation of the earth on its axis. And here with our present knowledge the explanation ends. A light from a pool of water flashes on our eyes: that is the appearance. We examine and find that it comes from the window of a neighboring house, and falling upon the water is reflected from it. Here is a second appearance, light from the window. A further examination, and it is found that sun light falls upon the window and is reflected from it. This is the third appearance. Now it is true that the light does come from the water and the window, but from neither in the sense of originating in them. To say that the light comes from the water expresses a part of the truth, though not the previous steps by which that part is accomplished. To refer it to the sun even, does not give the whole truth. To make the explanation complete, it would be necessary to state the nature of light, its motion, how bodies can reflect it from their surfaces, how the sun produces light, the kinds of matter of which the sun is composed: indeed, a little deeper inquiry would be necessary—what, after all, *is matter*, and how was it made, and who made the Maker of matter? and if He was not made, how can that exist which never was made! Explanation would not stop here. There are side issues which need elucidation quite as much as the direct ones, and are connected quite as intimately with the subject. How is light refracted by the humors of the eye; what is the precise effect produced upon the retina; what is transmitted along the optic nerve; what change takes place in the brain; how the mind becomes cognizant of that change; and how that results in what we call sight! An answer to all these queries would not exhaust the subject. Each collateral question has its own collaterals, and these still others; all of which must be expounded in order to answer fully the first. Relations upon relations

multiply at every step; the farther the advance, the more remote seems the end. And truly so; for that which is boundless lies before us. We are getting entangled among the infinite lines along which God works.

That the scientific language of the Bible is phenomenal, will be admitted by most. The complaint is, that it states scientific facts as they appear, and therefore does not state the truth.

Joshua spoke phenomenally when he said, "Sun, stand thou still on Gibeon, and thou moon over the Valley of Ajalon." And the fulfillment is expressed in the same manner. "So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day." Whatever may have been the mode by which this miracle was performed—whether by stopping the rotation of the earth; or by some change in the optical properties of the atmosphere; or by hanging out another light in the heavens as the sun departed; or by some mode inconceivable to us—the language is still phenomenal and describes the appearance.

Any number of like cases might be cited, were it necessary, from the Bible to show the phenomenal character of its language upon scientific subjects. Let any one read the Book with reference to this point, and he will find that, right or wrong, it is wonderfully consistent in this respect. A careful analysis of either the preceding or any other like case, will show that *no scientific fact can be stated without involving phenomenal language.* The statement that the light comes from the water to the eye is phenomenal, and can not be divested of that aspect, except by explaining that light from the window falls upon the water, and is reflected by the latter to the eye. But the phenomenal still lurks in the proposition; it has only been removed one step farther back by the explanation. Another would remove it to the sun; another still would show how the light is produced on that body. And so we might proceed back, step by step, casting off the phenomenal and putting on the scientific dress. But the last step would always be phenomenal in aspect to that which preceded it in the order of causation. And we might as well expect to separate the shadow from its substance, as to divest entirely any scientific fact of its phenomenal character; unless the explanation has swept the whole field of related truths, direct and collateral, and penetrated to the profoundest

depths of the Infinite Mind. Whether, in expressing a scientific fact, the phenomenal shall be retained at the very threshold, or thrown back as far as our knowledge will permit, depends entirely upon the object the writer has in view. If that object be scientific explanation, then let him unravel the interminable web of dependence and causation till the whole subject stands, like a miracle of beauty, before the mind. Still the phenomenal will linger around the outskirts of his field of thought, and amid the thousand avenues radiating from it, which his investigations have opened up. But if his object be merely to make known the event—such, for example, as the miracle of Joshua—good taste and common sense would force him to describe it as it would appear to any beholder. Any attempt to unfold the laws which control the event, would be out of place in such a narrative. Especially so, since the attempt could progress but a few steps along a pathway without end; and the same condition of things, the same necessity for explanation, would exist at the end of that progress as at the beginning; and the same clamor would be raised there, either now or in the future, by other minds. At the same time, the Author of the work would be exposed to the suspicion that he had attempted what he was unable to carry out.

The idea has somehow taken strong hold of many good minds, that it is improper for the Bible to use phenomenal language, though not objectionable in other works. And tender Christian hearts are often shocked and their faith perplexed by intimations from grave philosophers that the Bible is rather loose, to say the least, in its assertions when it says, "The sun stood still in the midst of heaven;" for the sun has no motion the stopping of which could prolong the day. The same objection is urged against the account of creation in the first chapter of Genesis. The third verse asserts the creation of light on the first day, the sixteenth that of the sun on the fourth day. These passages are not quoted for the purpose of explaining them. The principles of this article will, it is believed, apply to them and all other like cases.

To charge that the Bible utters falsehood when it speaks of the sun as rising or standing still, and the earth as fixed, is mere subterfuge. The appearance of a thing—its phenomenal aspect—is just as truly a fact as the means which cause the fact.

The appearance of a thing may or may not give the true state of the case as to the *causes* of that appearance. Whether it does or not, depends very much upon our stand-point. Nevertheless, that appearance is a fact, and it is adhering to truth most rigidly to describe it as it appears.

Did it never occur to these objectors that most of our scientific laws are appearances—things seen? We call them laws because they uniformly precede certain occurrences; and because no higher law, inclusive of them, has yet been discovered. It is quite possible that some of these will hereafter be found to be appearances expressed by some higher law; just as the rising of the sun is expressed by the rotation of the earth. The attraction of bodies for each other and their consequent motion when free to move, is an appearance—phenomenal. It is also a law; for none has been discovered more general in its nature into which gravitation can be resolved. The statement of a fact as it appears, may usually be separated from the explanation of the fact. By doing this, all difficulties between the phenomenal and scientific forms of expression vanish. The difficulties are not really in the thing itself, but in our modes of thinking. The Bible then, when it describes a scientific occurrence phenomenally, does state the truth; and the only fault, if any, which can be found with it is, that it does not explain the occurrence. But suppose an attempt is made to explain it. It will be acknowledged that an explanation coming from the Divine Mind must be worthy of its source. It must be thorough, complete, and without a trace of error. Those who ask this from the Author of the Bible, may not have duly considered what such a request involves.

Every truth, whether relating to matter or mind, has God for its author. It can not stand isolated—cut off from all relation to other truths. Were it so, it would be something without aim or end, having no antecedent or consequent, and no possible connection with any thing else. It would be an utterly forlorn and unrelated thing in God's great system of truths. It could do nothing, neither could any thing be done with it. It could not be created or destroyed; for that would establish a relation between it and its author or destroyer. Some relation must exist between every thing established by a Being infinitely wise; for the whole must be combined into some general plan;

and that plan will consist of all the parts in their appropriate relations. The relations of a truth really form a part of it, and no truth can be perfectly comprehended till all its relations are known. To understand fully a single star in the grandeur of its influence, the mind must, step by step, trace its effects upon the millions of other stars, and indeed upon all other bodies in the universe; its attractions upon them, and theirs upon it; and then, with a gigantic effort, must group the whole together, and gather into one result their amazingly complex motions and reactions. Could the human mind accomplish this task, it might comprehend the physical truth in reference to one star.

So, in general, no truth can be understood in all its fullness, till all other truths and their actions and interactions are known; or in other words, till they have been traced up in all their complex adjustments to the mind of God. It is no exaggeration to say that the boundaries, where a truth ceases to be influenced by any other, can never be reached by a finite mind; for that would require it to know all that God knows. Hence, perfect knowledge upon any subject is impossible to man. He may approach it, but the infinite unknown still lies beyond. *Into* it he may pass; *through* it, *never!*

If the Divine Being were to offer in the Bible an explanation of any scientific event, it must take in all its relations and trace them through every step to their origin in His own nature, or it would be condemned as partial and imperfect. To stop anywhere in the series would be to stop with an appearance; and just at that point the same complaint would arise as now. To state a scientific fact as it appears, is objected to; to explain it partially, only removes the difficulty a little farther off; to give a perfect elucidation, is impossible. This leaves to the Author of the Bible the privilege of—silence! For this, doubtless, we should be thankful.

But there is another principle involved in this discussion, which shows still more clearly, if possible, the impossibility of using any other than phenomenal language upon scientific topics, in a book claiming to be Divine; restricted in its very nature to great moral questions; and designed to give instruction to all times and all classes of people. *It is impossible, while the human mind remains as it is, to reveal to it, by means of language, any truth not intimately related to other truths already known.*

There would be on hand *no language, no terms* constructed to describe such a truth. To reveal it, it must have so close a resemblance to something previously known and described, that the language in use can be applied, by accommodation, to express it. Otherwise, it must remain undescribed; and no idea of it could be communicated to another, unless by exhibiting it to the senses. Words, prior to association with the things they are intended to signify, have no meaning. They are arbitrary signs used to express ideas. Of course, the idea must first exist, and then certain sounds or letters are adopted to represent it.

After the two have been associated frequently, then the word will recall the idea. The human mind constructs language because it has ideas, and finds it necessary to express them. The language of a nation grows in fullness, variety and accuracy, just as fast as its knowledge advances in the same directions. Language originates from the high claims which our nature imposes on us. The law of association gives to it meaning, and clothes it in all its beautiful and sublime drapery. As association is an act which the mind must perform for itself, therefore the human race must have constructed its own languages. The work of any one person in representing sounds by letters, and combining the latter into words, may be used by others, but they can be to no one a vehicle of his thoughts unless he himself has associated ideas with the words. Language never precedes thought, but is forced into existence by the necessities of thought; and when the latter has breathed its own melodious voices through sounds and syllables, they seem instinct with life and harmony, and it is hard to believe that they are, in themselves, but abstract and unmeaning forms. Throughout the history of the race, every shade of thought in advance or decline, every throbbing of the emotions, has mirrored itself in language. The languages of the Greeks and Romans are sacred cerements of the dead past. They lie in mournful state, because the cast of thought which they represented have passed away. Thus it is that no human works so truly and beautifully record man's progress as his languages. Those little sounds which quiver on tongues of flame, and their representatives in letters, do set forth the spirituality, the beauty and grandeur of man's nature, more certainly than the Pyramids of Egypt, the Parthenon of the Greeks, the Coliseum of

the Romans, or the steam engines, steam ships, railroads and telegraphs of the moderns. If all this be true, then to speak of constructing language to describe a thing before it is known is simply absurd. Indeed it is impossible; it would not be language. The Divine Being could make a language to express any truth, because He knows all truth; but it would be His language, not ours, and could be of no possible use to us, unless we were first taught the truth some other way, and then we might gradually associate the language with it. Nothing is more certain than this: that language can reveal no truth to us far in advance of our present knowledge, or which has only an obscure relation to something already known. Hence, it is very unreasonable to require the Bible to explain in language scientific facts, through all their relations, up to God their Author, or even through all the steps which the human mind can hereafter reach.

It is not irreverent to say that God can do no such thing without working a constant miracle, or making the mind something else than what it is. Even in revealing the mysteries of Redemption, God did not set aside the laws of human thought; terms already in use for other purposes were carefully selected and adjusted to express the great truths essential for man to know. Obligation, disobedience, repentance, pardon, mediation, substitution, vicarious, Father, Son, Spirit, rewards, punishments, all express known things and relations among men, and God presents His arrangements and requisitions through them to us. After all the labor expended by ourselves or for us by the Divine Being, owing to poverty of language, or rather of thought, many of the Bible subjects, comprised in these terms, are very imperfectly comprehended; but, fortunately for us, belief is not dependent upon a perfect understanding of a subject.

An unwavering confidence may exist in regard to great points, while much involved in them is doubtful and obscure. Doubtful regions will remain in things best known, and for this there is no remedy. Man knows but in part, and thus it ever will be. This charge will stand good against him after the lapse of untold ages, and after progress inconceivable in extent and rapidity. Nay, no one will then say this of him so truthfully and feelingly as he of himself.

Humility and modesty are characteristic of great minds, and it would be strange were it otherwise. He who knows but little, can not conceive there is much more to be known; he thinks himself learned because he has not knowledge enough to teach him his ignorance. New truths become a part of man's mental furniture only as they find truths within to which they stand related Every truth is accompanied by a thousand smiling faces, diffusing light and joy through the obscurities of ignorance. As the Prophet saw the mountain filled with chariots and horsemen for his defense, so shall these glorious visions of truth shed their hallowed light along the darkened pathway of life, revealing to him, who seeks for them, the nature of God more and more clearly, begetting humility and confidence, and giving an earnest of the ineffable glory that shall greet him hereafter. Surely it would be unnatural that a mind, seeing through the known, dimly it may be, the exhaustless unknown, should be otherwise than modest and humble. Those who carp at the Bible because it gives no elaborate explanation of scientific or other great truths, have very inadequate ideas of what that word *explain* means. They tax Omnipotence with a work which is unnecessary for Himself, and which He can not do for a finite being. Facts necessary for man to know are stated; explanations impossible to make are not attempted. The Bible seems to have understood the capacities and proprieties of human thought far better than does the mind itself. It has not yielded to any of its follies, nor made any special provision against anticipated captious criticisms. It has not escaped entirely the errors of copyists or the glosses of interpolators, but that is simply admitting that its Author has not seen fit to preserve it by miracle from every contingency to which other writings are exposed. Its general purity is unquestioned; its preservation amid all assaults unparalleled in literary history. It comes forth from every conflict with increased strength; it arises from the flames tested, not consumed. Every blow aimed at it has recoiled with deadly effect upon him who wielded it. Like the anvil, it rings clearer under repeated strokes, and its polished face flings back the light of heaven unharmed by the shock.

If the Author of the Bible has not made it the treasury of scientific laws and explanations, He has not left Himself with-

out witness of His kindness in this respect. He has done far better than to record them, by means of language, in the Bible or any other book, even if such a record were possible. Instead of attempting a verbal description and explanation of scientific facts, which at the best would be imperfect and encumbered with all the defects of language, and could never extend much beyond our present knowledge, He exhibits to the mind the *very things themselves*. Instead of word-pictures, there is given us the substance; instead of shadows, the reality; instead of descriptions, things, facts and laws, in their beautiful workings, are spread before us.

The superiority of this mode of communicating truth, is constantly recognized by men and put in practice wherever possible. Diagrams, and still better, models are employed to relieve the ambiguities of mere verbal descriptions; and the natural philosopher thinks he has come nearest to Divine perfection in the art of instruction, when he can lay hold of the forces of Nature and make them work out their problems under his control and at his bidding. In accordance with this law of our being has God arranged His mode of instruction. Every kind of matter is placed within reach, and no restriction laid upon the most searching examination. Its forces are ready to spring into action under proper adjustments. The light of millions of suns is pouring, like gushing cataracts, upon great globes, and flaunting its gorgeous colors in every dewdrop and flower. This earth pursues its wonted rounds, giving day and night and seasons, and bearing its precious burden of forests and fruits and flowers for sustenance and beauty. The winds go and come on their circuits, and let fall the pattering rain drops. The rivers ever flow onward to the deep, and return again to water the earth.

The physical history of the earth—back, back, Oh! how far?—is written on the rocks; and these leaves of Nature's great volume enwrap the earth like a robe of light, and quietly repose beneath for perusal; and life is ever covering its surface with beautiful forms, ministering joy and gladness. The ocean heaves ceaselessly under planetary attraction, and joins its deep music in Nature's grand chorus. The earth's crust, beat upon beneath by internal fires, rises into rocky billows, making channels for the waters below, and elevating mountain peaks to

catch the snows and vapors above—and all over this globe, within and around it, out into the depths of space, does God flash the laws of Science and their explanations in our faces, thunders them in our ears, and pours them affectionately into our hearts.

> "The sun is fixed,
> And the infinite magnificence of heaven
> Fixed within the reach of every human eye;
> The sleepless ocean murmurs for all ears;
> The vernal field infuses fresh delights
> Into all hearts."

What estimate now shall be placed upon the sincerity and good sense of that class of objectors who complain, because in the Bible God speaks of scientific facts as they appear to every one; complain that He has not done for man what can not be done for any created being, viz.: explain every law and fact in Science through all its interminable series of relations till you reach the mind of the Lawgiver; complain, because these laws and facts are not recorded in language, which, if done, would be inexplicable and useless to us; complain, notwithstanding He has written their past operations on the face of the universe and exposes the present to the gaze of every one? Can more be done than has been to reveal the mysteries of Science to man? Nature's operations are not carried on in secret. She courts inquiry. But many things are beyond man's comprehension? True; and what shall be done about it? Why, he may let such things alone, or he may, if he chooses, ask the Divine Being to repeal all those scientific operations which tower so magnificently above the reach of the human intellect, or restrict them to his limited capacity, lest he should be overburdened with knowledge, or be tempted to fly so high as to melt the wax off his wings.

It is unfortunate for some souls that God has placed before them, in Revelation and Science, subjects whose relations are lost in the dazzling brightness of His throne. The tension thus produced in such is likely to injure their mental health, and they should be advised immediately to abstain from the use of such stimulating mental diet. Let them be saved by all means from entire solution in intense thinking.

It may not be amiss, just at this point, to gratify those who object to the phenomenal language of the Bible, by changing it

into a scientific form. Men are often frightened at ghosts of their own raising, and those who have clamored for this change must not blame us if it looks any thing but comely. Let us modestly state that we do not hope to satisfy their high wrought expectations in this effort, for we have not yet reached the extreme limits of human, much less of Divine knowledge, upon any scientific subject, and must be pardoned for not attempting what at present is a little beyond our power.

It is to be hoped, too, that no reader will be so hypercritical and uncivil as to suggest that a scientific dress for the language of the Bible, suited to the present, might not have been in fashion fifty years ago, and may be out of fashion fifty years hence. But to our task.

Joshua said, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou Moon over the valley of Ajalon." Some of us have been foolish enough to think this passage very beautiful and sublime. But, it seems, we were mistaken. Joshua knew almost nothing of astronomy, and his language falls far behind the present demands of Science. This would have been better: Earth, cease rotating on thy imaginary axis, that the sun and moon may appear to our visual organs to stand still, and thus the day be prolonged.

Longinus, a celebrated Grecian philosopher and critic, pronounced the command, "Let there be light, and there was light," a fine specimen of the sublime; but he did not anticipate the vast progress of Science in our day. Let us improve this sentence in accordance with the modern theory of light: "Let the various physical, perhaps chemical, operations necessary to produce light, now take place on the sun, and let the undulations thus produced in the ether, filling all space, be transmitted to the earth, thus giving it light." This improvement on the language of Moses, it is confessed, falls far short of what a scientific explanation requires. To fill out the idea completely, it should state the precise mode by which the light of the sun is caused, the nature of the ether and its undulations, refraction by the atmosphere, reflection from the surface of bodies, and the production of colors. The laws of these and many other phenomena should be explained and demonstrated. In the siege of Jericho, it is said that "The wall fell down flat" at the sounding of the trumpet and the shouting of the people.

This statement is very faulty, both in logic and science. The relation of cause and effect is not preserved, and the physical cause of the fall is not even mentioned. The writer ascribes the action of falling to the *wall*, whereas it was the attraction of the earth which *drew* it down. Another fact should have been at least hinted at, *i. e.*, that the wall tried to draw the earth to itself, but succeeded only in a very slight degree; besides, it should have been explained that the cohesion of the materials composing it was destroyed, or the whole so tilted over that the center of gravity was left unsupported. To decorate this occurrence in scientific dress is left to others. The materials for that purpose have been pointed out, and it is easy to see what fashion it would assume. The attention of these correctors of the Bible is called to an event in the history of the prophet Elijah, which needs revision.

The land of Israel had been scorched with drought for three years and six months; the prophets of Baal had fallen before the avenging sword of Elijah, and the assembled multitude acknowledged Jehovah to be the true God. On the hoary top of Carmel, overlooking the Mediterranean, the prophet bowed in prayer, and invoked a blessing on disobedient but stricken Israel. Again and again he sent his servant to look out on the sea for indications of rain, but there lay the waters, like molten silver, under the fiery sun. The seventh time the servant hastened back with the joyful tidings: "Behold, there ariseth a little cloud out of the sea like a man's hand." We have been accustomed to consider this whole scene, and especially the last simple announcement, as exquisitely, touchingly beautiful; yet, it seems, we must mend even this gem of beauty. Clouds did not rise out of the sea. They are formed by the condensation of vapor, which is evaporated from sea and land; besides, the cloud must have been larger than a man's hand, or it could not have been seen so far. This want of scientific accuracy might have been avoided if the servant had said: "Mr. Elijah, the vapor in the atmosphere over the sea begins to condense into a visible form; the wind is blowing toward us from the sea, and may be brought over the land and precipitated in the form of rain." All this is fine—twaddle—and let those who think it a caricature, recollect that it is not an exaggerated picture of the insufferably pedantic and conceited aspect, which would be

given to much in the Bible that is exceedingly beautiful by substituting scientific for phenomenal language. Nonsense in principle always leads to nonsense in practice, and at times no resource is left in dealing with captious objectors than to "answer a fool according to his folly." If any refined mind could be forced to execute so ungracious and irreverent a task, this work of emendation might be applied to another passage, one of the shortest and most touching in the Bible, "Jesus wept!" It is the description of an emotion by its physical signs, and a strict application of the rule—*i. e.*, to explain, in accordance with scientific laws, all that admits of it—would require a revision of this precious passage. While every correct not to say Christian mind, would shudder at the idea of clothing this beautiful thought in scientific dress, yet the enormous folly of those who find fault with the Bible because it is not done, is best seen in just such sentences.

We will not shock the sensibilities of ourselves, or our readers, by indulging in ridicule on a subject so sacred. Any one may, if he chooses, imagine—and that is quite enough—how a scientific description of the act of weeping would appear in connection with that scene of unutterable tenderness, where the great Saviour stood with the bereaved sisters around the grave of a brother, and mingled His gushing human sympathies with theirs. This manifestation was rendered more surprising from the fact that the Saviour knew that in a few minutes the cold ear of death would be pierced by the Omnipotent words, "Lazarus, come forth." We dare not change a thought in that brief sentence of two words—"Jesus wept." We dare not mar the most tender, affectionate, and touchingly beautiful scene this sin-stricken world ever witnessed. Let it remain without a shadow to dim this vision of beauty. The world has seen too few such to make us willing to part with this. Let him who would lay violent hands on it, beware! The anathemas of a world would rest on him. And may God forgive those who would darken the precious light of His Word by their wickedness and folly. Let the phenomenal language of Revelation be changed into the scientific form demanded by our times, and caricatures, absurdities, grotesque figures and thoughts would stare frightfully upon us from every page. The feeling excited in every mind which loves the true and beautiful,

would be as shocking and repulsive, as if some pretended friend should take the portrait of a dead mother, whose last tears were wept out on your neck, and whose last kiss lingered the brightest spot on memory's waste; and while that image lay treasured up in your heart the dearest thing of earth, he should distort every feature, change the smile of affection, which had so often enticed you to her bosom, into a sardonic grin, and then place it before you in sheer mockery. A like shock would be given to every mind, gifted with refined taste, and possessed of a sound understanding, by changing the beautiful simplicity of the phenomenal dress with which scientific subjects are clothed in the Bible, into an ill-fitting and uncouth scientific costume.

Thus far we have endeavored, in this discussion, to establish the following point, viz.: *That the use in the Bible of phenomenal language on scientific subjects, is a necessity from which there is no possible escape.* Because, 1st. Scientific explanations in a work professing to be Divine, must, in order to accord with its claims, be perfect and complete. But such explanations, embodying, as they must, all that God knows, could neither be expressed in language, nor communicated in any way to finite minds. 2d. The constitution of the human mind and its law of progress are such, that it can advance in knowledge only by its own acts, and by means of the relations which one truth bears to another. Hence, human progress can not be *per saltum*, but along the successive steps of related truths. Hence, also the attempt to teach, at any time, truths much beyond the boundaries of the knowledge then existing, is absurd. Such communications, were it possible to make them, would lie beyond the horizon of our mental vision, and would be utterly unintelligible and useless. 3d. It is impossible to reveal truths, which have no striking resemblance to what is already known, by means of language; for there would be no language by which to express the truths. The truth is first in order of time, and the language then follows. 4th. Any attempt to explain scientific allusions in the Bible, even if carried no farther than the probable advance of the human mind in this life, would be out of place in a work not intended to be a "Text Book on Science."

Here we might rest the argument, believing there can be no escape from its toils. But some, while admitting its force, may,

nevertheless, think that the use of phenomenal language is, upon the whole, a disagreeable necessity, and needs apology rather than deserves commendation. We now propose to show briefly that phenomenal language is altogether most appropriate and befitting the Bible, even if the scientific form were not encumbered with insurmountable difficulties.

Few persons have the ability or the taste to peruse explanations of scientific phenomena in detail. A single branch of Natural Science would require a volume to discuss and explain its laws no farther than our present knowledge extends. The various treatises upon Science now extant make quite a library; and their careful study is the work of a lifetime. If the Bible had been made an encyclopedia of Natural and Moral Science, the brief truths of the latter, which man must learn in preference to all else, would be lost in the mass, like stray pearls amid the sands of the ocean. The great truths essential to salvation, however extensive their relations, fortunately for us, are comprised within a small compass. God has wisely arranged them in the most condensed form. They flash upon the darkened soul like gleams of lightning. They come to us divested of all that can conceal their naked power, or obstruct their terrific force. For beauty, terseness, accuracy and generalization, there is nothing in mere human composition to compare with the ten commandments and our Saviour's comment on them. These and all the cardinal truths embodying man's relations to God and a Saviour, could be written on a single page; and a cordial acceptance of them would save the soul. And yet who does not know that these, when spread out in all their connection, constitute an ocean absolutely boundless: for that ocean is God's Nature. Now, if it was wise in the Divine Being to condense the highest and most important of all known truths into so small a space, it would seem very inconsistent to have enlarged upon scientific facts, a knowledge of which, though necessary to our progress, is not essential to the highest act of one's life, viz.: restoration to the favor of God. By limiting its moral truths to great facts and principles, and its history to what is just sufficient to show the grand features of Divine Providence in dealing with man; by confining its scientific statements to the phenomenal form; the Bible, though a small book, is made to contain an inexhaustible fund of matter.

While, from the nature and subjects of the Book, it must have its unfathomed depths, there must also be pure surface waters, life-giving, needing no deep sounding line to reach; and which will mirror every face and form that looks into them. The ignorant and feeble in intellect must comprehend enough to satisfy their wants. What could accomplish these purposes but unadorned simplicity in all its parts, moral and scientific?

But, besides the simplicity and brevity of phenomenal language, it makes the Bible intelligible in its scientific statements to all men of all ages. The criterion of its scientific facts are the senses of the observer, and ordinary cultivation of these is quite sufficient. Little room is left for dispute, and should any occur the settlement is speedy and decisive. The Israelites and Amorites alike saw the sun smitten to rest in the heavens at the command of Joshua; and we, in imagination at least, can contemplate it now as they did on that eventful day. The learned and unlearned, we who now know so much and those who shall yet know more of that strange arch which spans the cloud, can all stand side by side with Noah and be made parties to that covenant which secured the safety of the world. So he who has no conception of the structure of the earth, except from the appearance merely of its surface, and he who understands in some degree the extent and operations of the struggling fires beneath, can read with an entire agreement, as to the main facts, the declaration, "When the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven." One may have no idea of the origin of that sulphurous shower which swept with fierce flames the doomed city; while the other may speculate upon the melted masses beneath the earth's crust, or upon volcanic vents which spouted jets of liquid fire high into the air, to fall again upon the devoted plain. The faith of both accepts alike the great fact expressed in phenomenal language. The explanation is left to Science, and we are free to accept any one which will agree with the record. The astronomers of the present, with their profound knowledge of planetary laws and relations, are not thereby disqualified from appreciating the sublime astronomical allusions of Job and David.

The Chaldean Shepherd who watched and mapped the stars as they passed nightly over him, may have penetrated very

little beyond the mere appearance; while those who now observe the same phenomena, have a much deeper insight into their real meaning. To the one, the appearance constitutes the whole; to the other, there lies far back a wonderful system of causes and relations, which explain in part the appearance. Whatever the knowledge of the one, or the ignorance of the other, the phenomenal aspect speaks the same great truth to both. To the multitude, this address by Nature to their senses is almost the only incitement to thought and reflection. It is about the only presentation of truth concerning God, from which men can not escape. In the presence of the senses, the lightnings will flash; the planets will keep up their majestic march; the winds will go and come; the rain drops will fall; and the earth put forth her fruits and flowers. No eye is so bleared as not to see the thousand lights which flash instruction; no ear so dull as not to hear the thousand voices which fill earth, air and sky. Does not the Bible exhibit a deep insight into man's nature by presenting those scientific truths, which are incidental to its main purpose, in such a way as to strike all minds alike and command the assent of all? *By this means the Bible becomes a book for all ages.* Its phenomenal language was the first ever constructed by man, and was cotemporaneous with his earliest observations. It has held its place unchanged through all human history, is in every heart and book, and on every tongue. Obsolete it can never become, though nations and their languages perish; nor can it be driven from the world, except by destroying man's senses and sensibilities. It is the language of the emotions: Poetry could not express her thoughts without it: it comes to the heart glowing with life. Man must use it. It is part of his nature to do so. Our first parents read it in the garden and in the smiling heavens. Noah read it in that terrible convulsion which left the world almost childless. The Babylonian astronomers read it in their night watches. The old Egyptians read it, and recorded it in the pyramids and on the zodiac of Dendera. The Magi saw the handwriting, and devoutly bent their steps to the cradle at Bethlehem. As a man, our Saviour read it with profound interest. The starry host that looked sympathizingly down on His midnight wrestlings, the dews that wet His sleeping form, the scorching winds of the desert and the chill blasts of winter,

all had a peculiar significancy to Him. Thus through the steady march of ages, to Adam in his innocence—to the ante-diluvians in their corruptions—to all the nations which, like waves of the sea, have chased each other across the ocean of time, has this phenomenal language of Science uttered its instructive lessons. Beautiful, most beautiful language, like God's sun light, manifested alike to all, felt and perceived alike by all! And is it not admirably adapted to a Book intended for all people and for all times; and which must remain fixed in its principles and in the aspect it presents to man, through all the changing tide of human life? Scientific works written a century ago are among the curiosities of the past: the text book of to-day will be laid aside to-morrow. We ridicule the scientific follies of our ancestors, and posterity will ridicule ours; but the last tearful eye which will hang with rapture over the pages of the Bible, will find its Science as true and as fresh then as now.

If the proposition discussed in this article, viz.: "That the Bible necessarily and appropriately expresses its scientific facts and allusions in phenomenal language," be accepted, then we must adopt it, with proper limitations, as a canon of interpretation for the Bible. With this as a guide, many of the scientific difficulties will, it is believed, disappear. It will not be deemed necessary to apologize for the Book and its writers, that the want of scientific accuracy and the absence of all explanation are evidences of imperfection in the work and ignorance in the writers. As regards our estimate of the work, it is of no consequence whether the writers were or were not ignorant, provided they have recorded what is true and appropriate to the occasion. They were required to do no more than state scientific facts phenomenally, and nothing more could properly or possibly be done. Any attempt to go beyond this would have shown that they were too ignorant to see that they had assumed an impossible task; that they were either deceivers or had misunderstood their mission. If the first chapter of Genesis be a true phenomenal record of the creation, whether in six long periods or six days, it proves the statements to be Divine; for no human eye was present to witness the transactions, and none but God could have revealed them. If the whole account was the mere guess-work of some shrewd mind, it is such guess-work as may well astonish the world, for there

is nothing else like it. With greater reason might the splendid astronomical discoveries of Kepler and others, down to the present time, be termed successful guesses, because they had facts sufficient to prevent very wild guessing, while the sacred writer saw nothing of the occurrences stated, and of course had no facts; and yet discoveries are constantly developing the fact that the writer had a marvelous insight into the work of creation. If he was a mere man, then Deity guided his pen.

The partiality which is shown for the literal interpretation of the word day, is perhaps natural, as the creation of every thing in six ordinary days is supposed to exhibit in a higher degree the power of God. But this is a mistake incident to finite minds. To execute a work in accordance with established laws, using what we call secondary agencies, advancing, step by step, through long periods to the great consummation, is quite as much an act of God as if the whole were performed in a moment. The slow changes which are now taking place in the earth—so slow that centuries are necessary to interpret them—accomplished through the agency of physical forces, are as truly and literally God's acts as those which spoke matter into being. We do greatly err and deceive ourselves by allowing laws to usurp in our minds the place of the Lawgiver, when they are but modes in which He operates, and always imply His personal presence. Many reject this view as belittling to God; because it represents Him as always at work, and, of course, enjoying no dignified leisure! Rest for the weak and the weary is indeed sweet; *but rest for God!* Shame on thee, O man, that thou shouldst make *thyself* the standard for thy Deity! The Divine Being did complete His great work of preparing the earth for man in six periods, and thus taught to man the necessity of repose for *him* on every returning seventh day. But it is a very grave error to reason from ourselves back to Deity, and thus make our nature and our necessities the standard of His. We thus reduce the Supreme to our own level, and remove from our contemplation that exalted standard which ever solicits the mind onward and upward. Indeed, the human mind never reaches its loftiest conceptions till it ceases to dismiss the Almighty unceremoniously from His works, and constantly recognizes in them the measured tread of His footsteps, unceasing, unfaltering, from eternity to eternity.

Whatever interpretation of the word day may be finally adopted, it will not affect our recognition of the Divine agency in creation. The operations are not less important or sublime by being prolonged through unnumbered ages. By admitting a long period to properly represent each day's progress, there is developed a correspondence between the two histories of the earth—one from Genesis, the other from Geology—which, to say the least, is very remarkable; and the wonder deepens when it is considered that the statements are phenomenal, though the events were witnessed only by the Divine Being. Will it be thought strange if the great generalizations of modern times in regard to the formation of planets and changes in them, should be found to be embodied substantially in Genesis? And will the statement be thought strange that Geology, amid all the follies imposed on her by friends and foes, is slowly, but with giant strength, constructing an argument for the Divine Authorship of the Bible, which will leave little or nothing to be desired? The moral argument in behalf of Revelation is already complete. The purity and sublimity of its doctrines and laws, the response which every Christian heart utters to its truths, are proofs invulnerable to every assault. They can not be strengthened, except by the intellect becoming stronger and the affections purer, so as to apprehend the truths more clearly. The only weak point in the evidence now is on the scientific and historical side. In clearing up these points, it is hoped, this article may afford some aid, by inculcating true views of the nature of the scientific statements in the Bible, and by supplying a general rule for their interpretation. The application of this rule would have saved the Church of Rome from a blot she can never wipe out. She not only set her authority above Scripture, but above Science; and refused to refer questions in the latter to the only umpire which could settle them, and denied to the great book of Nature the privilege to speak for itself. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, Bruno, a Dominican, taught the doctrine of a plurality of worlds and the rotation of the earth on its axis; and, when charged with heresy, defended himself on the ground that the Scriptures were not designed to teach science but morals only. His defense itself was pronounced a heresy, and for these and other opinions he was burned at Rome in February, 1600.

Twice, in the first thirty-three years of the seventeenth century, was Galileo compelled to abjure the heliocentric system of astronomy. Both of these distinguished men saw the truth that the Bible was not intended to teach Science, but they failed to perceive that phenomenal language was its glory, not its shame, and that the Scriptures could not properly, or even possibly, use any other upon scientific subjects.

If the position taken in this article be true, then explanations of scientific topics, phenomenally expressed, must be sought for in the Natural World. The explanations, whatever they may be, partial or complete, fixed in their terms or changing with every advance in knowledge, can not affect the phenomenal language of the Bible. Its mode of statement throws it entirely out of the field of dispute concerning secondary causes of scientific phenomena. Its phenomenal language lifts the Book, as to its Science, above all the changes through which the earth and its inhabitants may pass. Science may advance—the faster the better for the Bible—or it may decline, but its aspect, as presented in the Word, shall still abide in all its simplicity and beauty.

We have no apology to make for its phenomenal statements, but demand for them that homage which all candid minds yield to great excellences. The Bible is not only acquitted of imperfection, but stands credited, by the use of this language, with a profound knowledge of the mental constitution of man, of its law of progress, and of the future history of the race.

The time is, perhaps, not far distant when the work of defense shall be closed; when all minds, dazzled by the light which gleams from its pages, shall yield an affectionate or forced assent to its claims, and when no human being will have the effrontery to step forth and challenge the character of that blessed Book.

ART. II.—*The Borrowing of Jewels from the Egyptians.*

THERE are three passages in the Scriptures—two of them prospective, and the third historic—in which this transaction is referred to; and as we propose to discuss the subject somewhat extensively, it is proper that they should be fully cited at the outset. They are the following:

1. Jehovah, in appointing Moses as his Legate to Pharaoh, says to him, "And I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go, no, not by a mighty hand. And I will stretch out my hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in the midst thereof: and after that he will let you go. *And I will give this people favor in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty:* but every woman shall *borrow* of her neighbor, and of her that sojourneth in her house, *jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment:* and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters: *and ye shall spoil the Egyptians.*"—Exod. iii: 19, 22.

2. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Yet will I bring one plague more upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: *when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether. Speak now in the ears of the people, and let every man borrow of his neighbor, and every woman of her neighbor, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold. And the Lord gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians.* Moreover, the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people."—Exod. xi: 1–3.

3. "*And the children of Israel went away, and did as the Lord had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.* And it came to pass, that at midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh, that sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the first-born of cattle. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians: and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not one dead. And he called for Moses and Aaron, by night, and said, Rise up, and get ye forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go,

serve the LORD, as ye have said. Also take your flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone: and bless me also. *And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead men.* And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading troughs being bound up in their clothes, upon their shoulders. *And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment; and the Lord gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them such things as they required, and they spoiled the Egyptians.*"—Exod. xii: 28–36.*

The Psalmist also refers to the same matter, as follows: "He smote also all the first-born in their land, the chief of all their strength. *He brought them forth also with silver and gold;* and there was not one feeble person among their tribes. *Egypt was glad when they departed; for the fear of them fell upon them.*"—Ps. cv: 36–38.

We have not the requisite facilities for tracing out and ascertaining precisely the meaning of our term *borrow*, at the time when our present translation of the Scriptures was made. The word is derived from the Saxon *borgian*, but the latitude of its usage, at the time referred to, is not sufficiently known to us to warrant our expressing an opinion thereupon; though we find the Hebrew term, which is thus rendered, in the forecited passages, translated by "*Aske*," in the previously existing Geneva Bible; and also in Barker's Bible, which was published in 1615. The terms could hardly have been considered equivalent. And whatever the then existing reasons, which may have induced our translators to prefer the former term, their course in so doing appears to us as unaccountable, as the ren-

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* The word translated *jewels*, in these passages, is a term of much more general signification. It is often rendered "vessel." "The vessel of a potter"—Ps. ii: 9; Jer. xix: 11. *Vessel* of earth—Levit. xi: 33. Vessels of the temple—Ezra, i: 7; and even sailing vessel, "vessels of bulrushes"—Is. xviii: 2. It often is used also in the sense of *instruments*. Instruments of death, Ps. vii: 14. Instruments of wrath, Is. xiii: 5. Instruments of music, 2 Chron. xxxiv: 12. Harp instrument, Ps. lxxi: 22 (rendered Psaltery). Also furniture, (rendered *stuff*), Gen. xxxi: 37, and xlv: 20. Also *weapons* of hunting and of war, Gen. xxvii: 3, and Judges, xviii: 11, 16. In the forecited passages from Exodus, Gesenius renders it "*vessels* of gold and silver."

dering itself is incapable of being sustained by any view, which it seems possible to take, of the actual facts in the case.

The radical meaning of the term *borrow*, in its now existing usage, is *to obtain any thing from another by his own consent, for the purpose of using it for a time, and then of returning it.* The obligation of such return, either of the thing itself, or of its equivalent in value, is always, and necessarily, implied in the transaction. And so, too, in regard to the reciprocal term *to lend.* It is, as Webster remarks, "To grant to another, for temporary use, on the express or implied condition that the thing, or its equivalent, shall be returned." And this meaning of the term being attached to it in the passages above quoted, has become a constant source of perplexity to Christians, and a ground for scoffing to Infidels. The question then arises, and it is a serious and important one: Is the English term *borrow* the equivalent of the Hebrew term which it is employed to translate?—to this extent, at least, that this too may convey the idea of *obtaining, with the expressed or understood obligation of returning?* We prefer to state the question in these decided terms, and so as to throw upon us the entire burden of proof, for we shall so endeavor to state all the facts in the case, as to enable the unlearned reader (not less than the learned and critical) to give an intelligent decision respecting them; and to say whether the Hebrew word can be fairly and properly translated by our English terms *to borrow* and *to lend.* For if the term has no such meaning, then, both the perplexity of the Christian and the scoffs of the Infidel are without foundation.

Our position, which covers the whole ground, and which we think can be fully maintained, is, that while the Hebrews (as other nations) had a variety of terms by which to express the idea contained in our English word *borrow*, and its reciprocal term *lend*, the word so translated in the aforesaid passages from Exodus (שָׁאַל *to ask, to demand*), was not one of those terms. Nor is it the word which our translators have rendered by these and other kindred terms in most other passages in the Old Testament. We trust our readers will exercise a little patience with us while we endeavor to exhibit the facts in the case.

Unless I err, the following are the only instances in which the terms therewith specified are employed in our translation of the Old Testament:

Borrow—Exod. iii: 22, and xi: 2, and xxii: 14 (Heb. 13), Deut. xv: 6, and xxviii: 12, 44; 2 Kings iv: 3.

Borrowed—Exod. xii: 35; 2 Kings vi: 5; Neh. v: 4.

Borrower—Prov. xxii: 7; Isa. xxiv: 2.

Borroweth—Ps. xxxvii: 21.

Lend—Exod. xii: 36, and xxii: 25; Levit. xxv: 37; Deut. xv: 6, 8, and xxiii: 20, 21 (Heb. 19, 20), and xxiv: 10, 11, and xxviii: 12, 44.

Lender—Prov. xxii: 7; Isa. xxiv: 2.

Lendeth—Ps. xxxvii: 26, and cxii: 5; Prov. xix: 17; Deut. xv: 2, 6, 8.

We shall omit, for the present, any remarks on the term employed in the forequoted passages from Exodus, in order to consider the other terms and their usages.

The word primarily containing the idea of *borrow* and *lend* (in the English sense of the terms), is לָוָה, as we shall show presently. Then there are two other words, נָשָׁה and נָשָׁא, which are also occasionally employed to convey the same idea, but which, as Gesenius remarks, are distinguished from the former, on the ground that these include the idea of *interest*, which the former does not. Other terms employed, though more rarely, in the same connection are, עָבַט, *to charge;* used in the sense of *borrowing upon a pledge given;* and נָשַׁךְ, *to bite* as a serpent, *to vex, to oppress;* employed in the sense of *exacting interest or usury:* and נֶשֶׁךְ, *interest, usury*, imposed or exacted. We shall consider all these terms in their relation to the subject.

The only instances in which שָׁאַל (though employed a great number of times in the Old Testament) has been rendered *borrow* or *lend*, are the following: Exod. iii: 22, and xi: 2, and xii: 35, 36, and a few others; to all of which we shall call attention presently.

As to לָוָה, which is simply to *borrow* and *lend*, the idea of interest not being included, it is translated by these terms and their derivatives in the following passages:

Deut. xxviii: 12, "Thou shalt *lend* to nations, and thou shalt not *borrow*."

Deut. xxviii: 44, "He shall *lend* to thee, and thou shalt not *lend* to him."

Neh. v: 4, "We have *borrowed* money upon our lands and vineyards."

Prov. xxii: 7, "The *borrower* is servant to the *lender*."

Is. xxiv: 2, "As with *lender*, so with *borrower*."

Ps. xxxvii: 21, "The wicked *borroweth* and payeth not again."

Exod. xxii: 25, "If thou *lend* money to any of my people that is poor," etc.

Ps. xxxvii: 26, "He is ever merciful and *lendeth*."

Ps. cxii: 5, "A good man sheweth favor and *lendeth*."

Prov. xix: 17, "He that hath pity on the poor *lendeth* to the Lord."

In all these instances (fourteen in number), except two, the Septuagint version renders the Hebrew term by δανείζω, which is employed likewise in Matt. v: 42, and Luke vi: 34, 35. The two instances in which this word is not, as stated above, employed by the LXX, are the following: Ex. xxii: 25, (24,) where ἐκδανείζω is used, and Ps. cxii: 5, where κίχρᾰώ (from χρᾰ́ω, from which χρῆσον, in Luke xi: 5—"Friend, *I have need* of three loaves,") is employed.

In the foregoing instances, however, δανείζω does not seem to represent fairly the Hebrew term which it is employed to translate. For it (and ἐκδανείζω likewise) not only means *to lend*, but in preponderating instances of its usage, to *lend on interest*, and also at *usurious interest*, while its middle form, δανείζομαι, means not only *to borrow*, but *to borrow on interest*; though the term from which the word is derived (δάνος) means a *gift* or *present*, as well as a *loan*, and *loan at interest*.

This, then, is the word by which the Hebrews, in the main, expressed the idea conveyed by our English terms, *to borrow* and *lend*. And this meaning flows naturally from the primitive acceptation of the word, which is, as Gesenius has illustrated, *to fold*, *to wreathe*; and second, to join oneself to any one; and hence, third, to borrow, that is, to bind oneself to another; and hence, in Hiphil, to bind to oneself, *to lend*, as he that hath compassion on the poor becomes, thereby, a *lender* to the Lord. But when the idea of usury, or interest, was associated with borrowing and lending, they expressed that idea by one of the following terms:

נָשָׁה to loan, either on interest or usury. The primitive idea, as Gesenius remarks, may be that of *delay*, *giving time*, or

to defer, according to the sense of the Arabic term. It is employed to convey the idea of lending money or other things, often on a *pledge* (Deut. xxiv: 11), and on *interest* (Jer. xv: 10.) We add here a few instances of both its verbal and participial use. And our readers will bear in mind, in perusing them, that with the ancient Hebrews not only lending on usury, but even receiving interest for money loaned, was regarded as sordid, aggressive and disgraceful (a fact which, singularly enough, has become proverbially reversed amongst their descendants); and hence we find it adverted to not only by the employment of such terms as the one now before us, but in others, which express this idea with great severity, as we shall briefly show presently.

"When thou dost *lend* thy brother any thing, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge. Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost *lend* shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee. And if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge," etc.—Deut. xxiv: 10–12.

"If thou lend תַּלְוֶה money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him *as a usurer* כְּנֹשֶׁה, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury."—Exod. xxii: 25, (24.)

"I likewise, and my brethren, and my servants, *might exact* (נֹשִׁים *have lent*) of them money and corn; I pray you let us leave off this usury."—Neh. v: 10.

"I have neither *lent on usury*, nor men have *lent to me on usury;* yet every one of them doth curse me."—Jer. xv: 10.

"Which of my *creditors* is it to whom I have sold you?"—Is. l: 1.

"Let the *extortioner* catch all that he hath."—Ps. cix: 11.

"The *creditor* is come to take unto him my two sons as bondmen."—2 Kings iv: 1.

"Every creditor that *lendeth* aught unto his neighbor."—Deut. xv: 2.

Such, too, is the import and usage of the kindred term נָשָׁא. (See 1 Sam. xxii: 2). "Every man who had a *creditor*." (Also Is. xxiv: 2.) In Hiphil it means *to exact*, and tropically *to vex* as a creditor. "The enemy shall not *exact* upon him, nor the son of wickedness afflict him."—Ps. lxxxix: 22, (23.)

The term עָבַט has likewise a similar usage. Its primitive sense is *to change*, *to exchange*, and then *to give a pledge*, that is,

for any thing borrowed, which, as Gesenius remarks, lies in the idea of exchange. Hence, to borrow upon a pledge given (Deut. xv: 6), and in Hiphil, *to lend upon a pledge* (Deut. xv: 6, 8.)

The same may be expressed, also, by נָשַׁךְ, but which conveys, more strongly than any of the others, the idea that the transaction which it expresses is dishonorable and detestable. It is employed to express the idea of biting like a serpent (Gen. xlix: 17; Numb. xxi: 6–9; Prov. xxiii: 32; Eccles. x: 11); and tropically to ravage and destroy, as a false prophet (Micah iii: 5), and hence, first, *to vex, to oppress*, as in Hab. ii: 7; and second, *lending on usury*. In Hiphil it has the sense of *taking usury, exacting-interest*, Deut. xxiii: 20, (21.)

נֶשֶׁךְ *usury, interest*, is derived from the same term, and is used in such connections as the following: "He that by *usury* and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor." (Prov. xxviii: 8.) "He that putteth not out his money to *usury*." (Ps. xv: 5.) (See also Ezek. xviii: 8–13.) Also to impose *usury*, or exact it (Exod. xxii: 24), and to take it from any one (Levit. xxv: 36, 37; Ezek. xviii: 17, and xxii: 12.)

The foregoing series of terms, unless I err, fully presents the Hebrew method of expressing the ideas of *borrowing* and *lending* in the English sense of those terms, and if I mistake not, exhibits all the instances of such usage except the following, in which שָׁאַל is employed (Exod. iii: 22, and xi: 2, and xii: 35, 36; and xxii: 14; 1 Sam. i: 28, and ii: 20; 2 Kings iv: 3, and vi: 5,) and as these are the instances which have been adduced as justifying the attempt to attribute the aforesaid meaning to this term, we shall give them a somewhat thorough consideration. But let us first proceed to examine the word itself.

The term, in its primary sense, as Gesenius has shown,* means *to dig, to excavate, to hollow out* (hence שְׁאוֹל Hades), and from the idea of digging comes readily that of *searching out, exploring, inquiring*. Hence, also, the secondary sense, *to*

* The references to the Lexicon of Gesenius, throughout this article, are made from Dr. Robinson's Translation, the original work not being accessible to the writer.

ask, to inquire, to ask for, either by way of demand or entreaty. That is,

1. *To ask* in the sense of inquiring of, or interrogating; and it is highly important to notice in the connection that such is the meaning exactly of the corresponding Chaldaic term, while that of the Arabic is *to interrogate, to ask, to beg;* and the Ethiopic in its two corresponding terms, *to demand, to ask, to beg.* We advert to the point as to the meaning of the term in these ancient kindred tongues as an important one, which will be readily conceded, and therefore present our readers with the facts, not as ascertained by us, but as stated by Gesenius, the greatest of all the Oriental lexicographers. In none of these languages does the word, in its primary and true sense, convey the idea which is conveyed by לָוָה, נָשָׁה, etc., or by our English terms to *borrow* and *lend*—that is, the granting or receiving of any thing under the implied or expressed obligation of returning either the thing itself, or its equivalent, or interest upon it.

The following examples may illustrate the usage aforesaid:

"Then shalt thou inquire, and make search, and *ask diligently.*"—Deut. xiii: 14, (15.)

"And I *asked* her and said, whose daughter art thou?"—Gen. xxiv: 47.

"When Esau, my brother, meeteth thee and *asketh* thee."—Gen. xxxii: 17, (18.)

"My Lord *asked* his servants, saying," etc.—Gen. xliv: 19.

"*Ask* thy father, and he will shew thee."—Deut. xxxii: 7.

"When any man doth come and *inquire* of thee."—Judges iv: 20.

"And when the king *asked* the woman, she told him."—2 Kings viii: 6.

"And I *asked* them concerning the Jews that had escaped."—Neh. i: 2.

From this usage naturally arises that of *consulting* or *inquiring*, as at an oracle; or of the Lord; as in Deut. xviii: 11, "an *inquirer* of familiar spirits," one who inquires of or consults them. Judges i: 1, "The children of Israel *inquired* of Jehovah;" a sense in which the term very often occurs. Hence, too, it is employed in the sense of asking or inquiring after one's health. "And he *inquired* as to their welfare."—Gen.

xliii: 27. (See, also, Exod. xviii: 7; Judges xviii: 15, and 2 Sam. viii: 10.)

2. *To ask for.* First, in the sense of *requiring* or *demanding*, as in the following instances out of very many:

"And God said, *Ask* what I shall give thee."—1 Kings iii: 5.

"And Elijah said unto Elisha, *Ask* what I shall do for thee." 2 Kings ii: 9.

"*Ask* of me, and I shall give thee the heathen," etc.—Ps. ii: 8.

"Burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not *required*." Ps. xl: 6, (7.)

"They tempted God in their heart by *asking* meat for their lust."—Ps. lxxviii: 18.

"They *asked* and he brought quails."—Ps. cv: 40.

"They that carried us away captive, *required* of us a song." Ps. cxxxvii: 3.

"*Ask* thee a sign of the Lord thy God. . . . . But Ahaz said, I will not *ask*, neither will I tempt the Lord."—Isa. vii: 11, 12.

"The prince and the judge *ask* for a reward."—Micah vii: 3.

Second, *to ask* in the sense of *entreating*, *soliciting*, *begging*, as in the following:

"What doth the Lord thy God *require* of thee but to fear," etc.—Deut. x: 12.

"According to all that thou *desiredst* of the Lord thy God in Horeb."—Deut. xviii: 16.

"He *asked* water, and she gave him milk."—Judges v: 25.

"And Gideon said unto them, I would *desire a request* of you."—Judges viii: 24.

"Hannah bare a son, and called his name Samuel, saying, Because *I have asked* him of the Lord."—1 Sam. i: 20.

"He gave unto the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she *asked*."—1 Kings x: 13.

"He *asked* life of thee and thou gavest it him."—Ps. xxi: 4, (5.)

"One thing have I *desired* of the Lord, that will I seek after."—Ps. xxvii: 4. (See, also, 1 Kings ii: 20–22, and iii: 10–13; and 2 Chron. i: 11.)

We ask the special attention of our readers to this *usus*

loquendi of the word, since it is from the stand-point of this usage that Gesenius, and other lexicographers, have attempted to show that by an easy gradation the word may also signify *to borrow and lend*. Gesenius, in fact, proceeds to give this as its next meaning; and to sustain him herein, he quotes the forecited passages from Exodus (Exod. iii : 22, xi : 2, and xii : 35); and 1 Sam. i : 28; 2 Kings vi : 5; and 1 Sam. ii : 20; and further on alleges that in Hiphil the word means *to loan, to lend*, referring in proof to Exod. xii : 36, and 1 Sam. i : 28, and gives this as the second sense of the derivative שְׁאֵלָה. He refers, also, in illustration, to the Syriac term, and also to Rabbinic usage. We shall attend to all these matters presently.

The term is used likewise in the sense of *to ask alms, to beg*.—Prov. xx : 4. In *Niphal* it means *to ask for oneself, to ask leave*.—1 Sam. xx : 6, and Neh. xiii : 6. In *Piel* it means *to ask, to interrogate*.—2 Sam. xx : 18; and *to beg*, Ps. cix : 10.

These, then, are the well ascertained uses of the term. The idea of *lend* and *borrow*, in the English sense of these words, is not, we are thoroughly persuaded, to be found in connection with its use any-where in the Bible; and especially in the forecited passages from Exodus, to which Gesenius refers as giving this sense to the term. But a knowledge of the fact that many of the ablest scholars have always denied that the word here means *borrow* (that is, implying an obligation to return the thing borrowed or its equivalent), should have induced any recent lexicographer to institute a thorough exegesis of the passages in which it has been presumed to convey this meaning, before citing them in support of such an allegation. But Gesenius does not appear to have done this (as we think will appear from an examination of them); but his theological sympathies were not such as would have forbidden him to take the matter for granted on mere report. And hence his strange reference in support of his allegation, to the Syriac term, which is of little account in settling a question as to *early* Hebrew usage; and his stranger reference for the same purpose to Rabbinical usage: which is about as rational as it would be to cite the *usus loquendi* of the monks of the middle ages, in order to settle questions as to classical usage.

The ground on which Gesenius and others have been led to attach such a meaning to the term is obviously this: The

word is found frequently employed when alms are solicited, or leave of absence from a superior; or when petitioning in prayer; in all of which a return, or response, or grant of the thing solicited, is obviously expected by the petitioner. But the idea herein involved, is radically distinct and different from the one aforesaid; for in none of those instances is there implied, on the part of the one solicited, the *obligation* to make or grant such a return; except in a case where he, himself, may have authorized the demand to be made upon him, and so justified the expectation of a return. And this sense, therefore, we repeat it, Gesenius has superadded to the term without authority; or, at least, without sufficient reason, if we are to take the passages which he has cited as furnishing his reasons for so explaining it.

In treating the subject, we shall omit, for the present, the discussion of the passages cited in the beginning of this article; since the question is as to the meaning of the term in those passages themselves. The other passages cited by Gesenius are 1 Sam. i: 28, and ii: 20, and 2 Kings vi: 5. And we shall now proceed to examine these, and also a couple of others, in which the word has been similarly rendered by our translators.

The first of these passages is 1 Sam. i: 28, and we here cite it in its proper connection, as given in our English translation: "And she (the mother of Samuel) said, O my lord, as thy soul liveth, my lord, I am the woman that stood by thee here, praying unto the LORD. For this child I prayed; and the LORD hath given me my petition which I asked of him; therefore, also, I have *lent* him to the LORD; as long as he liveth he shall be *lent* to the Lord."—1 Sam. 1: 26–28.

The meaning of the term *lend* in English usage we have already explained. It is, to grant to another for temporary use, on the express or implied condition that the thing or its equivalent shall be returned. And we need only ask our readers whether such a sense is possible here? Did Hannah loan her son to the Lord *all the days of his life*, on the condition that he should be returned to her? To state the question is to answer it. The thought is wholly inconceivable and inadmissible. And if so, can the word "lent" here be a proper translation of the Hebrew term? Such a sense is clearly out of the question. And, as Gesenius has tacitly conceded that the word

is here employed in the same sense as in Exod. xii: 36, it is perfectly legitimate to conclude that no such sense should be attached to it in that passage. The "lending" was not, in either case, with any expressed or implied obligation of returning; and hence the term *lend* is alike equally inappropriate in both cases. A literal rendering of this last passage will make the sense perfectly clear. "For this child I earnestly prayed; and the Lord hath granted (וַיִּתֵּן) to me my petition, which I have petitioned of Him. (שְׁאֵלָתִי אֲשֶׁר שָׁאַלְתִּי מֵעִמּוֹ.) And hence I have presented him (הִשְׁאִלְתִּיהוּ) to the Lord. All the days which he may live he is presented (שָׁאוּל) to the Lord."

The use of the term, therefore, in this passage, so far from proving the point in support of which Gesenius adduces it, makes directly against him. And if he really did examine the passage and the usage of the term, as therein presented, it is impossible to imagine on what principle he could have cited it in support of his hypothesis.

His next citation in support of that hypothesis is from 1 Sam. ii: 20: "And Eli blessed Elkanah and his wife, and said, The LORD give thee seed of this woman for *the loan which is lent* (הַשְּׁאֵלָה אֲשֶׁר שָׁאַל) to the LORD." The event here referred to is the same with that in the preceding citation. Elkanah had united with his wife in this heart-felt consecration of their son to the service of the Lord through all his life. It was a heart-felt, life-long consecration. The term *lend*, therefore, in its true significance, can here have no application. For there existed no expressed or implied obligation on the part of the Lord to return what was thus "*loaned*" Him; and neither could Elkanah nor Hannah have expected any such return, since the "loan" was made during the whole life-time of the person "loaned." Here, too, the authority adduced by Gesenius decides directly against his hypothesis; for in no sense can the meaning of the Hebrew words here employed be expressed by the English terms *loan* and *lent*. The idea is simply that of a *presentation* to the Lord.

The only passage besides these which Gesenius adduces as furnishing such a sense of the term, is 2 Kings vi: 5. We shall present it likewise in its connection. The sons of the prophets who were attending upon the instructions of Elisha,

had found it necessary to enlarge their dwelling. They obtained permission of him to go down to the Jordan to procure timber for this purpose, and he being requested to do so, accompanied them. "But as one of them was felling a beam, the ax-head fell into the water; *and he cried, and said, Alas, master! for it was borrowed.* And the man of God said, Where fell it? And he shewed him the place. And he cut down a stick, and cast it in thither; and the iron did swim. Therefore said he, Take it up to thee. And he put out his hand, and took it" (vi: 5–7.)

Here the same participle (שָׁאוּל) is employed which is found in 1 Sam. i: 28, above quoted, and it is a mere unauthorized assumption to suppose it to be employed in this latter instance in a sense different from the former. In that instance, as we have shown, the sense of *borrow* or *lend*, according to the English meaning of the terms, is clearly out of the question, and inadmissible. On what ground, then, is such a meaning to be attached to the term in the instance before us? There is nothing in the word itself to indicate any thing of the kind, and the narrative contains not the slightest clue to any reason which would require it. The following is the whole of the clause in which the word is found: וַיִּצְעַק וַיֹּאמֶר אַהָהּ אֲדֹנָי וְהוּא שָׁאוּל, and there is nothing to hinder its being rendered, "And he cried, and said, *Alas, master! and it was sought after.* And the man of God asked, Where fell it?" etc.: or, "Alas, master! for it was presented;" that is, it was a present or gift. The Jewish translators render it, "*Ω Κύριου, καὶ αὐτὸ κεχρυμμένον.*" "Alas, master! and it was hidden;" that is, had sunk out of view in deep water. Either of these renderings can be justified on better grounds than that of our English version; and, of course, there is no real ground on which to claim it as yielding the sense which Gesenius has here ascribed to it. Let the word here have the meaning that it has in the other passage above cited, and the idea that the ax had been loaned or borrowed, in the English sense of the term, can not be entertained for a moment.

It is true that ו may be rendered, as our translators have rendered it, in the very unusual sense of *for* (or *because of*), before a clause which specifies a *cause* or *reason*. But, in our

translation of the passage, what is there that is to be understood as really causal? "Alas, master! for it was borrowed." That the expression, "Alas, master!" was uttered by the young man, is clear; but are the remaining words to be attributed to him, as they often are? or to the historian? If to him, then, of course, they are, according to this rendering, to be regarded as assigning the cause or reason of his exclamation, "Alas, master!" If to the historian, then we are to understand him as assigning that cause, and gravely informing us that the ax had been borrowed. This latter supposition will, we think, hardly be entertained; and the phrase as translated, therefore, must be attributed to the young man, as assigning the reason for his outcry to Elisha. It is certainly true that the commendable conscientiousness which this would evince on his part, might well be held up to the borrowers of books and of other things in our day, as worthy of high consideration. But, still the question returns, were not the circumstances of the case sufficient to account for the exclamation without any such hypothesis? Axes in those days were not abundant, and were valuable. And this youth, by being deprived of his, must not only suffer the actual loss of it, but be thereby deprived of the privilege of aiding in the work which they were all desirous of completing. And then, moreover, the loss to him could be no greater in the one case than in the other; for, if borrowed, all he had to do was to replace it by another. The supposition, therefore, that it was borrowed, explains nothing, and assigns no stronger reason for his address to the Prophet than the supposition that it was not borrowed; but let the words have their obvious and native sense, as we have expressed it above, and there will be no occasion for introducing into the history any hypothesis as to whether or not the ax was borrowed. We have expressed that sense above. But as the passive participle in Kal of intransitive verbs (as well as in some that are transitive), has an active signification, the passage may with strict propriety be rendered: "And he cried out and said, Alas, master! And he was seeking *it*. And the man of God said, Where fell it? And he shewed him the place," etc. Such is, as it appears to us, the true sense of the passage, while the other rendering has nothing whatever to support it.

These passages, together with those which we have in the

beginning of this article quoted from Exodus, are all that Gesenius has cited in support of his attempt to assign the aforesaid meaning to the word in question; and so far are they from yielding any support to the attempt to assign such a meaning to those passages in Exodus, that wherever the sense is unmistakably brought out by the connection, they decide peremptorily against every attempt of the kind. There are two other passages, however, not cited by Gesenius, in which the word is so rendered by our translators; and these we shall now proceed to consider. They are the following:

"And if a man borrow aught of his neighbor, and it be hurt, or die, the owner thereof being not with it, he shall surely make it good. But if the owner thereof be with it, he shall not make it good: if it be a hired thing, it came for his hire."—Ex. xxii: 14, 15 (13, 14.)

The principle of equity underlying this enactment is very obvious and simple: If a man hire an instrument or an animal, and harm befalls them, or the animal dies on his hands, he must make it good; but if he hire the owner together with either the one or the other, the owner himself is responsible for the death or breakage—for the instrument or animal goes with the hire of the owner; that is, it is taken into the account with his hire. The person who hires the man with his instrument or beast, is, in such a case, no more responsible for the harm which befalls them, than he would be for the harm which might befall the owner himself.

The transaction here referred to is obviously of the character which may be designated by the term *hiring;* and the proper rendering would consequently be, "If a man *hire* aught of his neighbor;" the word שָׂכַר, *to hire*, being, in this instance, really exegetical of שָׁאַל. The inadequate rendering, however, of the last clause of the passage really obscures the true sense of it. It should be rendered, "But if the owner thereof be with it he shall not make it good. *Behold it was hired—it came with his own hire:*" that is, it was included therein. The words are, אִם-שָׂכִיר הוּא בָּא בִּשְׂכָרוֹ. And that אִם is here used in its primitive and native sense as a demonstrative, is sufficiently plain from the passage itself. For, in the first place, the service referred to as rendered by the owner, or obtained from his animal or instrument, was in consequence not of a com-

pulsory, but voluntary arrangement. Every statement in the passage shows this to be the fact. Was it then gratuitous? Our English version, by its rendering of the aforesaid clause, seems to imply that it might be, for it supplies a condition: "*If* it were hired, it came with his hire." But this is plainly absurd, since he was not to make it good in any case, if the owner were along with it, and thus the supplied condition is made to cover only half the case which it necessarily supposes, while the clause itself is designed to cover the whole case. And then, further: "*If* it was hired," it, of course, came with his hire; and if injured, it was not to be made good. But if it were *not* hired, and did not come along with his hire (as this supplied condition supposes might by possibility be the case), and yet was brought out of pure benevolence by the man who had been hired, how then would stand the obligation for replacement in case of injury? And we suppose the answer would be, that it must stand in this case just as it stood in the other—the owner alone being responsible for the mishap, and having no claim on his employer for restitution. But, admitting this, we would merely ask, why suppose, as our translation here does, that a condition is supplied in the one case, when both cases stand in relation to the matter precisely upon a parallel? The Word of God never utters itself in any such style as that; and when it is apparently made to give forth such an utterance, it is only from a sheer misapprehension of its true sense; and so in the case before us. There is no condition supplied by the words employed, but a fact stated; and that fact is, "Behold it was hired—it came with his hire."

The only remaining passage to be examined in the connection is, 2 Kings iv: 3, which we shall likewise quote in connection with a portion of the context. "And there cried a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets unto Elisha, saying, Thy servant my husband is dead; and thou knowest that thy servant did fear the Lord: and the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen. And Elisha said unto her, What shall I do for thee? tell me, what hast thou in the house? And she said, Thine handmaid hath not any thing in the house, save a pot of oil. Then he said, *Go, borrow thee vessels abroad of all thy neighbors, even empty vessels; borrow not a few.* And when thou art come in, thou shalt shut the door

upon thee and upon thy sons, and shalt pour out into all those vessels, and thou shalt set aside that which is full." And she did so, and filled all the vessels. "Then she came and told the man of God. And he said, Go, sell the oil, and pay thy debt, and live thou and thy children of the rest"—v. 1–7.

Our translators have here (in v. 3) used the word *borrow* twice, though שְׁאַל is therein used but once; and the second clause is simply "*lent not.*" And admitting that לִשְׁאֹל may properly be understood after מְעַט, the translation of that term should have been printed in *italics.* But the injunction of Elisha to the woman is simply, "*Go ask for, go procure* all the empty vessels you can obtain of your neighbors;" and the ground on which they were to be procured he does not prescribe, and says nothing about. She might purchase them under promise of payment; or hire them; or obtain them as a gift on asking; or as a loan; or even in all these ways: for where she failed in the attempt to purchase of a neighbor, she might obtain as a gift, or as a loan; and when she failed on these grounds, she might hire. Elisha prescribes to her no mode of procuring them, but leaves that with herself; he simply enjoins her to go and *ask* her neighbors for them on whatever terms they might be procured. She was known to be a God-fearing woman, and her promise to pay for what she might purchase or hire was quite as satisfactory to them, as her promise to return what she might borrow; for, in neither case, was it supposable that she would promise without sufficient ground to justify it. To render שְׁאַל, therefore, by *borrow*, is to make him prescribe what he does not prescribe, and to restrict the meaning of his injunction where he has not restricted it. And this is inadmissible. The term, therefore, in this place has no such sense as *borrow.*

We are now prepared to take up the forecited passages from Exodus (iii: 22, and xi: 2, and xii: 35, 36), which are, unless I err, the only remaining instances in which the term is rendered by *borrow* and *lend* in the English translation; and they are moreover cited by Gesenius as justifying his attempt to attach that meaning to the word.

The transaction referred to is, as we have seen, commemorated in a song of praise to God (Ps. cv: 36–38), and it was, more-

over, the subject of a promise made to Abraham four hundred and thirty years before. God said to Abraham: "And also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; *and afterward shall they come out with great substance*"—Gen. xv: 14. This, of course, does not exclude their flocks and herds, though it primarily does refer to this *spoiling of the Egyptians*. For the promise which God made to Moses at the outset was, "And it shall come to pass, that *when ye go, ye shall not go empty;*" which is explained by the subsequent phrase, "*And ye shall spoil the Egyptians;*" and then there are other apparent references to it as an illustration. As *e. g.* Prov. xiii: 22; Eccles. ii: 26; and, perhaps, Job xxvii: 16, 17, all tending further to show that God prompted and approved the act, as the history itself declares.

As to the meaning of שָׁאַל, in the passages referred to, the facts stated in the historical narrative, in connection with the use of that word, are of such a nature as to forbid, absolutely, its being rendered by our English terms *borrow* and *lend*, even if such were admitted to be one of its ascertained meanings; and how utterly unlexical is it, therefore, to propound the usage of the term in those passages as furnishing the ground upon which such a meaning is to be attributed to it? In no part of the intercourse of Moses and Aaron with Pharaoh is the idea held out, in any form, that the people of Israel, after going forth to serve the Lord, contemplated a return to their galling oppression and bondage. The mission of Moses was to deliver them from that cruel and unrighteous servitude; and so Pharaoh clearly understood it. He entertained not the slightest idea that they contemplated a return. Nor does he appear to have had any idea whither they contemplated removing. They asked to go a distance of three days' journey, to offer a sacrifice and hold a feast to Jehovah; and there, for aught that transpired between him and Moses, they might conclude to remain. At all events, he knew that they contemplated no return to the cruel and oppressive bondage in which he had held them.

And then, on the night they left Egypt, the Egyptians were very urgent to have them leave at once, and unconditionally. In fact, "*they thrust them out;*" and said, "Send them away, or we shall all be slain." They moreover entreated them to be

gone. Nor was there held out, on either side, the slightest intimation or prospect of their return. And the pursuit of them by Pharaoh, early on the following morning, with the view of compelling their return, evinces the change which had taken place in his own mind, and in that of his people, on this point: "And the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants *was turned* (became changed, or perverted, וַיֵּהָפֵךְ) against the people, and they said, *Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?*"—Exod. xiv: 5. This, of course, is decisive. When they were urged to depart, and "were thrust out," all, on both sides, regarded it as a finality.

Now, it was in the very act of their being thus thrust out, and with no desire or expectation on either side of their return; and when the deep and overwhelming impression had been brought flashing upon the mind and conscience of their oppressors, the irresistible conviction that all the terrible calamities which had befallen, or were befalling them, were in consequence of those unrighteous oppressions, that the Israelites *asked* or *required* some recompense, or remuneration, for their long, and severe, and unrequited labors: and it was then and there that the Egyptians complied with this most reasonable demand. The moment was favorable for insisting on their rights, and they embraced it. God had given them their freedom, and had directed that they should, under these very circumstances, demand some compensation for the lengthened toils so cruelly and unjustly imposed. Nothing was more proper than that they should be remunerated; and they *asked* it, and received from their oppressors a small fraction of the immense debt which was justly their due. Such are the facts. And now let any one attempt to associate with this state of things, and with this mutual understanding that the departure from Egypt was a finality, the idea of *borrowing* and *lending* in our English sense of the terms, and he will at once be conscious of the absurdity of the effort, and of the flagrant injustice which has been done to the words of the Holy Spirit, by the attempt to render them in such terms as those.

But this inaccurate and thoughtless rendering has a far more extensive and pernicious sweep in its mischief-dealing power, than the perversion of a single term from its true signification; for, as the skeptic has ever seen with exultation, it tends to

throw suspicion over the whole claim of Moses to a Divine legation. God is about to enact and establish amongst His chosen people those laws and institutions which are to prepare the way for the revelation of His Son as the Redeemer of man, and as God manifest in the flesh; and in those laws and ordinances which He was just on the eve of enacting for this purpose, lying and fraud, and violation of promises, and deception in any and every form, are most strictly prohibited, and denounced under the sanction of severe penalties, and of the actual displeasure of Jehovah Himself. But, according to this attempted rendering of שָׁאַל by *borrow* and *lend*, He prefaces the enactment of these laws and ordinances by requiring His people to obtain the property of the Egyptians under false pretenses: that is, He directs them to obtain, under the promise or implied pledge of restitution, "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold," and so strip them of their property under a pledge of returning it, when they themselves knew that they were never again to re-enter Egypt, and never should have an opportunity to render back what they had thus obtained. But we need not dwell upon so repulsive a feature of the subject. That Gesenius was willing to have this impression fostered, does not surprise us; but that the venerable translators of our admirable English version should have left the matter in such a shape, without any exegetical reason to sustain them, is as surprising as it is deplorable. But let us proceed to the passages themselves. We have quoted them fully at the head of this article, as given in our English version, and therefore need not repeat, formally, the quotation here.

The first passage states simply what God enjoins: "And every woman *shall require* (שְׁאֵלָה) of her neighbor, and of her that *dwells* (כּוּר, see Job xix: 15; LXX. *σύσκηνος*) in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters: *and ye shall spoil the Egyptians.*" The last expression evinces, as we have already intimated, that this requirement on the part of Israel was an act of just retribution upon their oppressors. The promise had been held forth to Abraham more than four hundred years before, that the oppressive servitude of his seed in a strange land should not be always unrequited; and the time had now arrived when the account was to be, at least to

some extent, adjusted. Hence the word נָצַל, in Piel, is here used (see, also, ch. xii: 36) to indicate this fact. Those who had been for so long a period plundering Israel, must now in turn *be spoiled;* and must yield to the righteous demand for a recompense. Herein, too, was fulfilled the promise of God to Moses that the people "*should not depart empty;*" that is, unrequited. The meaning of this phrase may be fully seen by its usage elsewhere. (See Deut. xv: 12–15, respecting the dismission of the Hebrew servant.) And thus God appointed that Israel should be "liberally furnished" when they went forth free.

The next passage is of the same character (Exod xi: 2, 3), except that in it God commands that not only the women, but the men, should make this requirement of the Egyptians: "Speak now in the ears of the people, and let every man require of his neighbor, and every woman of her neighbor, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold. *And the Lord gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians.*" The sense of degradation and inferiority, with which they had been regarded by their oppressors, was now gone. They regarded them in their true character, and were prepared to listen to their demand.

The last passage, or that which presents the historic detail of the transaction, is Exod. xii: 35, 36: "And the children of Israel did according to the *command* of Moses; and they *demanded* of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and the Lord gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they *gave* unto them: and they spoiled the Egyptians."

Such, then, is the sense of these much abused and much misunderstood passages, as shown by the usages of the word itself, and by all the facts of the history. And the opposite meaning, as presented in our translation, is not only opposed to that usage and to those facts, but it has all antiquity against it. We shall cite a single fact illustrative of this, and then conclude our article.

The Greek version of the Scriptures, called the Septuagint, was made by learned men of the Jewish nation, some two centuries before the Christian era, and is the version which our blessed Lord and His Apostles seem to have almost constantly cited in referring to the Scriptures. How, then, did those ancient and intelligent Jews understand the transaction men-

tioned in these passages? and by what term do they express in Greek the word which our English version so unaccountably renders "*borrow?*" The term which they have chosen to represent the true sense of the Hebrew word in those passages, is *αἰτέω*, the meaning of which is, to *desire*, to *seek*, to *require*, to *demand;* and in the middle voice, *to ask a person for any thing.* This, I repeat it, is the word here employed by which to translate the Hebrew term. And that all our readers may perceive how it is used in the Scriptures, I would remark that this same verb is employed in the New Testament *seventy-one times;* and of these seventy-one times it is translated *forty-eight* times by "*ask;*" *fifteen* times by "*desire;*" *four* times by "*require;*" *twice* by "*beg;*" once by "*crave,*" and once by "*call for.*" In no instance does the word mean *borrow*, or *lend*, or any thing like it. It is properly, in fact, the Greek equivalent of שָׁאַל, though Gesenius, who is proverbially fond of introducing from other languages the equivalent or corresponding term of the word he is explaining, is careful not to advert to *αἰτέω* as such, in the instance before us. It would have been fatal to his aforesaid exposition, if he had done so. And a very slight reference to it under one or more of the species of the Hebrew term, is all the allusion that he makes to it.

We are very unwilling to do even the slightest degree of injustice to the memory of this great Hebraist, to whose mighty and successful labors in the department of language, sacred literature is under so many and such high obligations. But, like other men, he was not too great to be above being influenced, more or less, by his prejudices; nor is it at all unlikely that his prejudices against the truth of God in the matter before us, did so operate upon his mind as to blind him to the absurdity of offering the citations he does, in order to justify his attributing to the word before us the meaning of to *borrow* and *lend.* He not only did not believe the Scriptures to be Divinely inspired, but ridiculed the idea; and was in no way desirous to extricate the character of God, or of His servant Moses, from unjust imputations, when those imputations chimed in with his own views and prejudices. The Professor in a Christian University, who, for the purpose of ridiculing the Institutions of Moses, could, in his lecture room, expose to the boisterous laughter of his class, a doll, fantastically attired, as

representing the Jewish High Priest, was not unwilling to have it thought that there was no impropriety in the act; and this infamous procedure Gesenius was guilty of repeatedly. Surpassingly illustrious as he was in the department of lexicography, and deeply and sincerely as we feel our obligations to him, we insist, most emphatically, that his great name and reputation shall not be allowed to give him authority in the decision of questions wherein his inveterate prejudices against the truth of God were plainly in operation, as they were in the case before us, and as all the facts evince.

Some excuse may be pleaded for our English translators, in consideration of the state of Hebrew lexicography two hundred and fifty years ago, though with all the allowance that can be made for them on this ground, the act must be pronounced unjustifiable and unaccountable. Nor can we imagine what can be pleaded in their defense, unless it be the fact that the Bible published by Beck, in 1549, had here rendered the word borrow, (though the Greek version had rendered it, as above stated, by *ask;* and the Latin vulgate by *postulo*, to *require*, or *demand;* and the Geneva Bible, whose renderings they follow, in thousands of instances, by *aske*,) and the fact, moreover, that the pernicious dogmas of the Supralapsarian theology flourished in England somewhat extensively at the time when our translation of the Bible was made. Those dogmas taught that morality is founded in the will, rather than in the moral nature of God; and that, if he saw proper to do so, he could reverse all the requirements of the Decalogue, and make those reversions equally obligatory on the human race. To those who entertained such views, it would certainly appear to be a matter of comparative indifference whether the Hebrew terms, in the passages referred to, were rendered by *ask* and *give*, or by *borrow* and *lend;* since, according to those views, God might require His people to practice deception and fraud on one day, and on the next day prohibit their doing so. And this, we have thought, may, after all, be the true solution of the otherwise unaccountable procedure by which the Hebrew term in those passages has been so strangely misapprehended and misapplied in our translation.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, June 4, 1864.

Art. III.—*Struggles in Kentucky during Three Years succeeding the First Overthrow of the Secession Conspiracy in* 1861.

A Memoir of Civil and Political Events, Public and Private, in Kentucky; to serve as an Outline of the Struggles of Parties, Loyal and Disloyal, with their Relations to the Fate of the State and the Nation; commencing with the outbreak of the Civil War in that State, in 1861, and extending to the end of the Summer of 1864.

1. In the year 1862, the writer of this article published in this *Review*, in the months of March, June and September, three articles, which, in fact, constituted one historical paper, under the general title, "*The Secession Conspiracy in Kentucky, and its Overthrow.*" It was, in effect, a memoir of political events, public and private, in that State, commencing in the year 1859, when the Democratic party became predominant there, as well throughout the nation; and it extended to the breaking out of the civil war in Kentucky, in 1861. The period embraced extended over somewhat more than two years. Nearly three years more have passed since the date at which the political events disclosed in that memoir, stood at the point where it closed. In the mean time, the writer of that memoir, and of this continuation of it, has, on various occasions and in many forms, laid before his countrymen his views of public affairs, and of the duty of this great nation, and of every loyal person in it; as the immense convulsions of which we have been eye-witnesses, have exhibited aspects constantly varying, but always presenting one and the same alternative, the single terrible issue—namely, the utter destruction of our national life, or the utter conquest, by arms, of the insurgent States and people. It is not probable that we should, under ordinary circumstances—the ordinary circumstances even of a most bloody insurrection—have considered it necessary to recall public attention to the comparatively narrow affairs of a single commonwealth, while the fate of so many commonwealths, and of the mighty nation they constitute, was being worked out before us. But the circumstances of Kentucky are every way unusual and remarkable; the bearing of these circumstances, however local they may appear to be, is very nearly decisive on the progress of the war and its issue, as well as upon the future development of national politics; and the ultimate triumph in Kentucky of

the party of treason or the party of loyalty, is apparently obliged to have results intensely national, and of the widest influence. We propose, therefore, to resume the narrative of civil and political events in Kentucky, as connected with the cause of the nation and the rebellion, at the breaking out of the civil war in that State, in the autumn of 1861; and to bring it down over the three succeeding years to the present moment. Our object is that, for the present, all loyal men may understand our danger and their own, our hopes and their own duty, and that posterity may have the means of knowing, if they desire to know, exactly how this extraordinary episode, in the center of the nation and the revolution, was worked out, and with what effect upon the fate of the war, and the destiny of the American people.

2. At the close of the third and last portion of the first memoir, published in this *Review* for September, 1862, one year after the close of the history contained in that paper, we expressly declined to write the military history of the period which had elapsed between the summer of 1861 and the fall of 1862; the military history, we mean, of which Kentucky was the center. It was, nevertheless, a very glorious history; and the battles of Wild Cat and Mill Spring, the storming of Forts Henry and Donaldson, the terrible battles at Shiloh, and the operations before Corinth, were all illustrious for Kentucky, and for the nation; and all had a connection, more or less important and direct, with the facts disclosed in the memoir so often alluded to. It always seemed to us that after those victorious operations the war in Kentucky, and in central Tennessee, was, in effect, and upon every principle of the military art, *ended*. It always seemed to us, and we so published more than three years ago, that a column of thirty to fifty thousand men pushed into East Tennessee, at that time, or even much earlier, could not have failed to change, immediately and finally, the whole aspect of affairs south and east of that key to seven States. All men know how fearfully the reverse of these just and moderate expectations, has been the course of military affairs in Kentucky, in Tennessee, and in the whole of the vast region which, at the right time, and in the right way, it would have been so easy to overcome and hold, in large part, and from it to menace and overawe every thing, through seven States,

from the flanks of that great and loyal mountain region. Posterity will know who is to be held accountable for so much folly, producing so much danger and misery; as well as who is to be made illustrious for repairing and redressing the infinite errors which crowded months of disasters, after a year of victories. Nevertheless, we will not now, any more than formerly, write the military history of those times, nor introduce military events any further than is necessary to illustrate the subject we have in hand. We do not know the precise number of Kentuckians who have taken up arms during this war. On the Federal side, this State has furnished from sixty to seventy thousand soldiers; on the side of the rebellion, from twenty to thirty thousand; in addition to those on the Federal side, probably twenty thousand black troops; in the whole, from a hundred to a hundred and twenty thousand fighting men; being more, according to the usual estimates, than one-half of her entire fighting men, white and black. And it may be added, that her officers and white soldiers on both sides have not only fully maintained the martial character of their ancestors, but have proved themselves equal, in every warlike quality, to any troops that were ever brought into the field. For our part, while we condemn, without reserve, every act of treason, and every one guilty thereof, we know how to appreciate a hero, and to sympathize with gallant men who are ready to die for their convictions, even when they are wrong. Compared with them, there are men worthy to be abhorred, traitors who shrink from open danger, who resort to secret conspiracies, and deal in perjury; who are spies upon society, excusing robbers and assassins, leading lives of falsehood, and betraying every trust, public and private, which their habitual perfidy can seduce society to repose in them! These are the men, and not rebel soldiers in the field, whom the nation has most reason to dread. They are the sort of men who, by reason of a deplorable course of events, may, at this moment, be thrown into the commanding position of directing the leaders of factions, and so of holding the balance of political power in Kentucky.

3. The general *political* elections in this State, under the constitution of 1849–50, occur every second year, in August; the governor and the senators being elected for four years, and the members of the House of Representatives for two years; one-

half of the senators being elected every second year. Different arrangements exist concerning all *judicial* and *ministerial* offices, of which it is not necessary to speak at present. Governor Magoffin was elected in August, 1859; and the Legislature chosen at the same time, elected, before its two years expired, John C. Breckinridge, then Vice President, to be a Senator in Congress—Governor Powell, whose term of service will expire on the 4th of March, 1865, being already the other Senator from Kentucky. General Breckinridge sat in the called session of the Senate after the 4th of March, 1861, but was expelled by the Senate which met in December, 1861, and Garrett Davis, Esq., was elected to supply his place, by the Legislature which was elected in August, 1861. The term of Beriah Magoffin, Esq., extended from August, 1859, to August, 1863, four years. He did not, however, serve out his entire term of office. The latter part of it—about one year, perhaps—was filled by James F. Robinson, Esq., then and still a Senator from a central district in the Blue Grass region,—supposed to be as decidedly pro-slavery, and as doubtful, politically, as any Union district in the State. It is probable that both of these considerations operated upon the mind of Governor Magoffin in causing him to designate Mr. Robinson, as it is said he did, as his successor, and this as a condition *sine qua non* of his own resignation. On the other hand, it is said that the resignation of Governor Magoffin was hardly voluntary, but the alternative to very serious proceedings against him on the part of the Legislature elected in 1861. The process was curious, at any rate. The regular Lieutenant Governor, who had been elected in 1859, and who was, *ex officio*, Speaker of the Senate, had died; and the Senate had elected one of its members to be Speaker, and, *ex officio*, Lieutenant Governor, in case the Governor should vacate his office. The Governor did not vacate—the Speaker resigned—Mr. Robinson was elected Speaker—the Governor resigned—Mr. Robinson became Governor, *ex officio*—the previous Speaker, who had so lately resigned, was thereupon re-elected Speaker. After a time a new Governor was elected by the people—(Col. Thomas E. Bramlette, in August, 1863)—and then Governor Robinson fell back upon his unexpired senatorship for the district of Fayette and Scott counties. Verily, the ways in which laws and

constitutions may be made to serve a turn, and yet thought to be sacredly obeyed; are hardly less singular and unexpected than the outcries against alleged violations of both, which those who suffer find to be used to serve a turn they dislike! Political managers ought to agree, with a common consent, to abolish the inconvenient apothegm, that a good rule will work both ways; or else they ought to be far more particular concerning the rules they work by.

4. Concerning the retirement of Governor Magoffin from office, before the end of his term, it seems to us he must have had abundant reasons for it, of a kind not specially derogatory to him. The general election of 1861 had resulted in making both branches of the Legislature decidedly hostile to his political views, and not very patient concerning his past acts, or concerning the various obstructions he had the power, and might have the inclination, to throw in their way. It was understood his impeachment would not be pressed, and that hardly the constitutional majority of the Senate could be got to convict him, if it was. Moreover, his course in office had been so far from satisfying the leaders of his own party that they had actually supplanted him as governor, by substituting another person as provisional governor of that part of Kentucky over which the Confederate States had extended their jurisdiction, and whose representatives sat—and still sit—in the Confederate Congress, at Richmond, Virginia. The will of the people, is the avowed democratic breath of life. Here Governor Magoffin had the will of the party he belonged to, point blank, that he should not be their governor; and the innuendo of every body else, that it was not fit he should be their governor. He might be pitied for getting into such a predicament, but was hardly worthy of severe censure for desiring to be out of it. As to his mode of escape, it was characteristic of the times, and we never could see that the Senate had any thing to boast of. We do not consider it important to dwell much on the short administration of Governor Robinson. That term in the Senate, not yet expired, and his short service as governor, constitute, we believe, the entire political career of this distinguished lawyer and advocate. His appointment of D. C. Wickliffe, Esq., to be his Secretary of State, is the key to much else; it was unfortunate for both of them, as

subsequent events have proved. And we suppose that the seeds of many things, that have borne bitter fruit already, and that may bring forth still greater evils, were scattered in the air and upon the earth during Governor Robinson's administration. We have been so long accustomed, however, to consider him an able and upright man, that we shall not be surprised if he should yet give a lead, which patriotic men may follow, in the crisis which he, perhaps, might have averted. We have a strong conviction that nothing will ever induce him to co-operate with any party, or to support any man for political or civil office, whose loyalty to the nation he thinks can justly be questioned.

5. Between the general election of 1861 and that of 1863, the tendency of events in Kentucky appeared to be, on the whole, decidedly favorable to the Union cause. At both of those periods, all the members of the lower House of the Legislature, and one-half of the Senators, were elected. At both, all the members of Congress from Kentucky were elected. At the election of 1863 the present Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the State (Messrs. Bramlette and Jacob), were chosen for a term of four years. The Senate, renewed as to half its members in 1861, was renewed as to the other half in 1863. The lower House, as well as the Senate, was believed to be almost unanimously loyal. The entire Congressional delegation from Kentucky was believed to be thoroughly loyal; and it is perfectly certain, we suppose, that no man in the State could have been elected to Congress from any district in the State, if his loyalty to the nation had been seriously doubted. The representation in the Senate of the United States had been greatly strengthened, as was supposed, when the Legislature, elected in 1861, chose Garrett Davis, Esq., to be a Senator from Kentucky; and chose him, beyond a doubt, under the conviction that he was most decidedly and reliably loyal; and, to crown all, the popular majority in all these elections for Legislators, Senators, Congressmen, Governor, and all the rest, was large beyond all precedent. Now let us wake up from this dream of unity, safety, triumph, which Kentucky fell into *after* August, 1863; but let us remember that the dream came *after* the glorious and almost unparalleled triumph. The same policy that saved Kentucky, by means of the counter-revolution of 1861, which

our former memoir carefully explained, gave to Kentucky the complete triumph won at the general election of 1863. Between August, 1859, and August, 1861, an immense political and military revolution, favorable to Union and liberty, was wrought. Between August, 1861, and August, 1863, the State had been firmly established and rooted, in loyalty and security; and by popular majorities, several times larger than the whole vote cast for candidates believed to be disloyal, had filled almost every office with men believed to be faithful to the country, and resolved to live and die by it. Where stands the State now—in August, 1864—one short year after its great triumph? Where stand the men now whom the people chose as unalterable patriots one year ago? What voice will Kentucky utter in November coming, concerning her own fate and that of the great Republic of which she still forms a part? Questions more solemn, more significant, than these, may turn out to be, no people was ever asked to decide. It may be that God will settle the immense issues which are at stake, and save the nation, without any regard to the wishes or the vote of Kentucky, or absolutely against both. It may be possible, however, that her votes may decide the issue of the presidential election, and, possibly also, may decide the fate of the nation. We may, indeed, bring both ruin and disgrace upon ourselves. We may, on the other hand, save our country and cover ourselves with glory. Let us, therefore, clearly understand what we have already done, suffered, and acquired—let us know, with as much certainty as is given to mortals, what the future may have in store for us; let us quit ourselves like men, who know there is no safety, except in ways which God approves.

6. There was no general political election in Kentucky in the year 1862, and it might, therefore, seem impossible to decide whether the people of that State shared deeply in the excitement produced by the first Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Lincoln, which undoubtedly produced the great political reaction, so wildly manifested against the national administration, in the elections over the nation in the autumn of that year. Our belief is that there was no party, worthy of the name in Kentucky, favorable to that Proclamation, or to the policy on which it rested. And our belief also is, that if

the reaction which that Proclamation produced had been organized in a national and patriotic spirit, it would probably have resulted in the overthrow of Mr. Lincoln's administration. Two facts prevented this, both of which shocked and disgusted the nation. The *first* was, the ferocity with which the insurgents assailed every patriotic attempt to hold open a door for their return to the Union, and raved about their unalterable hatred of the nation, and their purpose and ability to conquer it. The *second* disgusting fact was, the eager attempt of the Democratic party, every-where, to turn the political reaction to partisan instead of national ends; and then the organization of the last and worst phase of Democracy, under this reaction, as a Northern party holding every stupid dogma and every fatal principle of the secessionists. The result was another popular reaction in the opposite direction; the first one against the Proclamation of the President, the second one against the disloyalty of the Democratic factions—the first one manifested in the elections of 1862, the second one in those of 1863. However strongly Kentucky may have sympathized with the reaction against the President's Proclamation of 1862, her general election of 1863 clearly showed that she sympathized still more deeply with the reaction against Democratic perfidy. Better preserve the nation, even at the expense of slavery abolished to save the Union, was the ardent cry that swept the State, than preserve slavery by means of restoring to power a party under whose dominion the nation was torn to pieces, and whose avowed principles would tear it to pieces again as often as it might be restored. Better any thing, than anarchy organized upon the idea and for the purpose of universal plunder. And this is the party which Kentucky is expected, after her glorious conduct in 1861, 1862, and 1863, to follow with shouts of joy and confidence in 1864! It may be possible for Kentucky to aid in the attempt to defeat Mr. Lincoln, by some respectable man whose general principles bear some resemblance to her own; or are, at the least, not utterly abhorrent to her. But it appears to us impossible that any anarchist, any secessionist, any traitor, or even any submissionist, can, by any combination, or any possibility, receive the vote of the men who saved the State, as President of the United States.

7. We do not forget that the party beaten in the decisive

election of 1863, first intimated, then asserted, then loudly proclaimed as a gross and cruel oppression practiced on them, that the State and Federal authorities had combined to prevent a fair election from being held. What ground there may have been for such an allegation—if any—is no doubt matter of proof and record in the archives of Congress, under the most favorable aspect of the case, for those making the allegation. For Colonel McHenry contested the seat of Mr. Yeaman, and pushed the contest to a decision of the House of Representatives, which decision was against Colonel McHenry, and therefore against the truth of the allegation. In central Kentucky, of which we know most, where the contest was expected to be particularly warm, we have no knowledge, nor any well grounded information, of any interference with the freedom of the election, unless the allowance of the right of suffrage to many disloyal persons, whom the law of the land had disqualified, be the interference intended. We suppose there is no doubt that many open and secret enemies, both of the State and Federal Government, voted in that general election, contrary to law; and we suppose that very few *legal* voters were prevented from voting by the authorities, civil or military—hardly one, we suppose, was *intentionally* prevented. The truth is, that the vote actually polled, was so nearly the entire vote of the State, in circumstances to be polled, that there remained nothing to be accounted for. Taking the whole number actually voting for Bramlette and for Wickliffe, the opposing candidates for governor, adding to this aggregate the soldiers in both armies out of their precincts, and the total made a sum so large as to leave a remnant no larger than is constantly liable to occur—not large enough to affect the result—not near as large as the number actually disqualified by law. Perhaps we should explain this disqualification.

8. The Constitution of Kentucky had contained, through all its changes, an express recognition of the right of the citizen to expatriate himself, and its laws had provided for its exercise. At an early stage of the war, the Legislature of the State had made additional provisions, determining the conditions on which disloyal citizens should be held to have exercised this right of expatriation, and to have forfeited all the rights peculiar to citizens of Kentucky. Touching the right of suffrage,

the acts which, forfeiting citizenship, forfeited it, were to be such as these, to-wit: taking up arms against the Government of the United States, or that of the State of Kentucky; holding office under the Confederate Government, or under the Rebel Provisional Government in Kentucky; giving aid and comfort to the Rebels in arms—and the like. The voter who fell under suspicion, might be called on to purge himself under oath, and the judges of election might not only disbelieve his testimony, on cross-examination, but might examine other witnesses, to confirm or contradict that given by the voter himself. This was an ordeal which, if strictly enforced, would disqualify nearly every secession voter in the State; while the case with regard to thousands of them, was too flagrant to admit of any swearing at all, with the pains of perjury in full view. To deter the officers of justice, threats of every kind are always resorted to, on such occasions; while to prevent riots, and to give security to the lawful exercise of their franchise by legal voters, the public force is the natural and necessary resort—ordinarily by means of a civil police, but by military force when the occasion requires it. This is the whole of the affair: the law determines the rule of proceedings; the proper officers execute the law; the public force supports the officers, and maintains public order; they whose illegal attempts are defeated—whose threatened violence is repressed—traduce the law, as well as those who make, who administer, and who enforce it. Of course, no one can say that no injustice, or wrong, is ever practiced in elections; nor will any good citizen deny, that when practiced they should be properly punished. But it is hard to say that any wrong or injustice, connected with the elective franchise, can be more flagrant than for armed traitors, and their abettors, to determine the elections in any community which they have renounced, and are endeavoring to destroy. In Kentucky, this dangerous crime assumes its most aggravated form, for these people have adhered to another General Government, at Richmond, and are represented in both houses of the Rebel Congress; and they have set up a Rebel Government in Kentucky, to which they adhere in secret, and which they are striving, by arms, to establish over the State. It is of the highest importance to the people of Kentucky to realize the exact posture of a matter, upon the practical man-

agement of which so much depends, and which, for years to come, as for several years past, their safety will require them to manage with vigilance and courage, not less than with justice and honor. Every thing that is worth living for in the State, demands that it shall be held firmly in the hands of the Union people of it. They are traitors, or they are madmen, who are willing for any thing else.

9. The intensity with which every disloyal movement in Kentucky has been constantly directed to an opposite result, is signally proved, and the facts we have just stated made manifest by the political acts of the secessionists, in concert with the rebel forces under General Bragg, during the invasion of the State, in the summer and fall of 1862. That was, by far, the most formidable invasion of the State that has occurred during the war. The rebel army, at least sixty thousand strong, entered Kentucky in two columns. The larger one, under the immediate command of Bragg—who was also commander of the whole—entered by the south, and marched across the State, in the direction of Louisville. The smaller one, under the command of General Kirby Smith, entered by the southeast, marched upon Lexington, and menaced Cincinnati. This great army occupied the State, ravaged it for several months, recruited some thousands of men, seized and sent away immense numbers of live stock, and quantities of cured meats and breadstuffs, and remounted great multitudes of soldiers with the best horses. The invasion was every way disgraceful to our arms and calamitous to our cause; and the murderous battle of Perryville, about the center of the State, fought early in October, 1862—achieved by no more than a moderate degree of military skill—might have been prevented some months before. General Buell is no longer in the army; General Nelson is dead; and General Wright, we believe, commands an army corps in the Army of the Potomac. Moreover, we are not writing a military history. Nevertheless, as an eyewitness of the events of which we speak, it is due to truth to say, that, in our opinion, Bragg's command could never have crossed Kentucky, if properly opposed by Buell; that Kirby Smith's command could never have entered Lexington, if properly opposed by the force commanded by Nelson, and then by Wright; that the junction of Bragg's and Kirby Smith's com-

mands would have been impossible, if either of them had been properly opposed; and that Kentucky could have been, and should have been saved from any serious evil from the invasion, and the national cause every-where—but especially there—from the incalculable damage, material and moral, it sustained from Bragg's campaign. Falling under the second of those heads—moral injury—the most palpable fact, perhaps, was the organization of a Rebel Provisional Government, by the joint action of General Bragg and the remnants of the preceding Government of the same sort, which had been previously organized under the military protection of General John C. Breckinridge, at Russellville. The Governor inaugurated there, George W. Johnson, Esq., was killed in the battle of Shiloh. General Bragg having, as he expressed it, "*come to stay, and brought his knitting* with him;" having, as he supposed, subdued the State; having convened his "chief captains," with his distinguished local friends and abettors; having arranged all things for a great demonstration; inaugurated the Rebel Government for the State, with *Richard Hawes, Esq.*, as Chief Magistrate, at Frankfort, the seat of Government. This is the Governor and the State Government still adhered to by the secessionists of Kentucky: these are they whom the Confederate authorities recognize, and for whom the rebel soldiers from the State fight. What was the extent of the permanent damage which Mr. Hawes and his fellow-traitors—aided by General Bragg and his troops—did to the Union cause in the State, and what permanent advantage they gave to the rebel cause there, we need make no attempt to estimate with exactness. All the evil that was possible, was done by all of them. Governor Hawes has published that he could have done much more than he did, if the General had been fit for his place—and that he really did a great deal. General Bragg has published very disparaging comments on the Kentucky secessionists, with special innuendoes against the Governor. Our impression is, they both have truth on their side. And this is all the worse for those, both civil and military, in whose hands the safety of the State lay at that period.

10. It was under a state of public opinion, formed amidst incessant commotions, agitations and raids, and marked by occasional events of very decisive character, that the two years

during which the Legislature elected in 1861 held power, began to draw toward their end, and special preparations began to be made for the general election of August, 1863. It was within this period, and chiefly in the early part of it, that Kentucky poured out so great a proportion of her fighting men, to uphold the national cause. All men understand that far the greater part of these heroic men will return no more to the land they loved so well. Let them also know, that the land they have soaked with their blood, and the country with whose dust their dust mingles, will never, with the consent of a single loyal Kentuckian, be given up to traitors. During this period, also, the course of public affairs, and the action of Congress with regard to them, gradually developed a difference of opinion, and a still greater difference of feeling, in the bosom of every political party, with a strong tendency, first in the Democratic party, then in the Conservative party, then in the Radical party, to use events for party, instead of national objects; a tendency which, as its fatal result, now seeks to combine every faction against the great loyal mass of the people. In this procedure, the public men of Kentucky, its newspaper press, its representatives in the Legislature, and in Congress, and, to a certain extent, society at large, gave symptoms of being unsettled in their principles, and less and less cordial in the support of the National Government. It is impossible to conjecture what course public affairs would have taken, if they had run freely on; or how large a portion of those formerly acting with the Union party, who divided and deserted it in the spring of 1864, would have forsaken it, a year or more earlier. The dispersion of the Democratic Convention, which met at Frankfort to organize the party for the election of 1863, put a sudden stop to machinations, the object of which could no longer be concealed, and could not be endured. Colonel Gilbert, acting in the name of the United States, and backed by adequate military force, walked into the convention—about the 18th of February, 1863—and very civilly, but decidedly, required the body to disperse. Enough was known to the authorities to make this proceeding a duty on their part; and the leading men of the convention understood their own position too well to believe that it was either their interest or their duty, to push an investigation into their affairs. Charles A. Wickliffe, Esq.,

who entered Congress as a decided Union man, but had nearly or wholly lost that character, became the candidate of this party for Governor, and was beaten in August, 1863, by a majority more than double as large, as well as we remember, as the vote he got. Neither the policy of the President, the sufferings of the State, the defection of the press, nor the example set the people by their old leaders, had shaken the steadfast loyalty of the great patriotic mass. It is well to remember this. It is well, also, to remember that the principles which sustain the course taken by Colonel Gilbert, justify a similar proceeding in every equally grave emergency, of the like threatening import. General McClellan had, before that, caused the disloyal Legislature of Maryland to be purged, till little but a loyal quorum remained. Colonel Gilbert dispersed a disloyal Convention, as one means of preserving public security in Kentucky. In the prosecution of this war, it is no less indispensable for the nation to hold Kentucky, than to hold Maryland. Whatever may be tolerated elsewhere, a local administration hostile to the National Administration in its endeavors to crush the rebellion, can not be allowed, either in Kentucky or Maryland, while the rebellion continues. Lieutenant Governor Jacob, of Kentucky, who is said to have emphatically explained how easy it would be for outraged Kentuckians to defeat Sherman's operations, by cutting his communications, expressed an unanswerable reason why the General Government dare not disregard possibilities of that sort.

11. Governor Bramlette, the present chief magistrate of the State, was not the first choice of the nominating convention of 1863 for that high office. That convention nominated Joshua F. Bell, Esq., after vigorous competition between his friends and those of several other distinguished Kentuckians, among whom was Colonel Bramlette. Mr. Bell had been the candidate for the same office against Beriah Magoffin, Esq., in 1859, and had been defeated, after a very vigorous canvass. The political principles upon which he conducted that canvass were, to a certain extent, in conflict with those of many, if not most, of the party which supported him; and the result was, in the first place, that he obliged Mr. Magoffin to profess, apparently with much hesitation, these peculiar principles; and, in the second place, that Mr. Bell was defeated. These principles were supposed to

tend very strongly toward those of the extreme Southern party, in much that related to slavery, the territories, and the powers and duties of the Federal Government, on those and kindred subjects. It is the more necessary to enter a little into this matter, as it became the occasion, after Mr. Bell's nomination for governor the second time, in 1863, of the secession of the leading Democratic paper of the State, and its chief editor, Mr. Harney, from the Union party. This movement of Mr. Harney, who refused to support Mr. Bell's nomination in 1863, because of the principles he had avowed in 1859, was one of the first public steps toward the formation of that party which, in 1864, rejoices in the name sometimes of "Union *Democratic*," and sometimes of "Union *Conservative*," and sometimes of both united. The *Journal*, for so long a period the leading Whig paper of the State, and its chief editor, Mr. Prentice, now so prominent in that Conservative party, attacked Mr. Harney and the *Democrat* warmly for their course in 1863, and still warmly sustained the course of the party Mr. Harney had abandoned. Within a very few days from the present writing, the Chicago convention will make its nomination for President; it is, therefore, needless to conjecture now what either of these distinguished gentlemen may do afterward. But there was another aspect of the political principles of Mr. Bell, before the nominating Union convention of 1863, much later than that presented in 1859, and, in our opinion, much more favorable. We allude to his distinguished support of the Union cause at its most critical periods—from the secession of the first State, and before, up to, and after the convention which nominated him for Governor in 1863. We were among those who took no part whatever in that nomination. But we were also among those who, after it was made, thought it was the duty of Mr. Bell, under the circumstances, to accept it, and we ventured to urge him to do so; and we now regret that he did not do so. We ought, perhaps, to state that a very common opinion among Union men at the time was, that Mr. Harney's grief over the principles of Mr. Bell of 1859, was much quickened by the failure of the convention to give him the nomination it gave Mr. Bell, and by the clear perception of the *Democrat* of the drift of its old party, which had so strongly set in another direction (as has been before explained), after the President's first Emancipation Proc-

lamation, in the autumn of 1862. It ought also to be stated, that this nominating convention, on which so much depended, was generally considered at the time most decided in its composition; far in advance—of the notions of *neutrality*, and the notions of *conservatism* which followed them—and yet far short of the notions of *ultra radicalism* which have been so often charged; a simple, patriotic, resolute *Union* body, as near as possible as to the mass of its members, like the mass of those of the convention of May 25, 1864, which made the grand platform of a single sentence. Colonel Bramlette became the nominee of this convention, and so of the *true Union party* of Kentucky, by reason of the refusal of Mr. Bell to accept the nomination, and by being designated as the candidate in his place, by a standing committee of the convention, in whom this power had been vested. The propriety of this nomination was so far obvious, as that there appeared to be no doubt that the convention itself would have nominated Colonel Bramlette if there had been supposed to be the least uncertainty about Mr. Bell's acceptance. As far as Colonel Bramlette was known personally, or by report, to the Union men of the State, the general impression, we suppose, was, that his nomination was one eminently fit to be made. He had been a successful lawyer, a highly respectable judge, a gallant soldier; his training, therefore, seemed just what was needed, for the place, in the times. His devotion to the Union cause had been made manifest in every way that patriotic men could desire. Besides this, his personal character as a professor of religion and a strong temperance man—both of which he was reputed to be—gave additional security for his future public life, and certainly conciliated many, even if it may possibly have injured him with a few. We were among those who considered his nomination highly fortunate for the great cause we loved so well. So far from concealing this state of mind from him, or others, we frankly proffered to him any aid proper for us to render; and on every proper occasion and way, give him the benefit of whatever influence we possessed, to a degree wholly unusual with us for very many years past. The canvass he made, taken on the whole, was in the clear, if not in the extreme sense, of the unqualified Union sentiment of that day; and the result was the defeat of his opponent (Charles A. Wickliffe, Esq.), by a

vote of the people, more decisive by far than any one had expected. It is true, that when we recur to the incidents of that canvass, in the light of what has happened since, we are obliged to confess that painful indications can be seen of those points of Governor Bramlette's character which have subsequently given so much anxiety to the Union men of Kentucky, and which may yet beget so much trouble both to himself and to the State. At first, a generous people shut their eyes to what they hoped were transient weaknesses. Subsequently, a wise and considerate people, trustful in themselves, and therefore habitually slow to adopt unusual or extreme measures, have merely looked on, with resolute self-possession, and growing want of confidence in the Governor, as his successive acts are more and more inconsistent with what they expected of him, and with the safety of the State. One year of the four years' term of office of the Governor is not yet quite expired, and we believe we hazard nothing in saying that the great majority of those who put him in his high office, have materially changed their opinion of him within that year. What the three remaining years will bring forth, will depend materially on the Governor himself. His nomination for the Vice Presidency by the "*Democratic-Conservative-Union*," etc., etc., party of Kentucky, may *possibly* be ratified at Chicago, and by a great conspiracy and revolution throughout the North, he may *possibly* be declared elected; and as the presiding officer of a fragment of the Senate of the United States, he may *possibly* witness the last convulsions of the party of whose desperate schemes he had made himself the victim, This seems to us not a very seductive prospect. Most men, perhaps, being elected Governor of Kentucky by the loyal men of the State, and being loyal themselves, would have stuck by their loyalty, their friends, and their governorship, in the face of greater temptations than these.

12. The Legislature of the State elected in August, 1863, holding office for two years, had to elect a member of the Senate of the United States, to succeed Mr. Powell, whose term would expire on the 4th of March, 1865. It was, perhaps, natural that the persons having this important duty to perform, would be much occupied with it, and would desire, on many accounts, to discharge it promptly. It was also natural, that leading candidates for the high office, who supposed their

success was pretty certain, and their warm supporters, sanguine as themselves, should desire the early consummation of their wishes. There was also an important legal reason for haste; for by the Constitution of the State—made, like so many others of recent date, under the fervor of Modern Democratic rule—there were serious difficulties in the way of the Legislature sitting more than once in two years, or more than sixty days in all. It has always seemed to us a strange freak, that a great party, professing to hold extreme popular principles of government, should strenuously endeavor, whenever it held power, to reduce constitutional government as nearly as possible to imbecility; and that this rage against the force of free governments should be fiercest of all against the legislative department, through which the popular desires are most clearly expressed, and the most sure to be effectual. The principle on which all these recent Democratic constitutions seem to have been constructed, appears to be, that government, in itself, is an unnatural evil, and representative government a failure; and the only substitute for anarchy they seem to conceive of, is incessant elections by the people, which shall be, as nearly as possible, without any other result than to reward and distinguish party politicians. But the Legislature of 1863–4, after repeated trials, failed to elect a Senator. As the vigorous canvass among its members went on, it became more and more apparent that no man in Kentucky could at that time command the majority of the two houses voting separately, or even the majority of the two acting together; conditions widely differing from each other. And we presume, whatever changes the future may bring forth, that the revelations and events which speedily followed the adjournment of the Legislature, satisfied the majority of its members that nothing had been lost by their failure to elect. James Guthrie had been a candidate when Garrett Davis was elected Senator, and was beaten in the caucus of Union men—very decided Union men, as was supposed—by a very close vote. He had also been a candidate for the same office, not long before, when John C. Breckinridge—whom Mr. Davis succeeded—beat him before a caucus composed of any thing rather than friends of the Union. What, precisely, were Mr. Guthrie's particular views on the occasion of this third candidacy and failure, in so short a period of time, we could

not state without being contradicted on one side or the other. The *Louisville Journal*, about that time, seemed to consider it nearly felonious to doubt that Mr. Guthrie had been, not only a steadfast, but the confidential friend of President Lincoln; a plea which, we venture to suppose, is no longer urged. At the beginning of the canvass in the Legislature, Joshua F. Bell was, probably, the most conspicuous candidate—success being the criterion—next to Mr. Guthrie. Besides all other differences between the two, Mr. Bell had been a Whig, and Mr. Guthrie a Democrat, in former times. But we have already said enough of Mr. Bell on a previous page. He also failed in this election. The candidate who was supposed to be the choice of what was called the extreme Union men of the Legislature, was Curtis F. Burnam. But before his name was brought forward, the greater part of the members had probably committed themselves; so that, in the actual circumstances, the apparent strength he had could hardly be greater than the number of those who were not willing to see either Mr. Guthrie or Mr Bell elected. He also failed. In this lock of parties, the name of Governor Bramlette, who up to this time was counted with the most reliable Union men of the State, was brought forward; and being supported by those who had voted for Mr. Burnam, and the greater part of those who had voted for Mr. Bell, and perhaps some others, he received at once more votes than either of those gentlemen had done, and appeared to have a fair prospect of being elected. But he also failed. And now the majority of both houses made it manifest that they did not desire his election, by postponing the election itself, to a distant adjourned meeting of the Legislature. The constitutional obstacles were overcome, and this Senatorial election—become doubly important by reason of the extraordinary course of Mr. Davis in the Senate of the United States—will come again before this same Legislature, at a future session of it. This singular contest and result, was very far from being capable of explanation on merely personal grounds. Elements of discord had come into the Union party, with every augmentation of its strength, and every decided act of the Federal Administration, and every signal event of the war. As long as the party would agree to act together upon the one grand and paramount idea and purpose, *that the national life must be*

preserved, cost what it would, the party went on from strength to strength, rapidly growing up from a handful of *coercionists*, as they were disdainfully called in 1860, to the overwhelming body which, in 1863, triumphed by a majority of 50,000 voters, after sending more than 50,000 patriotic soldiers into the Federal armies. But now incidental questions of various kinds, and, perhaps, above all others, questions connected with slavery, and the black race, had begun to assume, at first, a grave prominence, and then they came to be considered by many equally vital with the great national issue itself; and very shortly after the Legislature adjourned, they were used to tear in pieces the great party whose services had been so distinguished, and whose destiny might have been so glorious. The seeds of this terrible calamity had been working indistinctly, but powerfully, in the Legislature; and as this affords, perhaps, the best explanation of the senatorial canvass we have explained, and of its result, the brief account we have given affords an insight of the condition and drift of public affairs in Kentucky during the winter of 1863–4. If any thing is wanting to make the course of events more intelligible in its nature and end, it is found in the subsequent and widely different careers of Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Bell, Mr. Burnam, and Governor Bramlette, whose names have thus connected themselves with principles and tendencies, whose importance it would be well for all men to realize.

13. It is God alone whose word—whose mere will—is omnific. Laws do not execute themselves; they are only the mode in which forces act. Principles may be imperishable; but an active agent must give efficacy to them. Tendencies may be perfectly determinate; but to be realized in effects, they must be brought to the birth by another efficiency than their own. We have, therefore, but imperfectly explained the dangerous condition of public affairs in Kentucky, in the early part of 1864, when we have indicated the existence of certain perilous elements widely diffused through the body of the Union party, and especially among the eminent men whom that party had been accustomed to heed and to honor. Men were not wanting, qualified and anxious, to organize parties, or society itself, in whatever new form might promise them distinction, or their opinions triumph; for such times as we were passing through are always fruitful of such men, and such attempts. Occasions

were not wanting—rather they were constant—on which the weak, the timid, the self-seeking, the ignorant—even though we should seek such only among those who were, in a certain sense, well disposed to the Government—might be habitually assailed in their tender points, and led away by degrees from the staunch loyalty they once professed. The mode of procedure is always the same—professed devotion to the cause—but opposition, first, to every doubtful, then to every effectual means of carrying it on: violent support of the war for national existence, for example, but decided opposition to all confiscation of rebel property, all arrests of rebel persons, all suspension of privileged writs, all proclamations of martial law, and above all, every interference with the institution of slavery. Now let us observe, once for all, that this sort of advocacy of any cause whatever, may possibly be sincere at first—which generally it is not—but that, whether sincere or fraudulent, the result is, from the nature of things, obliged to be the same. We can not sustain a cause, and at the same time oppose the only power that can make the cause triumph, and the only means that power uses to secure that triumph. If the means thus used are such that we are obliged to resist them, by the very force of the statement we are obliged to end in opposing the cause itself. The peace Democrat was once loyal, if he was not always a hypocrite; but he preferred the triumph of his party to the safety of his country; and as soon as he thought he saw that the two things were incompatible, he turned against his country. The pro-slavery Union man was once loyal, but as soon as he thought he saw that the perpetuity of slavery and the restoration of the Union were incompatible, he had no alternative but to give up one or the other. Many gave up the slave; many gave up the Union. It is possible many still linger in an agony of doubt, seeking for some solution in a possible change of the settled purpose of the American people; and, therefore, in such a change of the National Administration as may produce the miracle of saving both. This is a type of human inconsequence, among the most singular and transient of all; for the rebels themselves continually declare, that slavery is nothing to them, without independence. Moreover, the result we have pointed out, is so clearly the only one that is compatible with common morality, any more than with com-

mon sense, that no one of ordinary intelligence and good morals can long persist in evading it. It is, therefore, the merest folly to suppose that so long as a great and good end is clearly set before us, and steadily kept in view by those we sustain—as, for example, the government which God has ordained, and we and it striving to crush fatal treason—we are, all the while, responsible for the motives of every one who co-operates with us, or bound to approve as wise, or applaud as right, or understand or know all the measures adopted by our Government in its arduous work. When we consider these things, and understand the course of events in Kentucky during the year succeeding the great loyal triumph in August, 1863, our astonishment at the immense change exhibited in the conduct and sentiments of so many professed Union men may greatly abate.

14. This great relapse was skillfully and vigorously organized, in the spring of 1864. The *Louisville Journal*, followed by nearly every political paper in the State, had diligently prepared the public mind. Suddenly, and almost simultaneously, three distinct, and apparently concerted movements, were made manifest. All three of them were directed immediately against the President and his Administration, his principles, and his policy, but were necessarily subversive of the supremacy of the Union party in Kentucky, just in proportion to their success, and by their unavoidable tendency, were calculated, perhaps intended, to prevent Kentucky from remaining in the Union, unless the American people would agree to a change of the National Administration, and to the perpetuation of slavery wherever it had existed. As to that part of the demands of these counter-revolutionists, which was leveled at Mr. Lincoln, it was the mere *caput mortuum*—the dross and dregs—of the personal spite of the original secessionists, who broke up the Union, as they declared, to hinder this man from ruling over them. As to the balance of the plot, it provided for Kentucky the greatest calamities which it was possible she could bring upon herself. *First*, it would divide, hopelessly, the Union party of the State; *secondly*, it would throw the State into the power of those hostile to the Government; *thirdly*, it would secure, in both houses of Congress, the permanent opposition of the State to the triumph of the national cause; *fourthly*, it would make Kentucky herself one of the bloodiest theaters of

the war; *fifthly*, it would secure the adhesion of Kentucky to the Southern Confederacy, in the contingency of the ultimate success of the rebellion—which success this entire conspiracy and counter-revolution would promote, just so far as its own success could be assured. We do not mean to say that the mass of the Union men of the State, who have adhered, or may adhere, to this so-called National, Union, Democratic, Conservative, etc., etc., party, joined it, or adhere to it, with a fair understanding and approval of these things. We suppose, on the other hand, that to a large extent they have been utterly deceived—have been misled by false appearances and cruel deceits—have been seduced by their personal devotion to certain presidential aspirants and their personal repugnance to Mr. Lincoln—have been betrayed by their passions—and, above all, have been outraged by what they conceive to be great and unjustifiable injuries, and gross indignities, perpetrated against them by the present Federal Administration, most especially, in the matter of their slaves. And candor obliges us to admit, that situated as they have been, they have been sorely tempted in many of these respects. One of the most remarkable features of the whole case, is to be found in the immense proportion of the active politicians of the State, and especially of those holding office, both under the State and the Federal Government, who openly united in this fatal movement, or have connived at it. Concerning many of these, we are, by no means, able to say what we have said of the mass of the Union portion of the new party. The frightful conspiracy which was so near destroying Kentucky in 1861, and which we fully exposed in our former memoir; the countless petty conspiracies, which have been attempted since; but, most especially, the wide-spread conspiracy in Missouri, in the States north of the Ohio river, and in the Eastern States, recently exposed, and one of whose principal branches ran into Kentucky, all confirm the assurance—as, indeed, every thing yet developed does—that the founders of this new party are knowingly guilty of every calamity which their plots may bring upon us. The views taken of these events by enlightened and patriotic supporters of the national cause in Kentucky, and their sense of their own duty with regard to them, and to every complication in which they may result, are all clear and decided. They will resist, to the last extremity,

every attempt to produce a conflict between Kentucky and the General Government; they will stand by the nation, while there is any nation to stand by; they will never, under any circumstances, agree to a division of the United States. The only catastrophe from which they shrink, as from a horrible calamity which offers no refuge but the grave, is the possibility—if there is any such possibility—that the nation may betray them! When that shall happen, the people of the United States become the most infamous of mankind—forsaken of God—the reproach of all coming ages. That it is the intention of the parties to the Chicago Convention, to produce this very result, by a national revolution, political or military, or both, will soon be apparent.

15. The three movements we have just explained generally, require a more particular notice. They may be classified, as consisting, *first*, of concerted attempts to stigmatize the President as a "*Tyrant and a Usurper*," at a critical moment, with reference to other parts of the general plan, making him and his supporters odious, and preparing the minds of men, and especially of the Kentucky troops, for any desperate attempt that the turn of affairs should require. These specific and technical accusations, mixed with unmeasured and ferocious abuse and threats, have their particular import fully explained, as soon as we look into the significance of the same terms, used at the same time, in the secret proceedings of the armed traitors banded every-where against the national cause, whose records and testimonies have been recently published. They mean, that the secession of the rebel States was lawful, and that it dissolved the Government, and that the assumption of Mr. Lincoln that he is President, constitutes him, *ipso facto*, a tyrant and a usurper—and it has become the duty of the *Sons of Liberty* to dislodge him by force. They mean, that even if he had been legally the President, his acts were the acts of a tyrant and a usurper, whereby having put himself out of the pale of law, he might be lawfully resisted by force, and ought to be deposed and hung by the conspirators. We do not know that Colonel Woolford was aware of the full import of the violent and seditious harangues he made in so many places, and for which he was first dismissed from the army, and at last arrested. Nor do we know that Lieutenant Governor Jacob had any worse

reason for his sudden change from the principles for which he had fought, to those he had fought against—than the violence of his passions, and the instability of his character. But every enlightened man knows there is no other country in the world, in which either of them could have made a single speech, like many they both made, without immediate and condign punishment. Nor could any man of the position of either of them, make such speeches any-where, without intending to accomplish some object, corresponding in violence with the character of their statements; nor without having some motive equivalent, in their own opinion, to the danger they professed to brave. Let it be remembered that the arrest of Colonel Woolford—upon sworn statements of those who heard him—extorted from Governor Bramlette a menace to the General Government, and to its friends—of arrests in retaliation; and that this menace was contained in a letter addressed to Lieutenant Governor Jacob; and no further proof is needed—though other proof exists—of the sympathy of the Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth with proceedings which, every body saw, must be arrested, or must spread demoralization through the Kentucky troops—and which multitudes believed, at the time, and still more since, were designed to prepare the minds of those troops, for a collision with the Federal Government. Why any such collision could have been contemplated as possible; why it, or any thing looking in that direction, could have been contemplated with complacency, may be better understood, and credited, as we proceed. All that we are now proposing is, to illustrate the military aspect of that counter-revolution of 1864 in Kentucky, which was designed to transfer the Union party, and the State, to some new candidate for the presidency, and to make the salvation of the Union, and the continued adhesion of Kentucky to it, depend upon a change of the Federal Administration, and the security and perpetuity of slavery. After much delay, and after great, possibly irreparable damage had been done, the military authorities, having exhausted all gentler means, interposed directly. Certain military changes followed: Colonel Woolford was sent to Washington, and came back on parole; Mr. Jacob quieted; harangues of the "Tyrant and Usurper" type, we believe, ceased; Governor Bramlette published his menace; the soldiers are still fighting for their

country. The opportunity of making the military part of the counter-revolution as effective as, possibly, it might have been, was lost—partly, as we have seen, by the interposition of General Burbridge—partly, as we shall see, by the failure of another portion of the enterprise. The startling fact, however, remains, that a revolutionary movement looking for success to the demoralization of a part of the army of the United States, was on foot; and that it found, in the public mind, the seeds of those evils, explained in a previous paragraph, which both suggested the possibility of success, and produced the sympathy awakened by the movement.

16. The *second* movement, in logical order, was to be directed by Governor Bramlette in person, and officially. It was to consist in bringing the authority of the State of Kentucky directly in opposition to that of the Federal Government; the initiative to be taken by the Governor, in a proclamation. The collision of authorities was to grow out of the question of enrolling slaves, preparatory to military draft; the United States Provost Marshals attempting to enroll them, by act of Congress, and the orders of their military superiors; the Governor resolved to prevent their being enrolled and drafted, contrary, as he believed, to the laws of Kentucky. It is clear enough that the question of slavery was the bottom question. It is also clear enough, that if there was any conflict between the laws of Kentucky and those of the United States—the latter, by the very words of the Federal Constitution, were supreme and paramount. The only pretext for doubt, would be the constitutionality of the act of Congress; but, upon this subject, Governor Bramlette had openly and repeatedly committed himself, that Congress had constitutional power to take slaves for the public service, whether as soldiers, or any thing else; and in this opinion, the almost unanimous voice of the legal profession throughout the nation, and of all others competent to judge, fully sustained him. What motive, creditable both to his patriotism and his intelligence, can be imagined for *any one* in his position, pursuing such a course? Still less, how could any one, holding his political principles, and bound by his political obligations and pledges, think of such a thing? Least of all, when he knew personally exactly what Colonel Woolford was at, and had heard him make at least one of his violent

speeches (at Lexington), while he was himself in the very act of maturing and arranging his own opposition to the national authorities? Governor Bramlette had as determinately made up his mind as Colonel Woolford had made up his mind; and he pursued his part of the counter-revolution, up to the decisive moment, with great vigor. He had menaced the President in written correspondence; he had made known his intentions publicly and privately, without reserve; he had used the telegraph to operate on the public mind; he had notified at least one United States Provost Marshal (Captain Goodloe, of Danville), *that if the President did not stop the draft, he would;* he had even prepared his proclamation, sent it to the press, and had it printed! Still—we thank God—he did not issue it; it did not see the light at that time, and in that way. How this happened, we will state presently. If he had issued it, we should have seen immediately what had been the success of the military part of the counter-revolution; and whether Kentucky was then ready to take up arms against the Federal Government; and if she was, what good she would get by it. Governor Bramlette has, we believe, uniformly declared, that the only collision between Kentucky and the United States ever contemplated by him, was of a kind purely civil; and it takes away nothing from any thing we are now stating, to admit the truth of such allegations. For it would still be an obstruction to the Federal Government, that he was attempting; an obstruction that, if successful, would have cost the nation twenty or thirty thousand soldiers; an obstruction, whose very attempt showed how thoroughly a Governor recently elected as wholly loyal, had become perverted, and how strongly the Union slaveholders of the State were tending in the same direction. We must add, however, that the Governor strangely deceived himself, if he really supposed the course on which he entered, tended to any thing so directly as to immediate bloodshed; and every one else is deceived, in all that seemed clear at the time, including the contents of the proclamation itself, and the tone of the Governor's conduct from that time onward, if he really believed the course he had marked out could succeed by peaceful means. It is altogether idle and unbecoming in Governor Bramlette to allege, as he does, that any one has sought to provoke him to inconsiderate and hasty action, or that any one has desired that

an excuse might be furnished "for seizing military possession of the State, and crushing the civil authorities." Heaven knows many of his actions have afforded abundant reason for regret and surprise to all loyal men. But we ourselves were privy to at least one wise act he performed, under the inspiration of men, all of whom, we suppose, are now condemned by him, and, in turn, condemn his present conduct, and most of whom put themselves to much trouble, to keep him out of trouble. We allude to the suppression of his revolutionary proclamation of March 14th, 1864, and his issuing in the place of it, and, we believe, of the same date, a wise and patriotic proclamation, which, for the moment, secured obedience to those laws which the suppressed one denounced. The public in Kentucky knows very well, that the special supporters of the counter-revolutionary movement, to which the Governor was lending himself, first smothered up this business, and then openly lied about it, vouching the Governor himself, as the *Louisville Journal* did, without authority, we would trust. There never was, they declared with vehemence and constancy, but a single proclamation—the patriotic one issued. In the end, the tendency of the Governor, momentarily arrested, as we have stated, returned to the channel of the suppressed and denied proclamation, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Van Winkle, put an end to all denials, by procuring a copy of it, and publishing it along with a note from himself. Whoever will read Governor Bramlette's Inaugural, or any good report of any speech he made during his canvass; and then read his suppressed proclamation, his letter to Mr. Jacob, or his letter to Mr. Guthrie, declining to be a candidate before the Chicago Convention, but adhering to it, will easily see how great a revolution has been wrought in him, within about a year; and then they may readily understand the nature of the counter-revolution which has been fostered amongst the leading men of the Union party in Kentucky. It also becomes obvious how that part of the movement, directed immediately by the Governor, against the act of Congress for the enrollment of the black military population, broke down by the issuing his proclamation recommending obedience, instead of his proclamation recommending resistance. It is, of course, manifest how the break-down of the collision with the General Government, rendered the military part of the enter-

prise useless. The dismissal of Colonel Woolford from the army, and his arrest afterward for conduct subsequent thereto, followed the break-down of the collision about the draft. Those who understood pretty nearly the exact posture and progress of events, breathed more freely. They clung, indeed, to the hope that Governor Bramlette would redeem himself. They even desired, before the arrest of Colonel Woolford, that he might be restored to the army. At any rate, they saw that *two* of the counter-revolutionary movements had been encountered with success. We will now proceed to explain the *third* one. Before we do so, however, it is proper to make a slight personal statement, relating particularly to the contents of this paragraph. It is, in effect, that here, as in all similar cases, the writer of these lines has avoided, as far as possible, all statements about himself; and in doing so, in this instance, has omitted much that is confirmatory of what is herein stated. This silence, and this forbearance, however, may be grievously misunderstood by those who trespass on them.

17. The *third* counter-revolutionary attempt of 1864, upon the loyalty and safety of the people of Kentucky, was an organized movement in the bosom of the Union party to transfer it into co-operative, if not organic, union with every faction hostile to the Federal Administration; more especially with the so-called Conservatives of the North, and the so-called National Democracy. The general convention of this disloyal Democracy was called to meet at Chicago on the 4th of July, 1864, and was afterward postponed, under pressure of the turbulent agitators who controlled the numerous factions about to affiliate with it, till the 29th of August. This *third* movement was, in all probability, the main one of the three—the other two being chiefly relied on as aids to its accomplishment—or if it failed, then to bring about, by the disorder and violence they would produce, a state of universal confusion, almost equally fatal to the national cause. *First*, to turn over the State to a position immediately opposed to the Federal Government in its attempts to suppress the rebellion, and finally to throw the State into the Southern Confederacy, if Mr. Lincoln could not be defeated, and slavery restored. *Secondly*, to divide the Union party on the subject of slavery, and all other subjects by which mischief might be produced, so effectually as to throw that

party out of power, and paralyze its efforts to aid the national cause. *Thirdly*, to produce, by a collision with the General Government about slavery, a scene of confusion and violence every way hurtful to the national cause, and beneficial to the insurgents; in the midst of which the new party might hold the balance of power, and take advantage of events. These were the alternatives involved in the scheme of the three combined movements. *Two* of the attempts failed—the military movement and the collision—as we have shown. The *third* attempt—the transfer of the State—may prove successful; that is to be decided in future elections. The manner in which the *first* and *second* attempts were defeated, has been pointed out. The manner in which the *third* attempt was organized, together with the progress of the movement, and its present condition, may be sufficiently understood from the following statement: In the spring of 1864, there existed in Kentucky a committee of supposed Union men, who had been appointed by a previous State convention of that party, and who were known by the name of *The State Union Executive Committee*, or some similar designation. This committee, composed originally, as was generally supposed, of reliable Union men, participated largely of the same evil influences of which we have several times spoken, and the larger part of them were found to sympathize warmly with the movements publicly led by Colonel Woolford and Governor Bramlette, which have been explained. The only general election to be held in Kentucky in 1864, is that for electors for President and Vice President of the United States, appointed for November. With a view to the nomination of these electors, to the appointment of delegates to the national nominating convention, and to the usual declaration of principles and proper organization, it was necessary to call a State convention of Union men. There had been some doubt on this subject, for already the public mind had been deeply shaken, and the names of many persons, of many shades of opinion, had been canvassed every where as candidates for the Presidency on the Union side—some Union men simply, some Radicals, some Conservatives, some Abolitionists, some Democrats, some Whigs. In 1860, Mr. Lincoln had no party in Kentucky; but it had gradually come to be felt by the mass of the earnest Union men of the State,

that he was the best man for the place; and men like these, all over the nation, felt the same way, and nominated him in June, at Baltimore, without a struggle, and without opposition in their national convention. In our opinion, the safety of the nation demands that they should elect him; and if they fail to do so, it will be a grievous fault, which they will grievously atone. That portion of the Union men of Kentucky who were in doubt upon this subject, desired that no State convention should be called, but rather to await all nominations, taking no part in any, but finally voting for the best one offered. That portion of them who were satisfied that their duty demanded a more decided course, and who were favorable to the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, and utterly opposed to the backsliding movement, and its counter-revolution, demanded the call of a Union State Convention in order, among other things, to send delegates to the National Union Nominating Convention, however and whenever constituted. That portion of them whom events had made hostile to Mr. Lincoln, or whose passions were roused about the slave, or who were relapsed, or backslidden, or counter-revolutionists, made no particular objection to a State convention, for, as yet, they were generally in a state of ferment, rather than of organization and settled purpose. It was in this state of the public mind, that a few persons living about Louisville, and constituting a majority, we believe, of the old State Executive Committee, issued a call for a *State Union Convention*, to meet in Louisville on the 25th of May. The names of James Guthrie and George D. Prentice, followed by two or three others of less note, were attached to this call; two or three other members of the committee, who remained faithful to the Union cause, refused to sign it at all. The call contained in its terms a betrayal of the loyal party in the State, which its signers professed to represent. It settled, in its terms, that the convention it called was in aid of those who had turned their backs on the Government—and Chicago, and not Baltimore—the disloyal Democratic opposition, and not the loyal Unionists, had won the open adhesion of these, as well as all the other leaders of the counter-revolutionary party. An abuse of power more utterly faithless, more atrocious in its conception and objects, can hardly be produced from the history of party politics—which

is, probably, the most ignominious part of the history of free nations. And the necessary, and probably intended, effects of the movement are to be considered so many warrants for the execration of the betrayed party, and that of every honorable party that does not desire to be betrayed in turn. Of course, the effect of this proceeding was to rouse the indignation and contempt of the true Union people. These people, left without leaders, without organization, without support from the newspaper press—betrayed on every side—rallied spontaneously and at once. A cry, mostly from those without political influence—a cry at once temperate and heroic—resounded through the State, and the true men, who had all along upheld the cause from mere love of it, re-echoed it from the bottom of their hearts. On the 25th of May, on the very day and in the very place where the other convention met (we call it *Copperhead* in Kentucky, meaning a relapsed Unionist, with double venom against the national cause, and supreme devotion to negro slavery), a *loyal convention* also met! It represented as many counties as the Guthrie and Prentice convention; it had as many delegates to it, perhaps more that had been regularly chosen; it represented, so far as public meetings were a test, a much larger constituency; but that will be clearer hereafter. The loyal convention sent delegates to the National Union Convention at Baltimore; the other sent theirs to the disloyal Peace Convention at Chicago. Both organized in the usual way. Both issued a platform; the loyal one clear, brief and decided beyond all precedent; one single test—*for the Union—against the rebellion—both without* reserve: the other platform, an attempt to make professed devotion to the national cause and to the crushing of the rebellion, consist with co-operation for the defeat of the nation and the success of the insurgents. Their devotion to the counter-revolution was made signally apparent by recommending Governor Bramlette for the Chicago Vice Presidency. When the two conventions broke up, the old Union party in Kentucky was also broken up. And what remains to be decided in the future is, which of the three parties—Union, Copperhead, or disloyal Democratic—will acquire and maintain the supremacy in Kentucky; and what will be the effect of all this state of things on the national cause, there and elsewhere. We must not omit to state, concerning the

posture of the Democratic leaders in Kentucky, that they refused to meet in convention with the Guthrie-Prentice party, or to unite with them in sending a common body of delegates to Chicago. Their convention met separately, and issued a characteristic platform, distinctly the opposite of so much of the relapsed Union platform as could be construed in any patriotic sense; and more distinctly favorable to the insurgents than the disloyal portions of the other. It is known that the strong desire of many of the most active leaders of the relapsed faction, embracing the bulk of the Kentucky members of Congress, was for an organic union with the openly disloyal Democrats, but they were afraid to organize as Democrats, and the Democrats would not organize as Conservatives. Both delegations were admitted into the Chicago Convention, and, amalgamating with it, came forth as "*National Democrats;*" that is, with a platform which, in the actual state of the country, can not be enforced without giving complete success to the rebellion; with a candidate for Vice President on it, the representative of principles upon which no national life worth preserving could exist, either in war or peace; and a candidate for President, who can not accept the platform without repudiating and condemning all his own principles and acts that had any importance, or showing, by that acceptance, that the gratification of his vanity, and the chance of gratifying his ambition, have all along dictated his principles and regulated his conduct, and that they do so still. The Chicago Convention, in effect, exhibited most of the symptoms of a seditious conspiracy, in the midst of civil war; and barely coming short of avowals that they were ready to encourage open acts of treason, they provided, on the motion of Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, by a unanimous vote, for a called meeting, at which they would decide whether or not they would take arms against the Government. That is, having provided, as they thought, most effectually for the defeat of the national cause, and the elevation of the disloyal Democracy to absolute power over the ruins of the country, they closed their labors, for the time, with a menace to the loyal people, and to the Government, that if they fail by corruption and by conspiracy, the method by armed insurrection, already resorted to in the South, remains to them. Let us, therefore, crush the rebellion still raging in the South, all the

more effectually, that we may the more promptly crush the one preparing and openly threatened in the North. Or if they require the nation to crush both at once, she is fully able to do it, and is bound, by every consideration that can operate on a great, an enlightened, and a free people, to stake her existence on it. The nation would rot quicker, under the combined demands and doctrines of Charleston and Chicago, voluntarily submitted to, than she could be permanently hurt by the combined force of both the conspiracies, multiplied tenfold, and directed against her life.

18. Amongst other indications of the state of affairs in Kentucky, during the three years of which we are rendering account, one of the most decisive, is the necessity, on two occasions, of declaring martial law. The first occasion was in the summer of 1863; the second one in the summer of 1864—in which condition the State now stands. The fact that this extreme remedy was resorted to immediately preceding the election in which Mr. Bramlette beat Mr. Wickliffe, very naturally disgusted the latter gentleman and his party, and may account for some of the rage of his immediate friends in the Chicago Convention. But how Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Prentice, and other special adherents of Governor Bramlette—whether in or out of that Convention—and indeed the Governor himself—could, at the same time, co-operate with Mr. Wickliffe and his party, and be silent under his denunciations, and yet adhere to their own former declarations, and defend their former principles and acts, on this subject, is rather more than persons with only an average amount of brass, can understand. It throws light, also, on the impression which the first ten months of Governor Bramlette's administration, made on those whose duty it was to understand him as perfectly as possible, that it was supposed to be necessary then to declare martial law again. Martial law both precedes and follows him. It is true that Governor Bramlette tendered ten thousand volunteers to the United States, at the same time the States immediately north of the Ohio river, and some others, made *and redeemed* their tenders of much larger numbers. They tendered only hundred days men. Governor Bramlette's tender was for six months men; and although he publicly offered to lead them, the men were never gotten; not even one regiment, as far as we ever

knew; but instead of the ten thousand men tendered and not sent by him, what was *sent*, by the United States, was that declaration of martial law! The Governor has made anxious and abusive explanations of the affair. Perhaps those who had lost confidence in him, and had not quite forgotten the events recorded in several preceding paragraphs, thought that the election in the Second Appellate Judicial District in August, as well as the Presidential election in November, would be fully as fair for *Union men*, without any troops at all, as with ten thousand troops under the command of the Governor. And the menace of the Governor to General Burbridge, when the latter refused to permit Judge Duvall to be a candidate, and the terms of his recent cordial adhesion to the Chicago Convention, may be considered as excusing the notion of very many loyal people, that martial law by the United States is not much worse for us than a strong military force within the State at the disposal of the Governor; assuredly it is better than the devastations, robberies, and murders which traitors have inflicted on Kentucky habitually for three years, and always simultaneously with dangerous political schemes and agitations in the State, favorable to the rebels, and secretly or openly hostile to the Federal Government. This whole matter of martial law, military police, arrests without civil process, exile, imprisonment, impressment of property, retaliations, and all the train of evils incident to a bloody civil war, must be charged to those who create civil war. They can never be justified, except by their imperative necessity, in preventing or redressing evils greater than themselves. At least half, perhaps two-thirds, of the populated area of the United States *knows that there are evils worse than these can be*, when inflicted in the course of duty, by the responsible agents of a regular and humane Government. And we record our deliberate conviction, that the history of civil war, from the beginning of time, can not produce a single instance in which the Chief Magistrate of any State, situated as this nation is, was less cruel, less vindictive, less a tyrant, than Abraham Lincoln. It is possible posterity may decide against him, as, probably, the great body of his supporters now would, in respect of some lack of constancy in the adequate infliction of necessary punishment on the flagrantly guilty, demanded by the safety of the nation. But posterity will be just when it

declares, that with infinite temptations—almost the temptation of duty itself—his clemency never failed! A title so glorious to the sympathy of mankind, may well endure to risk losing something to the President, where so much is won for the man, and for human nature. And the heroic people over whom he presides, ought the more thoroughly to abhor the atrocious depravity which first commits—or connives at—the most terrible crimes against society, and against human nature itself, and then pretends to consider the inadequate punishment a small portion of those crimes receive, an outrage on law, and innocence, and virtue; and then systematically traduces the humane magistrate, who has spared their authors to the utmost extent, as if the conspirators believed him to be a monster; they having, for the chief motives of such diabolical corruption, the success of the crimes themselves, and their own impunity in the future guilt they propose. Can it be imagined that the American people will commit their destinies to the keeping of those who have conspired to make their way to power by means like these?

19. But it is history we are writing: the future will reveal itself. Within a very short time the people of the United States will utter the first, and the most important, of those decisions, upon which four years of their future, after the 4th of March, 1865, will so much depend. The decision which the people of Kentucky will make at the same time, must not only have its due weight in determining the general fate, but may act still more powerfully upon their own peculiar destiny. As a State question, the result of the Presidential election of November next, could be revised much earlier, and more frequently, than the same result could be as a National one. Still, however, we must not forget that the triumph of the Union party in the nation secures the continuance of Kentucky in the Union, even if Kentucky was not loyal, while the national triumph of the peace Democracy renders the future of Kentucky, and that of the Union also, utterly uncertain. The chances that the Union will be dissolved are augmented a hundred fold, if the Chicago candidates are elected; while the fate of Kentucky, if the Union should be dissolved, would be a hundred fold worse, after such a dissolution, under the rule of the Chicago factions, than under the rule of the Union party. Kentucky, therefore, never had a political interest more pro-

found, or more obvious, than that her electoral vote should be given, in November, to the nominees of the Union National Convention. It may save the Union from dissolution; it may save her from being forced into the Southern Confederacy; it may preserve her from the dominion of the relapsed Copperheads, who have so utterly betrayed her; it may save her from a domestic butchery, and desolation, far beyond any thing she has yet suffered. On the other hand, the triumph of the Chicago candidates in the nation, is not the triumph of any particular and distinct party, policy, or principle; but is the triumph, so far as the Executive Government of the nation is concerned, of a combination of factions heterogeneous and hostile amongst themselves, whose temporary co-operation is brought about by motives, the most respectable of which is malignant personal hatred to the President, and for ends the most obvious of which is ignominious surrender to rebels already virtually subdued. We limit the triumph, even if General McClellan could be elected, to the *Executive* Government. For the Senate, the House of Representatives, the Government of every loyal State, and emphatically the immense armies in the field, would each have to be separately revolutionized, in succession, and by means peculiar to each, before the horrible results of national infamy and ruin, which the Chicago movement aims at, could be consummated. The party which had long held power in the nation before it was crushed and scattered, in 1860, by reason of its own infamous conspiracies, now seeks, by combining with all factions as immoral as itself, and by every disloyal, violent, and fraudulent means, to seize the national power again. They thought they had destroyed the Government in 1860–1. They long to make their horrible work complete in 1864–5. Their total overthrow in November, 1864, is one of those supreme duties, which great and wise nations, to whom God reserves a future of glory, instinctively perceive. Safety, honor, prosperity, freedom, independence, civilization, peace itself; all duty to ourselves, to our country, to mankind, to posterity, and to God himself; every thing demands that this nation shall be preserved, that this insurrection shall be crushed, that every conspiracy which obstructs our course shall be swept away.

20. If a judgment may be formed from the spirit, the princi-

ples, and the intentions of the factions combined in the Chicago Convention, of the nature of the canvass of two months in Kentucky, which will immediately precede the Presidential election in November, it is very easy to comprehend our situation, and duty. But if we look to the platform adopted by the Convention, or to the candidates nominated by it, the total silence of that platform, and the total career, in the past, of both their candidates with respect to many of the most vital questions before us, it becomes difficult to guess what is to be the character they will give to the actual canvass here. The Union party in Kentucky preferred to make the canvass upon the broad question of putting down the rebellion and preserving the Union. The relapsed Union men, at first, seemed to discuss chiefly, whether the Union could be preserved, or was worth preserving, under the policy hitherto pursued, which, of course, might be discussed—but which, very manifestly, was a mere evasion, since every one knew that as soon as the military power of the rebels was broken, the Union was safe, and that this indispensable result was being rapidly brought about; and every one, also, knew that the American people could do with the Union, to make it valuable, all they pleased, after their triumph, as well as before the war. This faction, made up of the most violent, both of the original secessionists and of the backslidden Union men, which seems to have most clearly anticipated the feeling of the Chicago Convention, expected to succeed by habitual and unbounded abuse of every act of the Federal Government, and of every officer of it, from the President down, but more especially every act which embarrassed or punished the enemies of the country, or gave security or redress to loyal men. This appears to be the course intimated in the platform, as it undoubtedly is the one, long ago initiated by the leading newspapers, and speakers, and conspirators, who have assailed the Government here. It will probably be still attempted; the more especially since the Chicago platform sets the example of indecency; and that Convention threatens a resort to arms, if the voting (no matter how illegal) of its disciples, is attempted to be prevented by the public force. What might be apprehended, therefore, but for that martial law, of which we have spoken, would be a canvass of unprecedented insolence and disloyalty, enforced at the polls by armed rioting; and it will,

no doubt, be a new ground of ferocious abuse, if public decency is enforced during the canvass, and public order is preserved at the polls. The most exciting questions that have agitated Kentucky—and perhaps the whole nation—next to that of the civil war itself, were settled secretly at Chicago, and excluded from the platform. Not one word in it about negro soldiers; not even the remotest intimation in it about slavery, in any aspect, past, present, or future; not a syllable, even, about the right of secession, or the guilt of rebellion! An honest and patriotic party, convened in times like these, has three courses only open before it. It may sustain the Government and the cause; it may sustain the cause, and attempt to change the administrators of the Government; it may oppose both the cause, and the Government that has it in charge. The Chicago Convention did, *publicly*, neither of the three. It traduced Mr. Lincoln, and sought to defeat him, by the combination of all dissatisfied and all disloyal factions; it evaded all committals it possibly could, that *necessarily* signified any thing of serious importance, upon every topic that is vital to the safety of the nation. If it had openly said—what no one doubts it really felt—"we agree with the Rebels in principle; we are totally opposed to the war; we are in favor of the triumph and independence of the South; we are for peace, and desire the perpetuity of slavery on any terms; we are conspiring and arming ourselves to carry our reserved opinions into effect, by force, if we fail at the election:" if they had thus spoken, they would have lost nothing, in the public judgment, in point of patriotism, and would, probably, have gained something in point of honesty. In that event, we have no doubt they knew they would have lost the election in November. And they will still lose it, if the Union men every-where will take care that the people understand the monstrous fraud that is attempted to be practiced on them, and the monstrous consequences which would follow its success.

21. There are three parties in Kentucky clearly distinguishable, though two of them were fully represented in the Chicago Convention. The party that has from the beginning sympathized with the South, may, possibly, hold the balance of power in the State, as between the other two parties. This party is not now for McClellan, but for the Chicago platform. It is

probable that the bulk of those who may not have expatriated themselves, will stand aloof at the Presidential election. It is also probable that as many of them will vote for Lincoln, as for McClellan. It is also probable they may conclude that their interests require them to go in a body, one way or the other; but it is far from certain, at present, which way that will be. This is a state of things by no means anticipated, either by the party represented by Mr. Wickliffe, or that represented by Messrs. Guthrie and Prentice. Both the Union party and the backslidden party, profess to believe Kentucky will vote for them; and some excited, relapsed politicians, pledged the State, at Chicago, for enormous majorities, if McClellan should be nominated. We know of no reason, under the sun, why any peace man, or any pro-slavery man, should vote for McClellan, without any platform; nor any, why any body at all should vote for him, on such a platform; nor any, why any man who has any convictions at all, for peace or for war, for Union or for disunion, for slavery or for freedom, should vote for any body at all, in such a time as this, on such a platform as that. Therefore, our general trust in human nature, makes it incomprehensible to us, how, with that platform and that candidate, in the present state of parties, any possible combinations can carry Kentucky into that pit. We may, however, be much mistaken, by having more sympathy with human nature than it deserves.

22. Those are the parties and the elements out of which the result is to come. Two of those elements are the decisive ones, namely: the grand element of the Union, and the subordinate element of slavery. The vast majority of the people of Kentucky still profess an earnest love for the Union, and they have proved their sincerity in many ways, and by many sacrifices. As far as has yet been made manifest, there is no convincing evidence that the mass of the Union people will sustain the mass of the politicians, in their fatal desertion of the national cause, their monstrous amalgamation with the factions at Chicago, and their scandalous pretenses of saving the Union by means which necessarily give triumph to the rebellion, at the moment when its destruction is certain. Still less is there any convincing evidence that the mass of the people even continue to favor the perpetuity of slavery in the State, much less that

they desire this so fervently, that they will embrace every thing, even treason, and sacrifice every thing, even their country, in order to make so great an evil permanent. Still we must say, that if Kentucky is lost to the Union cause, it is slavery, which has been one principal cause of her unhappy change. And we must add that the blame of this sad result, due, in part, to the hereditary and constant unwillingness of the people to abolish the institution; and due, in part, to the intrigues of parties connected with a subject of such extreme difficulty; is due also, very essentially, to the action of Congress and the President in relation to it, and not less to the manner in which the immense and most costly and destructive social revolution has been made to fall on the slaveholders of the State, with little regard to their individual loyalty, and with none at all to the loyalty of the State. We trust in God, Kentucky will stand with unshaken constancy by the nation. But we are well persuaded, that if she still stands firmly to her glorious principles, under such trials and temptations, and dangers and losses, as are now accumulated upon her, she will deserve to occupy the highest station to which any people has been exalted, for heroic constancy and truth. Come, then, sons of this ancient Commonwealth, the first birth of the old Revolution and into the Federal Union; come, let us be the last to betray that Revolution, or to forsake that Union. There is our banner—*Union—Nationality—Freedom.* It is the only one we acknowledge. The hand that writes these lines has pointed, many a time, the way of duty and honor to you: never any other. The voice that utters this call to you, once when clothed with authority both from you, and from the loyal people of all America, pledged you, by all he held dear on earth, to live as becomes you, or to die like men. And the Nation, in like manner, is pledged to you, to the last extremity. Surely will God so deal with them and us, as they and we redeem, to our uttermost, these sacred pledges!

Art. IV.—*The Past Course and Present Duty of Kentucky.*

We approve all the past course of Kentucky, in its principal points, since the beginning of our troubles. We think it has been right and wise, and has saved her from the fate of some of her sister border States. Kentucky was originally in favor of the Crittenden Compromise. The hearty adoption and honest execution of that Compromise, by both the North and the South, would have averted the unhappy contest, and given us tranquillity, as long as it was faithfully observed. But extremism* prevailed on both sides—moderation was thrown away. We sowed to the wind, and have reaped the whirlwind. Kentucky was in favor of neutrality. For this she has been severely censured; but this position was all that her loyal people could take, and successfully maintain, at that time. It was all that was practicable. Practicability is the measure of duty.

> "Who does the best his circumstance allows,
> Does well, acts nobly; angels could no more." †

It is not only foolish, but it is wrong, to attempt what can not be done. At that time, to have attempted more, would have been

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* The emphatic weakness of human nature is to run to extremes. "Truth," said Ruskin, "is a noble column, with many sides." Men look, for the most part, upon but one side, and being deeply impressed with the aspect of truth thus seen, become extremists, if not fanatics, in its maintenance; if they would but take another step, and another, and another yet, until they have surveyed the golden shaft in all its aspects and in all its harmonious proportions, they would have the grand and glorious unity of truth in their intellects and their hearts, and would not be carried away into falsehood and fanaticism, by distorted and half-truths. A half-truth is almost as bad as a whole falsehood. These remarks apply equally to politics and religion. "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling," says Paul. That is the half-truth; but he adds, "for it is God who worketh in you to will and to do of His good pleasure." That is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. The States are sovereign, within certain limits; that's a half-truth. The General Government is sovereign, and exercises national sovereignty within certain limits—that makes the whole truth: Sovereign States composing a Nation with national sovereignty. Each sovereign within its own sphere.

† There is no more fatal curse to a country than abstractions in its politics put into practice. Abstraction begets fanaticism. Statesmanship is altogether a practical art. Not that we would sever it from moral principle. Its measures

to plunge the State into the secession movement. Our loyal statesmen wisely did what they could, and bided their time. They waited until it was evident the rebels would allow us to remain neutral no longer, and then raised the Union flag. The people were then prepared, which they were not at the beginning, to support the loyal movement, and have sustained the cause ever since. It is useless to say that this was temporizing—that Kentucky ought to have declared her loyalty at the first—that she ought to have been outspoken from the beginning—that she ought to have taken her loyal position at once. We repeat our answer, and it is sufficient. She could not do it. Kentucky has thenceforward, heartily and fully, supported the Government, as it was both her duty and interest to do. When the President issued his Proclamation of Freedom, her loyal citizens, for the most part, condemned and opposed it. Yet they still clung to the Government, and while condemning, sustained the Administration—that is, obeyed and submitted to all its requisitions. When the President determined on the employment of negro soldiers, she again condemned and opposed the measure. But her fidelity was unshaken. She threw the whole blame upon the South, which had inaugurated the rebellion and fiercely persisted in it, whose inevitable consequences—consequences we, of Kentucky, so clearly foresaw and foretold—were so fatal to all the interests of slavery. Her position was taken and manfully announced by her Chief Magistrate and Lieutenant Governor—*that if slavery perished incidentally in the war, let it perish.* Kentucky, doubtless, wished to preserve the institution, but she wished to preserve the Union more. When, at last, the Administration has entered upon, and is prosecuting the enlistment of negro soldiers from our slaves, and forming negro camps in the State, what is our duty to the whole

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should be founded on the highest morals—let its theories of abstract right be the loftiest, but it must be content with the attainable. Abstract and theoretical right is the object of desire and effort, both in private and public morals, and should be kept steadily in the mind's eye and the heart's purpose; but practicability in public affairs is the necessary limit of action and conduct. To be satisfied with nothing less than abstract and theoretical right, degenerates into fanaticism, when the surrounding and modifying circumstances are not taken into the view; or, at least, is mere silly obstinacy. The country is now ground into powder between the abstractions of Northern and Southern fanaticism and impracticableness.

country, and to ourselves in particular, but to submit to what we can not help, as we have hitherto done? Shall we madly enter into rebellion, too? Shall we resist? Grant that the whole course of the Administration is wrong touching the negro—is unconstitutional—shall we, therefore, bring ruin upon ourselves by forcible resistance? If the Administration has committed a wrong, it has been led to do it, and enabled to do it, by the rebellion and by the rebels. They are the party both first and last to blame. Shall we give aid and comfort, then, to the rebellion and to the rebels, by a useless, armed opposition to the measures of the Government, even granting them to be wrong and injurious? Surely not, if we are wise. Let us exercise the same prudence and wisdom as hitherto; let us submit to what we can not avoid; let us bide the time.

Resistance to the measures of the Government would inevitably result in a confederation with the rebels, whether intended or not, and however sincerely not intended. It would bring upon us, at once, all the armed power of the Government. The President's Emancipation Proclamation would be at once applied to us, and could be easily and at once executed, and certainly would be without hesitation. Every slave in the State would be instantly emancipated, and a sufficient force sent among us to enforce the decree. Nay, an army would be raised from among ourselves to enforce it, and we should, in a few months, exhibit the pitiful and contemptible condition of a people ruled over by their own slaves. This would be equality with a vengeance. This dreadful fate we can bring upon ourselves if we will, and we can successfully avoid it if we will. The Government will not give up Kentucky—that is certain. She holds it, and can retain her hold. Resistance to any of its measures may bring to our aid a rebel army; but that would only the more certainly insure our destruction. We should, then, become the common battle-ground; contending armies, like opposing winds and waves, would rush in wild and furious destruction across our territory Every part and parcel of it should be repeatedly harried, until Kentucky became a desert. We should receive no favor from either party; and what is more, we would deserve none. Our folly would merit the chastisement we should receive. Both would regard us as just objects of rapine and vengeance. Our

tardy confederation with the rebels would be regarded and treated with contempt, and would be visited by our own Government with just and exemplary punishment. Our just fate would be that of the bat in the fable of the battle of the birds and the beasts. Our folly and misery would make us conspicuous before the whole world. We should gain an unenviable niche in the temple of fame, to be remembered by all coming generations. Kentucky would be but another name for folly—a Kentuckian for a fool. It may be questioned whether a portion of the Northern people would not like to see us take this course, and come to this end. Shall we gratify them? It would be a still greater gratification to the fanatical fire-eaters of the South. They would revel, like demons damned, just loosed for a season from the pit, in the rich fields of Kentucky, and place their heels upon the necks of her citizens with a special zest. Kentucky can gain nothing by resistance to any proceedings of the Government—we mean armed resistance, for civil opposition she has a right to, and ought to, use when she deems it right; but utter ruin, and the gratification of her enemies, North and South, would follow armed opposition. Shall we submit, then, to unjust and tyrannical measures? Certainly; when resistance would produce more evil than good—nay, when it would produce evil and no good.

And what would be the results of submission to the measures of the Government? Why, present safety, and the loss of no other property than our slaves; and if the Government put down the rebellion, future safety also, and prosperity, and the conservation of every other right and liberty we ever possessed in full exercise. For the Government has exercised, and undeniably, by any candid loyal man, designs to exercise, no extraordinary power to which she has not been forced by the stoutness, fierce violence and enduring persistence of the rebels. If the Government is a tyranny, it is a paternal tyranny, temporarily assumed to snatch the State from destruction; if a despotism, it is one forced upon it, and which will be gladly abandoned at the earliest moment. But, in truth, these terms are falsely applied to the few extraordinary proceedings of the Government, especially in Kentucky. Never, since the world commenced, has such leniency been shown toward men as has been extended to the rebel sympathizers of this State. By any

other power now upon earth, or that ever was upon earth from the institution of government among men, they would have been made to pay, with their blood, the forfeit of their allegiance, and for the comfort and aid, as well as sympathy, they have given the rebellion. Instead of this course—a course which has been unrelentingly pursued toward every Union man, and woman and child in the rebel States—they, the rebels of Kentucky, have been, of all her citizens, during the war, the most happily situated. Tolerated and fully protected in all their rights by the Government, they have been safe in the presence of a Federal army—at least, have suffered little more than loyal men. When the rebel forces have entered the State, at least since Bragg was here, who, for special reasons, treated the people of the State with forbearance, they have been the only persons that were safe. They enjoyed, to the core of their sympathizing hearts, the presence and favor of their friends. When they have been driven out, they again have come under the protecting ægis of the Union, and enjoyed as many, and claimed more rights than any other part of the population. No people, under similar circumstances, were ever so fortunate as the rebels of Kentucky. Well might they dispute the truth of the Scripture adage, "The way of the transgressor is hard." Nay, more: many of them have gone a soldiering South until they were tired, have returned, taken the easy oath of allegiance—easy, at least, for a traitor's conscience—enjoyed again the tolerance and protection of a paternal and too indulgent Government, until it suited some of them to try their fortunes again in the South. Rebels, men and women, by the hundreds, have fled hither from the avenger of their crimes in Missouri, and have here enjoyed this paradise of rebels to the full. Thousands of rebel men have left their wives and children behind, among us, to enjoy all the plenty and protection of the land, who are in constant intercourse by the public mails, as well as by the grapevine, with them, and publicly and secretly doing all they can to give aid to the rebel movements; welcoming raids into the State; rejoicing over rebel victories and Federal defeats with scarce any concealment; and yet complaining of intolerable and tyrannous oppression, if now and then, having overstepped the long forbearance of even this despotic Government, they are at last,

and after ten thousand offenses overlooked, made to understand that the governmental patience is not inexhaustible.

But to return to our course of thought. If the Government fail, nothing can possibly happen to us, in the present or the future, as bad as armed resistance would bring upon us. Government success brings with it probably the removal of slavery. What then? It is but the removal and end of an evil thing, which has long and grievously afflicted us; nay, which has brought upon us this great and destructive and deplorable conflict. Shall we grieve over its removal, even though it may be done somewhat forcibly and extra-constitutionally, in our estimation? Somewhat contrary to our wishes and our short-sighted interests? But we could and would submit to this result, and confess it a good thing, if the negroes were also removed out of the country. We acknowledge the benefit of a separation of the two races, if it could be accomplished, both to the negroes and to us. And it would not be an impracticable undertaking, if it were set about earnestly and perseveringly. Kentucky, at least, might be rid of the footsteps of the black man, and he might be sent back to his native land, bearing with him all the precious fruits of civilization and Christianity. We are not without hope that this will be her Providential mission. Our negroes are further advanced in improvement in every direction, as a general thing, than those of any other slave State. They are better prepared to be the pioneers of a Christian civilization to Africa, on a large scale, than those of any other State, and perhaps than the free negroes of the free States; and we hope that a gracious Providence may so order it that they may be. But they can not be removed in a day, a year, nor perhaps in a generation. Let us look, then, for a moment, at this deep-seated opposition to even their temporary freedom on the soil. Has it a rational foundation? It is simply a prejudice against race. We can not bear the idea of this enslaved people moving among us free men and women. We are unwilling they should live even in the same land on any other terms than those of master and slave. In short, as a race to live free among us, we hate them. This is unreasonable and wicked. If it were a question of their introduction among us, a foreign population of a different color and a degraded race, it would be reasonable and right. But they

were born here; their ancestors did not come here voluntarily. Our ancestors brought them here, and by violence enslaved them. They are now a partially civilized and Christian people, with manifest capabilities of improvement. They would still be highly valuable as laborers. And if they could be all at once removed, we should feel their loss severely, and deplore it. The land would be stripped of the body of its best laborers. We could not supply their places for years. No; it will be better for us and them that their removal should be gradual. Indeed, nothing else is possibly practicable, and therefore unworthy of a moment's thought by a practical statesman.

But we should have the same, or at least similar antipathy, if they were of the same color with us, but of a different origin, and had been our slaves. This same inhuman and wicked feeling has existed toward oppressed races in all ages and countries. The polished and civilized Greeks and Romans regarded all the rest of the world, including our own ancestors, as barbarians, and only fit for slaves — nay, the haughty Norman conqueror looked upon the Saxon serf with proud contempt; and the name of *Saxon*, in which we now glory, was once, and, for long centuries, in England, a term of as much contempt as *negro* is now among us. The negro has to live among us *nolens volens*, and, if this war continue much longer, he will live here as a freeman. God intends, apparently, to make us drink this bitter cup, with whatever wry faces we may swallow it. Now, would it not be better that we should lay aside this unreasonable, unjust and inhuman prejudice, not against color merely, but against race—against condition and class, and endeavor to accommodate ourselves to this association, and look candidly and see what kind of an association it will be? We say, then, that if managed with humanity and wisdom, it may be one largely beneficial to both parties, and bringing no peculiar evil to either. 1. It will not be a political and civil association and equality. The political and civil power will remain in our own hands. We can give the blacks just such a political and civil status as we please. Some persons strangely jump to the immediate conclusion, that freedom on the soil implies political, civil, and also social equality, and with this horrid result before their visions, passionately and shudderingly oppose any sort of emancipation, and regard all the

favorers even of gradual emancipation, as Abolitionists; and not only so, but as promoters of civil and social equality, and even of amalgamation. Such views and fears are foolish, fanatical and absurd. The emancipation of every negro, old and young, in the State, to-morrow, would not advance their political position one inch, nor change their social status a single step. It would only separate the two races far wider apart than at present. Now they are in our houses, in the closest associations, brought up with our children, their nurses and playmates upon a perfect equality—sometimes exercising controlling influences over them, intellectually and morally, for many years, and that at an age when the character is rapidly forming. Now they are as near together as two races, which don't intermarry, can well be. In a condition of freedom, all this closeness of association would be broken up. Some would be employed as servants—the rest would live apart. Their children would no longer be brought up under the same dwelling with ours—would no longer play with them in the same yard, and often eat at the same table, and suck the same breast, and sleep in the same cradle. Even among free whites of different classes and professions, the intercourse is small; there is no social inter-visitation; their children are brought up apart; the intercourse is confined to business chiefly. How much smaller would it be between two such races, of such antecedents! It would be confined to the single association of employer and employé. 2. Freedom will never lead to social equality or social intercourse of any kind. The political and civil power being in our hands, the separation will be complete. As to amalgamation, freedom will break it up too. It flourishes only under slavery. It is emphatically and peculiarly an offshoot of slavery. To fear it under freedom, is absurd. When free, the black female will have a character to support; she will have no master to bring up her children for her; she will no longer be exposed to the same temptations as now. Her associations will be exclusively of her own race. She will have parents and brothers to watch over her, and to be injured by her lapse from chastity and character. It is absolutely insulting to suppose there will be any amalgamation between white females, of any degree of respectability, and black men; and to suppose white men, above the lowest degree of moral degra-

dation, seeking in marriage black females, is almost as unreasonable. Indeed, we doubt if the blacks will not be as much opposed to amalgamation as the whites. But if there should be here and there a few intermarriages, it would be no lower a degradation than many white men now attain in this and many other directions. That white men, constantly moving in good society—at least in general male society—have now black concubines, is notoriously not unfrequent. As to marriage, it can be made illegal by law. Fears of political and social equality between the races in a state of freedom, are, then, the rawhead and bloody bones raised in the imaginations of weak-minded people.

But free negroes will not work. This is said without sufficient reason. It is the slave who shirks work. A race who have been trained to labor, will work if paid for their work. Necessity will require and compel them to work; and, if necessary, the aid of law can be invoked to regulate and organize their labor. They will labor as much, at least, as they do now, and will waste a great deal less; while the whites will work a great deal more; so that the State, as a whole, will be the gainer. The present free negroes among us are not fair specimens of what the race would be, if freedom were universal. The most of the race being yet slaves, their improvement is impeded—their social and moral habits and status are fixed by those of the body of their people. They have opportunities of procuring the means of subsistence from the slaves, which would be cut off by general freedom. Yet, many free men are good workers, and almost all the free women. The latter are notable for their industry and good management, and often, nay, generally, with the assistance of their husbands, purchase, by their industry, a lot in the towns where they live, and erect comfortable dwellings, and live in them with their families in comfort—often in neatness and more elegance than was customary among laboring whites when the writer was a child.

Upon the attainment of freedom, it would become the immediate interest of the white race, as it would be their highest duty, to make efforts for the improvement of the black race, in every direction, that while they remain inhabitants of the country, they may be useful; and may be gradually prepared for emigration to their father land. The negroes are an

improvable race. Let it be admitted that at present they are inferior. What a thousand years of training—through thirty generations—might do for them, as it has done for us, we know not. The greatest hater of the negro race can hardly deny that it would do much, very much. But, at present, they are inferior; yet they make good farmers, good mechanics, good cooks, good seamstresses. They can learn to read and write. In short, there ought not to be a question of their making—if we would do our duty to them—a valuable class of free laborers. They will need employment, and we shall need their labor. Mutual wants ought to beget, and will beget, mutual kindliness. If the President's measures, then, however unwarranted, shall remove slavery, it will remove an incubus under which Kentucky has been kept back in her advancement, while her sister border free States have shot ahead of her, and almost—to use the language of the race field—*distanced* her. Whatever may be the fate of the Southern States in rebellion—whether they are brought back to the Union or not—the duty and interest of Kentucky happily coincide in urging her to remain, under all circumstances, loyal to the Government. If her slaves are illegally taken from her, it is no more than the loss of any other species of property. In war, countries are unavoidably desolated; happy shall we be if we get off with the loss of slavery only. But there are many with whom that is every thing—it fills the whole horizon of their visions. It seems to be of the very substance of their souls. The loss of other property is borne with reasonable patience. A horse may be taken in a raid, cattle driven off, forage seized—lands might be confiscated, and, it would seem, even children or wives killed—without producing spasms: but the loss of their negroes is an inconsolable privation—they are the jewels of their affections—the Constitution is violated—their liberties are invaded—nothing is left worth living for, and they declare they will die in the last ditch. Alas! poor Yorick.

With the loss of slavery and the restoration of peace, the State will bound forward in improvement, and wealth, and prosperity. Free white labor will soon be introduced, and with it the introduction of the mechanical arts, now in the course of rapid extinction, [or, more fashionably, which *are* now *being*

rapidly *extinguished*,*] and of manufactures, and the development of our great mineral productions. We have now no manufactures, and the simplest mechanic arts are dying out

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* We do hereby, by virtue of our critical authority as Reviewers, *pronounce* and *denounce* this construction as an absurd solecism—an awkward construction and bad English, and do hereby, within the range of our literary bailiwick, forbid its further use, under the pains and penalties of our severest displeasure.

Marsh says: "I have spoken of the ignorance of grammarians as a frequent cause of the corruption of language. An instance of this is the clumsy and unidiomatic continuing present of the passive voice, which, originating not in the sound, common sense of the people, but in the brain of some grammatical pretender, has widely spread, and threatens to establish itself as another solecism, in addition to the many which our Syntax already presents. The phrase 'the house is *being built*,' for 'the house *is building*,' is an awkward neologism, which neither convenience, intelligibility, nor syntactical congruity demands, and the use of which ought, therefore, to be discountenanced, as an attempt at the artificial improvement of the language in a point which needed no amendment. The English active present, or rather aorist, participle in *ing* is not an Anglo-Saxon, but a modern form, and did not make its appearance as a participle until after the general characteristics which distinguish English from Saxon were fixed. The Saxon active participle terminated in ende, as lufigende, loving; but there was a verbal noun with the ending—ung, sometimes written ing, as clænsung, or clænsing, cleaning or cleansing. The final vowel of the participle was soon dropped, and the termination *and*, or *end*, became the sign of that part of speech. The nominal form in ung also disappeared, and ing became the uniform ending of verbal nouns. Between the verbal noun of action and the active participle, there is a close grammatical, as well as logical, analogy, which is exemplified in such phrases in French and English—*l'appetit vient en mangeant*, appetite comes *with eating*. Hence, the participle ending in *and*, or *end*, and the verbal noun ending in *ing*, were confounded, and at last the old participial sign, though long continued in Scotland, was dropped altogether in England, and the sign of the verbal noun employed for both purposes. . . . The earliest form in which the phrase we are considering occurs, is, 'the house is in building, or *a* building,' a contraction of the Saxon *on*, or the modern English *in*. Ben. Johnson, in his grammar, states expressly that, before the participle present, *a*, and if before a vowel, *an*, gives the participle the force of a gerund; and he cites as an example, 'a great tempest was *a brewing*.' The obvious explanation of this form of speech, is that what grammarians choose to call a present participle, is really a verbal noun; and, if so, there is nothing more irregular or anomalous in the phrase, 'the ship *is building*,' than in saying, 'be industrious in working,' 'be moderate in drinking;' for the verbal noun may as well have a passive as an active or a neuter signification.

"The preposition *on*, or *a*, was dropped about the beginning of the eighteenth century, but it is still understood; and in this construction, though the form is the same as that of the participle, the verbal noun is still as much a noun as it was when the preposition was expressed.

"But if this explanation is rejected, and it is insisted that, in the phrase in question, *building*, *making*, etc., are true participles, active in form, but passive in

among us, [or, to use another fashionable phrase, "in our midst."*] Not a hat is manufactured in the State—hardly a

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signification, the construction may be defended, both by long usage—which is the highest of all linguistic authorities—and by the analogy of numerous established forms of speech, the propriety of which no man thinks of questioning. The active is passive in sense in the phrase 'he is to *blame;* I give you this picture *to examine;* he has books *to sell;* this fruit is good *to eat.*' . . . The reformers who object to the phrase I am defending, must, in consistency, employ the proposed substitute with all passive participles, and in other tenses, as well as the present. They must therefore say: 'The subscription paper *is being missed,* but I know that a considerable sum *is being wanted* to make up the amount; the great Victoria bridge *has been being built* more than two years; when I reach London, the ship Leviathan *will be being built;* if my orders had been followed, the coat would *have been being made* yesterday; if the house had *been being built,* the mortar would *have been being mixed.*' "—[*Marsh's Lectures on the English Language, pp.* 649-654.

We have made this long and learned extract, that henceforth our readers in particular, and the public in general, may no longer be in ignorance that they are violating sense and the most ancient usage of the English language, in the use of this abominable construction, which is now in danger of working a radical change in the language, and turning it into a vile patois of awkward nonsense.

While in the critical mood, we will nail to the counter another recent American innovation upon the fundamental construction of the English language. We allude to the foisting in the adverb between the sign of the infinitive mood *to* and the verb, as, to sorrowfully know; to hopefully conclude, etc. We first noticed this construction within two years past in the public prints; it is now to be seen every day, and has even entered into official communications. If there is any thing fixed in English construction, it is the inseparable connection of the infinitive mood and its sign; and it is rarely, if ever, allowable that an adverb should be intruded between them. Such an insertion is mere affectation, and now, at its beginning, we stigmatize it an inelegant solecism. These innovations in our language are to be resisted, as only less atrocious than rebellion. We are bound to hand down "the well of English undefiled" received from our ancestors, to our children. Simple Saxon English is now so overwhelmed with corrupt constructions, misty Germanisms, Anglicised Latin and Greekisms, that Shakspeare, and Addison, and Goldsmith, and even Johnson himself, a great corruptor of English style, could hardly read their mother tongue. They would not be able to understand a single page of some modern books without a glossary, so overloaded is the style with affectations and corruptions of every sort. Our beautiful and vigorous language is in great danger of becoming a babble of its own corruptions, intermingled with a disgusting *quantum sufficit* of Latin, Greek, French and German barbarisms and novelties. These writers seemingly try to reverse the purpose of Chaucer's Friar, whose effort was

"To make his English sweet upon his tongue."

*By the critical authority aforesaid, we do, *ex cathedra,* pronounce this phrase novel, inelegant and bad English. Marsh says: "In the transition from

shoe. The smith's trade is confined to shoeing horses, but the shoes are imported. Much of our clothing is ready made and brought to us; so is all our fine furniture: in short, most manufactured articles. All this will be reversed with the removal of slavery. Manufactures and the mechanic arts will everywhere immediately spring up. We shall cease to import from the free States what we can make for ourselves. Railroads will be extended, and our mineral regions worked. Our mountain region will gradually become, what it may be, among the richest portions of the Commonwealth.

Will not the people of Kentucky keep on, then, in the even tenor of their way? They have hitherto avoided much of the evils of the conflict by their discretion. Even our Southern sympathizers have been comparatively discreet. When Bragg and Morgan were in the State, few joined them—the rebel leaders were sadly disappointed. Their friends were too discreet. A few of the more ardent followed, the rest held back. We appeal, then, to the whole population, of every class, to remain at least quiet, if not loyal. Quietness and loyalty may confidently be expected to bring safety in the present, and deliverance in the future. If God has stricken slavery, let us not be found fighting against Him. The revolutions of nations

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Anglo-Saxon to English, the genitive plural of the personal pronoun was dropped, and the objective, with a preposition, substituted for it. This change was made before the time of Wycliffe, and the use of the possessive pronoun, instead of the genitive of the personal pronoun, was a violation of the idiom of the language. This is shown abundantly by the authority of the Wycliffeite translators themselves, for they generally make the distinction; as, for example, in Joshua vii: 13, where we read: 'Cursynge is in the midel *of thee*,' in the older text, and 'in the myddis *of thee*' in the later; and in Ezekiel xxxvi: 23, where one text has 'in the myddil *of them*;' and so in many other passages where those old translators agree with the authorized version. The vulgarism, 'in our midst,' 'in your midst,' 'in their midst,' now unhappily very common, grows out of this confusion. The possessive pronoun can not be properly applied, except as indicative of possession or appurtenance. The 'midst' of a company or community, is not a thing belonging or appurtenant to the company, or to the individuals composing it. It is a mere term of relation, of an adverbial, not a substantive character, and is an intensified form of expression for *among*. The phrase in question is, therefore, a gross solecism, and unsupported by the authority of pure, idiomatic English writers. Shakspeare, 2 Pl. Henry VI, IV, 8, has 'through the very midst of you;' and this is the constant form through the authorized translation of the Bible [our best authority for the English language in its purest and most beautiful state]." *Lec. on Eng. Lan.*, pp. 395–6.

are under His hand. He brought the African race here for a great purpose; we hope it is His purpose to remove, at least, a portion of them back to their native home, to civilize and Christianize it. It has been aptly and beautifully said, "America in Africa is the solution of Africa in America." God grant that it may be so. The African race, as we have said in a former article, is one of the great permanent races of the earth. The Scriptures teach us to expect the universal elevation of our race in all its divisions. In this elevation, the African will partake. He is quite as improvable as, and has equal capacity with, any of the races of men, except, perhaps, the Caucasian, upon whom the Creator has conferred the distinction of becoming the pioneer and teacher of civilization and religion to the other races. Woe to us, if we turn our great privilege into an occasion and a pretense for permanent oppression. As, perhaps, the only *means* of elevating, humanly speaking, the African, God has permitted him to be enslaved by the Caucasian. This was intended to be the occasion of a blessing to him; it will be also to us if we fulfill our mission faithfully—but of an unutterable curse if we are unfaithful stewards. The African will share in the common blessing of the Father of Nations. His elevation requires, perhaps, in the providence of God, his speedy deliverance from bondage here, which has been a discipline and means of introduction to the highest civilization known among men. If this should be so, we may bring destruction upon ourselves, as, indeed, it is most manifest to the most purblind, we are daily in danger of doing; but we shall not be able to thwart, or even retard the accomplishment of the Divine decrees.*

* Yet we have no right to take this accomplishment out of the hands of the Almighty into our own hands. If slavery shall perish incidentally in the course of the war, it is the Divine hand that slays it. Hence President Lincoln committed a fatal mistake in his letter addressed "To whom it may concern," in laying it down as a *sine qua non* to peace, that slavery shall be abolished. We have no right to do evil that good may come. It is the Divine privilege to *permit* evil that good may come out of it. But it is alike opposed to the Divine law as well as to the Constitution of the Union, for the President or Congress, or the people, to prosecute a war upon our rebellious brethren for the mere abolition of slavery. The war should be waged solely for the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the Union—waged vigorously, and with every constitutional means in our hands, to crush the viper. Whatever perishes incidentally in so doing, is right—life, property, or any thing incident thereto. But after the rebellion has

An additional reason for President Lincoln's withdrawing from the extreme position assumed by him in his dispatch to Niagara, is presented by the still further and more culpable one assumed by the pseudo-president Davis in his conference with Colonel Jaques. He will have nothing less than Southern independence, and announces that it is useless to approach him with any other terms. We do not believe that the mass of the people South would this day support this condition precedent to peace, if Mr. Lincoln would offer them the union and peace, provided they were free to exercise their suffrages; and we firmly believe that when we have overthrown their armies and

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been subdued, and the rebel States have returned to their allegiance in good faith, the Government would have no further right, founded on Divine or human authority, to prosecute the war for any ulterior purpose; nor has it any warrant, human or Divine, for making the abolition of slavery a condition of peace. On the other hand, every consideration of every sort, drawn from every quarter, forbids any such condition being made. Believing, as we think we have good reason to do, that the President reluctantly yielded to the objectionable measures he has instituted, we trust he will not now, in opposition to the wishes and opinions of his best friends, and of a majority of the sober-minded people of the nation, persist in making such a condition as a preliminary to peace; the nation wants peace and Union. Every heart is raised to God in prayer—the nation is in an agony for peace with the Union—with nothing more and nothing less. The nation will endure every thing for the maintenance and integrity of the Union; with that she will be satisfied, and leave slavery to the providence of God and the mortal stab the rebels themselves have given it. We can feel its great heart beat—we can hear its words of supplication uttered from the deep recesses of the soul.

O! God of Hosts, is it Thy will
  Quite to destroy our country fair?
From North to South, from vale and hill,
  Comes up the wail of dark despair.

Brother with brother, grasped in death,
  Lies stark upon the bloody field—
In hate each breathed his latest breath,
  Wielding the bloody sword and shield.

All of one happy country born,
  Above them one flag floated free,
The stars and stripes its folds adorn,
  From Eastern to the Western Sea.

And now, alas! that flag is torn,
  By her own sons trailed in the dust,
In words of bitterness and scorn,
  At it is aimed the deadly thrust.

freed them from the cruelest tyranny that ever oppressed a people, they will gladly accept Peace, and the Union, and the Constitution.

It is certainly a most remarkable exhibition the rebel president makes of the human heart, when he said to Colonel Jaques and Mr. Gilmore, that he, with his hands all reeking with the blood of millions of souls, could look up, right into the face of God, and say with a clear conscience, "Thou canst not say I did it." We might believe Mr. Davis to be so blinded in his fanaticism as to be sincere, if he had not also said, that they were not fighting for slavery, and never had been, but simply for independence. This is sheer and arrant hypocrisy, and Mr. Davis knows it as well as all the world does. They are fighting to maintain slavery—the rebellion was instituted to make slavery a perpetual institution, and *proh pudor*, to make it the basis—the corner-stone of pretended republican institutions,

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O! God of Hosts, to Thee we cry,
Our hope and faith are still in Thee;
To Thee we lift the imploring eye,
Who rulest both the land and sea.

This deadly strife, O! God, compose,
To our loved land restore sweet peace;
In flowery bowers let her repose,
And to Thy name ne'er praise shall cease.

Our glorious land again restore,
A happy and united land;
From North to South, from shore to shore,
One free, one God-united band.

Shall brother still with brother strive,
Father with son the battle wage—
Asunder shall we madly rive
Our father-land in deadly rage?

O! God, forbid; in mercy speak,
In mercy bid the storm to cease,
And let the bow of promise break
The cloud, and spare the land in peace.

Then shall to Thee, O! God, arise
One long, united shout of praise;
In Northern and in Southern skies,
Thy glorious banner shall we raise.

but really of the meanest form of oligarchy that ever disgraced and afflicted the earth. But the rebellion, if persisted in, will as certainly end in the overthrow of slavery, as that Effect is, by Divine decree not to be broken by any human effort, connected with Cause.

Art. V.—*The Peace Panic—Its Authors and Objects.*

1. We have before us a small outline map of the United States, entitled "*Historical Sketch of the Rebellion*"—published at the office of the United States Coast Survey. It has, no doubt, been inspected by many thousands of persons, and could be studied, without much trouble, by every one. A new edition, bringing down the information it conveys to the time of the new issue, and widely scattered over the country, should do more to direct and satisfy the minds of men—both loyal and disloyal—than all the party documents that will flood the country during the impending Presidential canvass.

2. The waving lines drawn across this map, from east to west, and from the southern edge of the loyal States, as they stood when the war began, drawn south, present to the eye, most distinctly, the progress of the nation in subduing the rebellion, in the *territorial* aspect of the matter—during the two years and a half, extending from July, 1861, to January, 1864. The blue line divides the loyal States from those that had seceded; and shows that in point of territorial extent, the rebellious States were fully as large, if not larger than the loyal States, in July, 1861—the period at which all parties may be considered as having openly taken position.

3. No line runs north of this blue line. No conquest has been made by the insurgents. All their attempts at invasion have utterly failed. All their destructive raids have ended in defeat, and, probably, in the aggregate, the whole raid, invasion, and guerrilla systems of the rebels, have cost them a great deal more than they ever gained by them. The bare inspection of this map shows that the insurgents were never able to wage aggressive war with the United States. Their silly boasts, their insolent pretensions, their absurd demands, their boasted

skill in war, are all exploded by this map. It is clear to every one who will look at this map, that the independence of the revolted States never was possible, by arms.

4. The red line shows the state of the territorial question, in July, 1863—two years after the war began. This red line embraces, adding the spaces blockaded, nearly the entire Atlantic and Gulf coast of the rebel States; they had lost it all. Then it embraces a country, extending from the Atlantic to the west, as far as the Indian country south of Kansas, a distance of fifteen hundred miles, or more. This red line runs, waving south, from both its eastern and western extremity, so as to embrace the country on both sides of the Mississippi river, and that on the Gulf shore, for some distance both ways from New Orleans. In its greatest width, from south to north, this conquered region is a thousand miles wide, or more, and its average width can not be less than five or six hundred miles. That is, a country fifteen hundred miles long, by five hundred miles wide, is conquered, overrun, occupied, and rendered useless to the rebels in their further attempts. Their whole seaboard is lost, the best half of their country is conquered; and the portion left is cut in two; all in two years. And yet, men who desire us to believe that they are not only loyal, but honest and truthful, profess to believe that the war has been a total failure, and that the safety of the nation demands the immediate cessation of hostilities, and the conclusion of peace on the best terms we can get.

5. The yellow line across this map, shows the territory we conquered from the insurgents, during about half a year, extending from July, 1863, to January, 1864—when the "Historical Sketch" terminates. This yellow line adds to our conquests a considerable territory, along its eastern course, and south of its western portion. So the territorial question stood at the commencement of the year 1864. The disgraceful reverse of our arms under General Banks, has temporarily lost us territory west of the Mississippi. The disreputable failures by General Sigel and General Hunter, have temporarily arrested our conquests in Central Virginia. But the glorious career of General Grant, General Meade, General Sherman, and Admiral Farragut, are extending and confirming our conquests in the very vitals of the rebel country. As far as can be clearly

understood at this moment, the fall of Richmond, of Mobile, and the destruction of the rebel power in Georgia—all three of which events are eminently probable, and near at hand—would put the whole rebellion at the mere mercy of our Government. On the other hand, our failure of complete success, for the present, in all three of those enterprises, which is utterly improbable, would leave the campaign of 1864 one of decisive success to the United States; and would leave the insurgents without the least rational hope from the further prosecution of the war. Yet, it is in these circumstances, when an outraged people have absolute triumph immediately in their grasp—triumph that secures for all time the greatest blessings—among them Union, independence, and freedom—and at the same time, punishes the greatest and most heinous crimes; that the most vehement efforts are made to alarm the nation into a disgraceful and ruinous composition with the rebels, under the false and base pretext, that we are ourselves ignominiously beaten! It is a mockery to speak of patriotism, or loyalty, as actuating such attempt.

6. There is another material aspect of this question of ignominious and destructive peace, so fiercely urged upon us, which is suggested by a population table, taken from the census of 1860, and printed in one corner of this map. The total population of the nation, by that census, was a little under 31,500,000. Of these, a little under 27,500,000 were free people; of whom a little over 22,200,000 belonged to the twenty-four loyal States, including Kansas and West Virginia—and including about 200,000 inhabitants of the Territories, and a little under 5,300,000 belonged to the eleven disloyal States. For a moment let us recount these eleven disloyal States, and fix in our minds what their 5,300,000 inhabitants have been able to do against the 22,500,000 inhabiting the twenty-four loyal States and the Territories, to justify the enormous clamor, that we must sue for peace. We have shown the case in the aggregate; let us see the details. Alabama—the northern part and the sea-coast conquered and in our possession; the southern part, the present seat of war. Arkansas—the western part still in arms—the northern and eastern parts conquered and held by us. Florida—all its sea-coast, and portions of its interior conquered and held by us; the rest a theater of war. Geor-

gia—occupied on the sea-board by us; its northern and western parts conquered—its central portion occupied by the army under Sherman. Louisiana—the greater part of it conquered and occupied by us—the western portion a theater of war. Mississippi—conquered and occupied; bands of guerrillas roaming over it, completing its desolation. North Carolina—its sea-board chiefly held by us—its frontiers, on all sides, partial theaters of war; its immediate fate depends on the operations of Grant and Sherman. South Carolina—portions of it held by us, including all its sea-board, its fate follows that of Georgia. Tennessee—conquered and occupied by us; still desolated in portions of it by rebel guerrillas. Texas—large portions of it have been conquered and occupied; the defeat of General Banks in Arkansas, in 1864, temporarily preserved Texas from complete subjugation. Virginia—poor Virginia, has lost the whole State of West Virginia, and has suffered more in three years of rebellion than all the rebel States would have suffered in three hundred years in the Union, even if every grievance they complained of had been strictly true. This completes the eleven States. And we demand, in the name of all that ought to be held sacred by truthful men, if there is any thing here to justify our alarm, even if we were all poltroons? There may be much to excite our wonder at the infinite folly of the insurgents—and our compassion for them; much also to excite our abhorrence of those parties in the loyal States that have habitually deceived the insurgents with false hopes, and habitually sought to dismay the loyal people with pretended dangers.

7. But this aspect of the case is not complete, until we have considered the slave element in the two sections, and its bearing upon this peace panic. There were, in 1860, not quite 4,000,000 of negro slaves. Of these, a little over 3,500,000 were embraced in the eleven States that revolted; a little less than 450,000 inhabited slave States that did not revolt. Observe, there were, therefore, eight negro slaves in the eleven revolted States, for every negro slave in the twenty-four loyal States. Observe, on the other hand, there were four free persons in the twenty-four loyal States, to every free person in the eleven revolted States. Observe again, there were two negro slaves to every three free persons in the eleven revolted States; while there were fifty free

persons to every negro slave, in the twenty-four loyal States. If slavery was an element of strength, the revolted States had this element in an enormously preponderating ratio. And in this case, the loyal States had the clearest possible right to destroy it; for however clear might be the right of the slave States, under the Constitution, to hold slaves as property, their obligation was equally clear not to turn that property to the destruction of others, much less the nation itself; and the right to destroy the property was perfect, as soon as it was used in that manner. If, however, the existence of slavery was an element of weakness, then just to the extent of that weakness, was the one free rebel's hopeless inability to conquer four free patriots, made more hopeless from the start. But, in effect, all of the 4,000,000 of slaves, may be said, without exaggeration, to have been on the side of the nation, and against the rebels; which at once changed the ratio from four to one, to five to one, as between the loyal strength and the rebel strength, when the war began. From one hundred thousand negro soldiers, and upward, to whatever the number may grow, is one appreciable result of the change of ratio of strength, just stated; and it is but one amongst many such elements. We have no use to make, at present, of this entire branch of our great national question, except to bring it face to face with this ignominious peace panic. Utter contempt is the natural emotion, with which every soul capable of one brave throb might be expected to look upon the attempt to alarm us into a humiliating cessation of arms, preparatory to the independence of the insurgents. We do not feel inclined to offer indignities to brave men, because those who plead their cause, rather than fight for it, make it ludicrous. But we suspect, if the ferocious peace patriots of the loyal States had been put in the place of the 5,300,000 rebels, the 4,000,000 of slaves would have been nearer their match than the 22,200,000 free people. It is proper to say, before leaving this part of the subject, that we use, in all we have said, the nearest round numbers; and that in speaking of loyal persons and rebels by States, it is again as if speaking in round numbers. No considerable errors that it would be possible to guard against, could arise from this universal method; for whatever are inherent in the mode of statement offset each other, by occurring ratably on opposite sides.

8. There is, undoubtedly, no very inviting prospect to the authors of this peace panic, founded upon the complete triumph of the national cause by arms. Their past and present conduct is too conspicuously bad, in every sense, to secure them any thing but infamy, if they fail. The greater their disloyal endeavors may be, provided they come short of completely destroying the nation, and destroying with it all virtuous public sentiment, and all wholesome law; the more sure and the more signal will be the retribution which outraged public opinion will hereafter demand from them, and righteous laws enforce upon them, and national embarrassments they have created require of them. Their own alarm arises from the certainty that the nation will conquer the rebels, if the war goes on; from the certainty that all their own sympathy with the rebels in arms, and all the aid they can give them, even to the extent of armed insurrections in the loyal States—can not prevent, nor long delay, the crushing out of the rebellion. They, therefore, with a common accord, lift up this frantic cry for immediate peace on any terms—on the shameless pretexts that the war, which has been signally successful, has been a failure—and that its continuance, which is fatal to them, is fraught with nothing but our disgrace and ruin. Their alarm for their own fate, the obvious ground of which we have just explained, is manifested in another way, entirely inconsistent with the pretext that the nation is exhausted and defeated; but very pertinent to men conscious of their offenses, and dreading the consequences—when the nation completely triumphs. They say, when we have conquered the rebels, we shall have subverted the Constitution and the laws, in the process; and then they also will become the slaves of the despotism set up by loyal men. By despotism they mean, what every body else means by regulated liberty under just laws. What they mean by becoming slaves is, that their party should be out of power, and that they should be required to behave themselves, or be punished when they do not. The whole disloyal clamor against the public authorities, since this war began, about tyranny and oppression in all the varied forms, and innumerable instances charged, rests upon the insane assumption that the very end of a government of laws, is to protect equally violations of them, and obedience to them. If it has any other foundation it is the assumption, that it is

more pleasing to God, and far better for mankind, that all governments and laws should be destroyed, than that they should be used for any purpose whatever that does not tend to gratify, promote and honor the so-called Democracy, in every infamous caprice which vile and discordant factions successively combine to force upon society. In 1860–61, it was through secession that a political millennium was to be secured. In 1864—that millennium being exploded—it is by sudden and ignominious peace, sued for in the midst of a career of triumph, that a new millennium of impunity, and perpetual slavery, is to be inaugurated. All the time the nation is the victim, and the same priests officiate at her sacrifice.

9. There are two aspects united in this peace movement, which the parties to it seem mutually anxious to keep distinct, while melting into one. The platform adopted at Chicago is claimed, as far as yet appears, by all the factions in that convention, as *sufficiently* expressing *a view* in favor of peace, in which all can *sufficiently* unite to vote for McClellan for President, and for Pendleton for Vice President. But you must look at both of those candidates at the same time, or else you can not see the true sense of the Platform. If you shut the McClellan eye, that Platform changes its appearance very materially. If, contrariwise, you shut the Pendleton eye, the change is equally great, but in an opposite direction. Both eyes open are supposed to see both the candidates at first; and then, by steady looking, a new object, supposed to combine them, comes forth; this they call the *Platform*. The conception is ingenious, and the process cunning. Most of our readers have, no doubt, seen the handsome toy called stereoscope, and very pretty photographic cards, by which *binocular vision*, as they call it, is illustrated; and have been instructed and delighted by the beautiful manner in which some very curious and interesting truths are disclosed. We can not tell whether the inventor of that instrument took his hint from the time-honored practice of the Democratic party, so carefully illustrated at Chicago, or whether the Democratic party got the hint from the toy maker. Suffice it, the principle has been as well applied to the coarse art of politics for cheating adults, as to the fine arts for teaching children how they can cheat themselves. We the more readily comply with the desire of these factions to

be considered as only delusively supervened, one upon the other, under special circumstances; since, in effect, other circumstances might possibly occur, in which the safety of the nation might be promoted by the reappearance of each faction in its own distinct character.

10. The great difference to be conciliated in the Platform, by means of looking with one eye on McClellan, and the other on Pendleton, at the same time, was peace by war, or peace by panic. The panic party won the Platform and the Vice President; the pretended war men won the President. The Convention, the Platform, the factions, every thing, is for immediate peace of some sort. Some partial exception might once have been contended for, by obstinate disputants in favor of General McClellan, and the backslidden Union men of Kentucky. But we imagine, their transitory favor for the suppression of the rebellion is allayed by the danger of the "peculiar institution" in the latter case, and the temptation of the Presidency in the former. It is true that the first paragraph of the Platform appears to intimate that fighting was possible; it professes that all of them "*will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution.*" But there are so many, and such mysterious conditions expressed and implied, that such a declaration, uttered by such people, under such circumstances, and with such excessive caution in the use of words, that the declaration may really mean *peace at any price.* Sincere men look upon the matter pretty much as the old Romans did on the straw that was tied to the horns of a bull. They were not afraid of the bull—they feared nothing; but that whisp of straw was the sign that the bull was vicious. There are many bad signs here, and the character was bad to begin with. They say they will adhere, etc., "*in the future as in the past.*" To which we reply, if that is all, their "unswerving fidelity to the Union" has already disgusted every loyal man in America. They limit, moreover, their fidelity to the Union, while under that special Constitution which now is, and as it is. Any change of it, to special pleaders like these, probably means that their pledge then fails, and they are no longer for the Union; especially if the change were detrimental to slavery—upon which, in Kentucky, they are risking every thing. At the best, the pledge is not the expression of

any devotion to American nationality, above, before, and beyond any particular form it may assume; but is such an adhesion as a secessionist might make, to a constitution actually existing. And besides, a very large part of this very Convention profess to believe, we are no nation at all, except so long as this Constitution exists; and another large part profess to believe that the secession of the Southern States destroyed the Constitution, and dissolved the Union; and another large part have actually conspired against the President as a usurper, on the ground that there is no longer any lawful Government. Considering all this, the Conservatives might profess that the pledge is distinct to a Union—at once popular and territorial—making a nation of States; while the secession peace-men might just as well contend that it is for a Union of sovereign States, by way of confederation. And, in fact, these factions, by their organs, appear to have already so professed and contended. Moreover, the two reasons they give for their devotion are every way suspicious. The first one, about the "solid foundation," etc., can last only so long as we are "*a people;*" which the bulk of these men either believe we never were, or believe we have ceased to be; while not one in fifty of them, if any one at all, appeared to have any idea that we should any longer maintain, by arms, our status as "*a people.*" The other reason, about "a frame work of Government," etc., seems to mean, they are for the Constitution, because, and so long, as it teaches ultra States' rights doctrine. We do not pretend to say that this paragraph of the Platform can mean nothing different from what we have suggested; nor that any one, merely reading the words, without knowing the parties, or their special situation and objects, would, at once, see all we have suggested in it. But we believe no loyal man, on reading what we say, and reading this pretended profession of devotion to the Union, will consider it honest, and sufficient, in any patriotic sense. Undoubtedly the great body of the American people fully believe, that the Chicago Convention could not have *honestly* constructed and uttered a pure and simple profession of devotion to the nation and the Constitution; or *have honestly* declared their purpose to sustain either, by arms, against the insurgents. We do that body no injustice, therefore, in saying they did neither. They were not loyal; they were for

immediate peace; those who did not believe the war to be illegal from the start, because secession was a constitutional right, believed that the war was a failure, and its continuance infinitely ruinous. *Immediate peace, on any terms*, is demanded.

11. We have heard persons, respectable for intelligence, and occupying important positions in society, denounce the Union party, the Baltimore Platform, and the President, as being all committed against the possibility of peace, except the institution of slavery shall first be every where destroyed. Coupled with this, has generally been a defense of the peace panic party, and of slavery, on the ground that all they meant was peace, irrespective of every thing but the preservation of the Union and the Constitution, with a special rejection of any particular condition against slavery. We observe that this aspect of the matter has passed from private talk into the newspapers, the "*campaign documents*," and the enormous current oratory. It is proper, therefore, to disentangle the case.

12. The Baltimore Platform of the Union party, in its first resolution, declares for the maintenance of the integrity of the Union, and the permanent authority of the Constitution and laws; and for quelling the rebellion by force of arms, and punishing the crimes of traitors and rebels. The atmosphere we thus get into, is widely different from that of Chicago. The second resolution denounces all compromises with the rebellion, and repudiates "*any terms of peace, except such as may be based on the unconditional surrender of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States*," and an express demand is made "*upon the Government to maintain this position*," and from it to prosecute the war, crush the rebellion, and preserve the country. There is the *peace doctrine* of the Union party in the United States. They have never held or uttered any other, and never will. Peace, based on unconditional surrender of hostilities by armed rebels, and their return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States.

13. Now contrast this with the *peace doctrine* of the Chicago Platform. Its second resolution declares it to be the sense of the Convention, and of the American people, that we have had "*four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war;*" that is, we are whipped. It then proceeds to allege that

these four years of failure by war have exhibited what may be called a succession of usurpations and crimes, on the part of the Federal Government, and a prolonged season of suffering, oppression and disgrace on the part of the people. Then it demands "*that an immediate effort be made for the cessation of hostilities.*" Then it explains that what it had next in view is, "*an ultimate convention of all the States*"—including, of course, the rebel States, and to be held during the "cessation of hostilities." If this can not be had—and it is pretty hard to get—then these patriots want some "*other peaceable means*" tried! No more war, of course; and this public notification is given to the rebels, that they may be made to understand they have the whole matter in their own hands, and will get whatever they demand. Then the end of all this atrocious and shameless infamy, the sound of which makes an honest and brave man tingle all over, is avowed to be, "*that at the earliest possible moment, peace may be restored.*" The meanest thing we remember to have seen in print, is the detestable hypocrisy which declares that all these seditious purposes, and traitorous desires, are "*on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.*" Our want of space renders it inconvenient, even if it was necessary, to show that the remaining portions of this Platform are of the same spirit, and all tend in the same direction, with the paragraph we have now analyzed. There, then, is the *peace doctrine* of the Disunion party in the loyal States: the war a failure—the nation whipped—an immediate cessation of hostilities—ultimate convention of all loyal and rebel States—any other *peaceable* means—to the earliest possible peace that can be got without any more fighting! And this is what we are asked to take in satisfaction of the blood of a million of our brethren—of the utter and eternal disgrace of being frightened into idiocy after we had triumphed—of the partition and ruin of the nation our immediate ancestors created—of three or four thousand millions of public debt—and of the everlasting destruction of human liberty, by proving that free governments are worthless, and human nature too base to be trusted with the care of itself! Even beyond all this horrible weight of shame and ruin, there is a self-pollution still deeper, if that be possible; for we are asked to put this detestable scheme into effect ourselves, by giving power to those who propose it!

14. Now it is to be seen how far the question of slavery modified the patriotic principles of the Baltimore Platform and the party that adopts it; and modified the scandalous principles of the Chicago Platform and the factions that adopt it: especially with regard to the question of *peace*—about which both platforms, as we have shown, speak with perfect distinctness. Taken in the mass, undoubtedly the Union party is hostile to the institution of slavery; and has become deeply settled in the conviction, that it was the chief cause of the secession and the rebellion, and that permanent peace and national security will be endangered, as long as slavery shall exist as the controlling political element, in powerful States of the Union. Undoubtedly it has been the openly avowed determination of the Union party, that no consideration connected with slavery, should obstruct the war for the maintenance of the Union and the Constitution; and that its utter destruction should be swift and certain, if that should be necessary to the conquest of the insurgents. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the great mass of the Democratic party was in close union with slavery as a political power, in every national success it obtained, from the close of General Jackson's second Presidential term, up to the rupture at Charleston, in 1860. The course of Mr. Douglas in the Presidential canvass of that year, established in the bosom of that party a powerful reaction against the Southern and pro-slavery supremacy in it; and the secession of eleven slave States, and the civil war, which followed the election of Mr. Lincoln, paralyzed, if it did not dissolve, the Democratic party in the North. By degrees, the party sought to re-establish itself; and its first signs of returning life were exhibited in its sympathy with the South—with its fatal political heresies, with its rebellion and its slavery. True to its deplorable instincts, it seized upon the wide reaction of 1862 against the Emancipation Proclamation of the President, issued in the fall of that year, and sought to turn it from any national, to the narrowest Democratic purposes. The reaction was far enough from meaning that, and the counter action in 1863 broke down the Democratic party once more. In 1864 we meet once more these disciples of Mr. Calhoun—these men so long in league with the political power of slavery—these fierce opponents of every

national effort to preserve the national existence—this time combining with every other turbulent, disloyal, or hostile faction—to regain power. We have seen, in part, what they did. True still to their old sympathies, they must, one would suppose, tell men plainly what they think, what they desire, what they intend to do, concerning this great and dangerous question of slavery.

15. Alas! that old doctrine of the Pharisees! At Chicago, "*they feared the people!*" Ignominious peace and perpetual slavery were too much for one platform. Something may be reserved for *private* agreement. But the National Democratic party, so long the city of refuge for American slavery, abandons it to its fate, closes its ears to the clamors of its friends, and in lofty silence passes by a subject upon which every political party has been successively wrecked, on which the immediate destiny of the nation essentially depends, and with regard to which foreign Governments direct their action, and distant nations push their inquiries. There is an immense significance in this; and we accept, with great satisfaction, the proof of the strength of our principles, furnished by this real and ominous panic. Widely different was the course of the Baltimore Convention. Their utterance was so distinct, as to render any collateral statement by us quite needless. We have already analyzed their *first* resolution relating to the maintenance of the Union and the Constitution; and their *second* resolution relating to the war and the conditions of peace. The *third* resolution relates to slavery. In it, they declare slavery to be the *cause*, and the *strength* of the rebellion—and declare that justice and the national safety, demand its extinction. They then declare their approval of the acts and proclamations of the Government, as aimed *in its own defense*—and as designed to be fatal to slavery. And, finally, they recommend such an amendment of the Federal Constitution, as shall terminate and forever prohibit slavery. Now, the question is, does this platform make the destruction of slavery a *condition precedent* to peace—or bind the Union party to any such course? Its terms of peace are distinctly and previously stated, in the preceding resolution, to be, on the part of the rebels, "*unconditional surrender of their hostility, and a return to their allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States.*" On the part of the

Government, it demands the maintenance of this position; and, if the terms above stated are not complied with by the rebels, "to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion." Beside all this, which is perfectly clear of itself, the remedy by which they propose to "terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery, within the limits, or the jurisdiction of the United States," is a remedy wholly incompatible with the idea of a condition precedent to peace, and utterly beyond any power in the Government, or in any department of it, to enforce. It is by "*an amendment of the Constitution, to be made by the people, in conformity with its provisions.*" It is undeniably true, that the Baltimore Platform, the Union party, and the American people, desire to put an end to slavery in the United States. It is undeniable, that the mode proposed is both legal and effectual; and that abundant cause exists to apply that remedy, whether the war continues or peace is made—and that it is increased both in strength and the certainty of its ultimate application, every day the rebellion in the South and the conspiracies in the North, more and more unite and enlighten all loyal men. But it is a willful untruth, or a gross and needless mistake, to allege that we are only *conditional* Union at last, like Copperheads and Peace Democrats, the only difference being, that they are for the Union if slavery is preserved—we if slavery is abolished. The true difference is, that they want peace, that their country may be deprived of the just fruits of so much sacrifice; we want peace, as soon as our country can enjoy that fruit. They want peace, that treason may not be crushed, and rebellion utterly extinguished; we want peace, as soon as treason and rebellion are destroyed. They want peace as the means of new conspiracies, and as a refuge from the consequences of their past offenses; we want peace for the blessings it should confer, and as soon as those blessings can be enjoyed in security. They have robbed us of this unspeakable blessing—let us so recover it, that they will rob us of it no more.

16. We do not deem it very essential to discuss this question of the relation of slavery to peace, with reference to the relative claims of the two Presidential candidates, to the support of pro-slavery men. Without immediate peace, slavery must become extinct—if, indeed, it must not do so in any event; and

we suppose that the vote of every slave State that will vote, except Kentucky, is as certain to be for Mr. Lincoln as if it was already cast. Moreover, General McClellan is as much committed against favoring slavery at the expense of the safety of the Union, or even at the risk of protracting the war, as Mr. Lincoln is. There is, indeed, a discreditable sentence in his letter accepting his nomination, in which he appears to intimate some denial of his notorious advice to Mr. Lincoln, to attack the institution of slavery, as well as his notorious "*arbitrary arrests.*" He says the preservation of the Union ought to have been the sole object of the war; and then adds, that if the war had not been thus conducted, "*the work of conciliation would have been easy.*" No one knows better than General McClellan, that the work of conciliation was, from the beginning, utterly impossible. No man knows better than he, that it is impossible now, except by wholly destroying the military power of the insurgents. No one can possibly know, as well as he knows, that if the conciliation he speaks of was ever possible, he is fully as responsible as Mr. Lincoln for defeating it. As to Mr. Lincoln's past course, nothing can be more clear and decided than his repeated avowals that his sole object, in every instance and method in which he has acted against slavery, or refused to act against it, was so to act, or refuse to act, as seemed to him most conducive to the preservation of the Union—and always in accordance with what he believed to be his constitutional powers and duties. It has not been our fortune to agree with Mr. Lincoln in some of his views on this most difficult question. But, cordially approving his grand object, we did not understand either the patriotism or the common sense, of traducing him as a man, or resisting him as magistrate, or conspiring against him as the military head of this great war, when the only possible effects of such conduct would be to strengthen the rebellion. It is alleged that the short publication made by Mr. Lincoln, dated July 18, and addressed "*To whom it may concern,*" is totally inconsistent with what we have shown to be conditions of peace laid down in the Baltimore Platform; and proves that "*the abandonment of slavery,*" is with him a condition *sine qua non*, to the admission of any rebel State once more to the exercise of all the constitutional rights possessed by any other State. But it is manifest that

the publication has no such meaning. It would be contrary to his *hearty approval* of our platform on the 27th of June. The logic and intent of every previous act and declaration of the President, on the subject of slavery and the Union, are directly hostile to the deduction his enemies make from this short publication. He does not speak in it, at all, of the restoration of any *State*, nor of its rights, nor of any arrangement with any State. He speaks of "*any proposition which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war with the United States.*" This, it is certain, no State could do. Perhaps General Lee, in certain eventualities, might do it; perhaps Jefferson Davis might do it now. The phrase objected to is one of four, (peace, union, slavery, power over rebel armies), embracing conditions—*not sine qua*, but such as "*will be received and considered.*" Nothing can be more absurd, under all the circumstances, than to speak of this publication as binding Mr. Lincoln to keep a revolted State out of the Union till it would do any thing whatever except obey the Constitution and laws of the United States, and faithfully discharge all its duties under both. The Government of the United States has no more power to repudiate a State, than a State has to secede from the nation. Nevertheless, we must not encourage this over-sensitiveness about slavery, as if we had not, even yet, outgrown the dread of it. The nation is bound to respect every constitutional right of every State, and to protect every vested right of every citizen. But the nation also has rights, which every State and every citizen must be made to respect. And among these, the first and greatest of all is the right to exist; in presence of which the right to hold our fellow creatures as slaves would be ludicrous, if it were not insulting.

17. The origin of this *peace-at-any-price* platform issued at Chicago, by the combined factions in the loyal States, is as shameful and traitorous as its spirit is fraudulent and hateful. The New York correspondent of the *London Times*, under date of August 8th, informs his employers that the Clifton House (in Canada, at Niagara Falls), had become a center of negotiations between the Northern friends of peace and Southern agents. This British publication is dated twenty-one days before the meeting of the Chicago Convention; and at that period this foreign agent, and probably spy, was accurately informed of

what the compact contained, which these Southern agents and the Northern friends of peace had agreed on after negotiation. An armistice—a convention of the States—the withdrawal of the arbitrament of the sword—the nomination of a president on this platform—and the defeat of Mr. Lincoln by all possible means; this is the compact, as stated by the British agent twenty-one days before the Chicago Convention met. This is the essence of the Platform actually adopted by that body—in proof of its complicity—and ratified by its partisans everywhere. The peace patriots, and the British agent, and the Southern traitors, all mutually furnish proof against each other, of the audacious proceeding. For while the proof against the whole of them is complete, Mr. George Saunders, the companion of Mr. Holcombe and Mr. Clay, makes a special record as to the complicity of the peace patriots with the Southern traitors, after the fact. As soon as the doings of the Chicago Convention were completed, he telegraphs from St. Catherine's, Canada West, on the 1st of September, to Mr. D. Wier, of Halifax, that the Platform and Presidential nominee were unsatisfactory (that is, were not bad enough—nor possibly quite up to his notion of the contract); but that the Vice President and the speeches were satisfactory. This Mr. Wier is said to be a Confederate agent at Halifax, and an accomplice of the patriots and traitors in conference. Mr. Saunders desires Mr. Wier to tell Philmore not to oppose the result reached at Chicago. Mr. Philmore is said to be the conductor of the insurgent organ, in London. Mr. Saunders seems to have still confided in the fidelity of the factions who had cheated him and his colleagues a little—had cheated each other a great deal, and had combined to cheat the nation out of its honor, its safety, and perhaps its life; confided in them, that is, far enough to trust them for the full execution of the terms agreed on at Chicago; though the Chicago aspect of these terms was not so good, for the rebels, as the aspect of them agreed on in Canada. Every one understands that General McClellan's acceptance is considered by the peace panic men an attempt to take the platform for substance only—while he takes the chance of the Presidency, without the least equivocation. How Mr. Saunders and his accomplices, how that portion of the Democracy which is conspiring in the North for the portion fighting in the South—

in short, how all the affiliated patriots, traitors, and conspirators—will digest their mutual and multifarious cheats, intrigues, exposures, and perils, we do not pretend to understand. But we do perfectly understand, that every American heart that is in the right place, will turn with horror from a conspiracy, at once so black with treason, so base in design, and so degrading in the manner of its execution, as the one we have developed—and of whose existence and action we consider the proof conclusive.

18. It adds another shade of turpitude to this peace fraud, and furnishes another damning proof that the real object of this peace conspiracy was to aid the rebels, even by the destruction of the nation; that every one engaged in concocting it and in indorsing it, knew perfectly well that it was impossible to make any peace with the insurgents in the way they pretend, or in any other way, except by conquering them, or by giving them independent national existence. From the very beginning, this is what every rebel State, what the Confederate Government, what every rebel who has spoken or written, what every important event in the history of the revolt—has continually proclaimed. To separate from the United States and make a new and independent nation—for what purpose, or for how many purposes, is immaterial here—was the very object of their whole thirty years of treasonable efforts, preceding the civil war; of the secession of every one of the eleven States that united in that war and in the Confederacy that has waged it; and of all their sacrifices, cruelties and crimes during that war. Every man who forfeited his life by treasonable conferences with the rebel agents at Chicago, knew this, and knew that this was still the frantic and unchangeable purpose of every rebel authority to which peace could be proposed. Every man who has forfeited the confidence of his country, by taking part in organizing the Democratic party, and arming secret bands of traitors, and menacing war upon the Government, and raising this turbulent and seditious clamor, all for the express purpose of forcing us to base, cowardly, and fatal attempts at peace, knew all this with absolute certainty. We are obliged, therefore, to say that a most fatal and gigantic fraud is attempted upon the people of the United States, by means of this peace panic; and that the object of the fraud can be no other than to

gain power through our national humiliation, and ruin, or to co-operate with the insurgents in establishing their treason. What *special motives* might actuate American citizens to seek power thus, or to use it thus when obtained, is an inquiry which throws open to us all the passions, the interests, the weaknesses, the corruptions of the monstrous period in which we live. Our duty is to defeat the terrible design; to prevent the attainment of the fatal objects proposed; to hold the authors of such attempts responsible for them; to extirpate, root and branch, the dangers which threaten the nation. After that, peace.

19. It is the common outcry of the Northern section of the rebellion, that the Southern section will change their minds as soon as their Northern friends come in possession of the Federal Government, and will agree readily to make peace without independence. If they believed these, why did they attempt to make a double-faced platform? Why did they concert with rebel agents in Canada, the execrable terms contained in that platform? Why do the agents of the rebel Government, and all peace panic accomplices, distrust General McClellan—and why do all sincere sympathizers with the insurgents dread the incompatibility between the candidate and the platform? Why does not some whisper of peace, without independence, come from some rebel Government, General, or State, to help their Northern accomplices in this moment of impending wrath? And yet, if some mixture of truth lurked in these fraudulent professions, it is easy to understand that there are, in the nature of things, terms on which such traitors as the Southern conspirators, and such accomplices as their Northern supporters, might substantially accomplish what they desire, if the Northern conspirators can only obtain power. Thus—a new confederacy might be formed, embracing all the States, but uniting them in a *league*, as if each State was a nation—instead of being united, as now, into one nation—made up of States and people, under a common *government*. Or, there might be three or four great confederacies carved out of the nation, the nation itself being destroyed, and each of the new confederacies being only a *league*. Or these *leagues*, each constituted of many States, might be again united into one *confederacy*, in which the great *leagues* only would stand related to each other. And very

obvious conditions might be added against us, and for the benefit of the successful party, in the unjust war which this peace party asserts that we are urging. As, for example: that we pay their expenses of the war; that we pay for the lost negroes and the destroyed property of every kind; that we guarantee the restoration and the perpetual security of negro slavery in all the States where it existed, and in all the Territories; with many more of a similar character—all very honorable and satisfactory in the view of such Americans as will agree to put into power a party capable of such disinterested compliances. We wish every sane man who reads this paragraph, would stop and consider what the men deserve, who desire such things—or things having the very least resemblance to them—to happen to this great and free nation! We wish he would try to make his mind up, as to what must happen to a mighty and heroic people, before any such things as any of these can come to pass! We wish he would determine within himself, what such a nation, such a people, will do after any such things have been put upon them, by force or by fraud—and they have waked up to the tremendous reality!

20. But suppose we agree to believe that the war is an utter failure, on our part, and also agree to believe all the other declarations, dependent on that one; which any one can believe, who sees nothing to be true unless it suits his purpose, and nothing to be false unless it stands in his way. Suppose, moreover, we agree to see that our duty as brave, wise, and patriotic citizens obliges us to give our adhesion to the peace panic party, and crown their seditious and anarchical movement with triumph; which any one can attempt as soon as he has lost the power of distinguishing between good and evil. The peace party obtains power. But it professes to be loyal to the Constitution and the Union. And it knows the rebels will conclude peace *with them* by giving up their mad purpose of independence, and returning to their former *status* in the Union. Now we encounter at the threshold of every attempt to put these principles into practice, constitutional difficulties, on both sides, which are inseparable, and in the face of which all negotiation is absurd. Mr. Davis is the President of a Confederate Government of sovereign States, with specially defined powers. He has said continually, and most truly, that he had no power

at all to destroy that Confederacy, by treaty; no power to mar it, by surrendering any one of these sovereignties to the United States; no power to negotiate with the United States, on the subject of slavery, or any other subject exclusively belonging to each of these sovereignties; no power to stipulate that either of them shall unite in the convention of States, demanded by the Chicago Platform. Mr. Davis continually asserts, that he has no power to treat about any of these matters: that if he had full power, he would not treat about any of them, and that the complete recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, is the *sine qua non*, preliminary to any treaty stipulation with any power on earth. On the part of the rebel Government, there stands the first practical lesson to be studied by these crazy devotees of States rights, as soon as their fraudulent promises are to be conciliated with their anarchical doctrines and their traitorous desires. The whole secession theory explodes—or every Democratic promise of peace, with reunion, by treaty, and without rebel independence, explodes. Nor is the impossibility of peace, by treaty, with or without reunion, less absolute on the part of the Federal Government. This matter does not lie in the domain of the treaty-making power of the Federal Government. The President and the Senate can not compound a rebellion, which the Constitution and the laws require to be suppressed. These confederates are neither more nor less than rebels in arms. The President might pardon them, on their returning to their obedience to the Constitution and laws of the United States. He might do this, in behalf of any individual, after conviction—*possibly* before that; he might do it, on the latter supposition, in behalf of every individual in any particular State; and therefore, in behalf of all, in all rebel States. But if he were to do so, except upon condition of their return to obedience, he would prostitute the powers of his great office. His only alternative is to quell them by every proper means at his disposal, and in the exercise of every power vested in him, by the Constitution and the laws. What these are, and how far a state of war warrants, *by the Constitution and the laws*, innumerable acts demanded by the safety of the State, which would be monstrous under other circumstances; there is no occasion to examine here. Whoever will carefully examine the Constitution of the United States, will be struck

with astonishment at the boundless comprehension of the powers bestowed by it on the Government and its different departments, so far as regards the ends for which the "people of the United States" did "ordain and establish" it. And those ends, great beyond all precedent, involve all that is now at stake, "*in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure* DOMESTIC *tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.*" But not a word, not a syllable, about changing the Constitution otherwise, or for other objects, than is provided in its own terms. Not a word about the destruction, the dissolution, the division or the reconstruction of the nation. Not a word about a treaty by or with any State, or with or between any combination of States, *except that it is directly forbidden* (Article I, Sec. 10, p. 1); thus rendering the very idea, as well as the mode of existence of the Confederate Government, a Constitutional nullity, and forbidding the Federal Government, whose first duty is to suppress it, to make any composition with it concerning its crimes or its continued existence, or with any State that adheres to it. Let the reader observe that these insuperable difficulties, on both sides, which no mode of construing human obligations and rights can evade, are rendered more and more potent as the doctrines of *strict construction* and *State sovereignty* are more stringently held. It is curious to see how these secessionists and their allies are swamped, at the first crisis, by the operation of their own political extravagance.

21. The doctrine of the peace panic proceeds thus: The war is a failure; the Constitution is set aside "*in every point*," under the pretense "of a military necessity or war power;" "public liberty and private right (are) alike trodden down;" "the material prosperity of the country (is) essentially impaired;" on which accounts, "justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand, *that an immediate effort be made for the cessation of hostilities.*" This cessation of hostilities is, therefore, meant to be, and will be, necessarily the end of all further war—as the platform of the united factions immediately proceeds to declare, as we will see presently. It is one of the ludicrous effects of putting a war candidate on a peace platform, that General McClellan, while accepting the statements of the Con-

vention why the war *should* cease, and accepting also the method proposed by which it *must* end at once, should be obliged, by respect for himself, to repudiate the infamy involved in the inevitable conclusion. The temptation is too much for him; so also is the degradation they united with it. When he is beaten, it will be a consolation to him to reflect that the temptation which overcame him, did not make him degrade himself. If he should chance to be elected, his country ought to be that much safer in his hands, that he has repudiated the infamy of a disgraceful peace, as the end of a just, necessary and successful war. But these statements, on which unconditional peace is made the basis of the platform on which he runs—which he must be held to indorse, while he refuses to indorse their conclusion—are, in part, palpably false, in part utterly absurd, and as to all that are true in any sense or degree—the Chicago Convention, and those they represent in the North, and those they co-operate with in the South, are a million times more to blame than those they accuse. And the first result they seek, and which he must be held to accept—*immediate cessation of hostilities*—is conclusive against the party that supports him, and against his fitness to hold a military commission in our army, much less to be President and Commander-in-chief. What can the nation possibly gain by an ordinary cessation of hostilities, that will relatively weaken the rebellion or strengthen the nation? Absolutely nothing. On the contrary, in the present state of the war, and the parties to it, any change produced by a general cessation of hostilities would necessarily be favorable to the rebellion, and damaging to the nation. If the rebels were to ask for such a cessation of hostilities, with the openly avowed purpose of returning at once to their allegiance as loyal people and States, the unconditional and immediate granting of their request would be a subject requiring grave consideration — certainly it would require that we should be fully satisfied they were acting fairly and in good faith. But so far is any temper of this sort from being found in them, that, from the highest to the lowest, they scoff at the idea of a general cessation of hostilities, unless, as connected with it, our armies should be withdrawn from all their territory—our fleets should cease to blockade their coasts—all their captured cities and forts should be given up, all the

border States claimed by them should be turned over to them! Our deliberate judgment is, that any American citizen who favors a single one of these propositions, knowing what he does, is a traitor; and that any officer of the Government of the United States, from the President down, who attempts to grant any one of them to these armed insurgents, deserves death. We can not conceal from ourselves, that the leaders of the factions represented in the Chicago Convention—some more, some less, but all of them in some degree—did mean to embrace these damning propositions in their demands, if they were necessary in order to obtain peace; that they did know, sufficiently to make them deliberately guilty, the horrible nature and effects of what they demanded, and that they now expect, and intend, to make an armed insurrection, in the North, in support of these shameless demands, if they fail of success at the impending presidential election. We have, in effect, pretty nearly conquered the rebellion. Now, if their accomplices in the loyal States put to the American people the alternative of conquering them also, or of stopping short in our career of duty, safety, honor, freedom, and national independence, wrought by our arms upon Southern traitors; even let them get ready—for the American people will, when need requires, conquer them also, by arms. They can do what seems good in their own eyes. But they had as well reflect, that what they are now doing, may bring destruction on themselves, and possibly much injury upon their country, but can never bring independence to the rebel States, or peace to us.

22. The constant profession is, that the great end is peace; the time, the earliest practical moment; the means, any that are peaceable, but explicitly immediate efforts for a cessation of hostilities, "*with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States.*" It is the remedy contained in these last words which we have italicised, which is now to be considered. The slightest examination of the subject makes it apparent that this mode of obtaining peace is proposed in mere ignorance and recklessness, or that it is proposed as the means of dissolving the Union. It may be naturally supposed that it is proposed in the former way, if we reflect that the Constitution of the United States does not permit peace to be made by a convention of the States; and does not allow such a convention to

divide the Union. There is no power, by the present Constitution, for a convention of the States to assemble at all, except by act of Congress, passed at the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States; and then the single object of this only lawful convention of the States, is to propose amendments to the Constitution, which must afterward be ratified by three-fourths of the States before they have any validity. (Article V.) Very clearly, these madmen might say, that it might be proposed to amend the Constitution, by dividing the nation into two or three parts. But in that case, we suppose, it would be very clear *that their intention was to divide the Union.* But that intention fraudulently carried out, in contempt of the Constitution, would be far enough from proving that they destroy the Union constitutionally. Every one can judge of the probability of getting two-thirds of the State Legislatures to demand of Congress this convention of the States; every one can see, after all this is done, and all proposed by the plotters is carried through Congress, and through a convention of the States; how soon and how certainly three-fourths of the States would ratify those amendments which profaned and defeated every object avowed in the Constitution itself, for its very existence, and then pretended—not to amend the Constitution, but to dissolve the nation itself! And all this we are to accept as the means of *immediate peace*, on the basis of the Union and the Constitution! Of course, therefore, what this call of a convention of States means, by the leaders of this peace-panic conspiracy—is the immediate dissolution of the Union. The cessation of hostilities once carried out—those hostilities never to be renewed; the project of the convention of the States dragging along for years, futile as to the professed object of it, full of all manner of danger and mischief in the hands of the parties using it—means only an instrument of ruin confided to the hands of traitors. The mischief was accomplished in the first act. The Chicago Convention menaces the Government with resolutions nothing short of a conditional declaration of war; and then, after the fashion of most revolutionary tribunals, refuses to dissolve itself, and declares its existence permanent. Its other acts were perfectly in keeping with these deliberate schemes for the overthrow of the Constitution, for the triumph of the avowed

enemies of the nation, and for the universal reign of disorder. It is natural that in launching upon such a career, they should feel some solicitude about escape if it failed. They should, therefore, consider it a friendly act on our part to warn them that the Constitution of the United States makes the way to peace narrow and difficult for all who force war upon us, and internal anarchy does not tend at all to help our enemies to get rid of just punishment. To foreign enemies in arms against us, the only way to peace is to satisfy the President of the United States, and two-thirds of the members of the National Senate; that is, to satisfy the army and navy, through their Commander-in-chief, and to satisfy two-thirds of the States and people of America, through their Senators in Congress. On the other hand, if these public enemies be armed insurgents, in rebellion, the way to peace for them, as they are far greater criminals, could hardly be less decisive. It lies, absolutely, in their first ceasing to be traitors and enemies; and then, in their returning simply and in good faith, to their loyalty to the United States, and to their obedience to its Government, its Constitution and its laws. If they will not do this, it lies in the conquest of them by arms, and the just punishment of so many of them as duty to God and the country may demand. Besides these two there is no other way, except an appeal to the clemency of the President, in the exercise of his power to pardon under the Constitution. To be a nation, to have a government, to live under the dominion of laws, absolutely demands, in substance, what our own noble institutions require. And what we are now about is, in effect to determine the sufficiency of free institutions, in protecting human society and human civilization; the compatibility of personal freedom, under republican institutions, with sufficient power in the Government to prevent anarchy, and sufficient strength to preserve independence. The first aspect of the great trial, was rebels relying on foreign nations; the second aspect is, disloyal factions taking part with the defeated rebels, in proportion as foreign nations withdraw their countenance. The new disorder only shows how deep and malignant was the poison of the old one. Both are but proofs that the malady was working our death without our heeding it. Now that we know all—if we are worthy of the mission God has appointed us unto—we will

not do His work deceitfully, but gird ourselves up to its perfect accomplishment. The motives to an opposite course suggested at Chicago are degrading in themselves, and founded upon a view of the nature of our situation, our duty, and our destiny, wholly absurd. Those motives which spring up in our own minds and hearts, arising from the ties and the hopes these relentless insurgents have despised, are such as outraged but loving parents, and kindred, and friends, can not disown without anguish. But in presence of the exalted demands of duty, and the majestic dictates of reason—the way before us all is clear, like light.

23. We must bear in mind, that the *peace portion* of the supporters of General McClellan and Mr. Pendleton, have continually and clamorously denounced the war, and the coercion of the rebels, both in its origin, and at every step of its progress; and professedly agreed to support General McClellan only upon the conditions of his being placed on a platform consistent with their principles, and of having as his Vice President a man holding these particular principles. Both conditions, now, in effect, set aside by the letter of General McClellan, if he means what he says, were apparently secured to them at Chicago. Whether they agreed, by a secret and corrupt bargain with the Copperhead Union men, to take McClellan, knowing he did not agree with them, or with Mr. Pendleton, or with the platform; or whether those Copperhead Union men, who have continually and clamorously professed to desire the suppression of the rebellion by arms, privately and corruptly agreed that both they and McClellan should *act* on the peace principles of Mr. Pendleton and the platform, after he was *elected* by the help of his own principles; is of small consequence to any one, except the parties concerned. And it is not of much consequence to them; for in a proceeding so fatal to the character of all engaged in it—what the people have to do is not to parcel out the guilt, where there is no possibility of any being innocent—but promptly to repudiate the whole. For our part, it exceeds all idea we had of human effrontery, that men should stand up with the Chicago Peace Platform in one hand, and the Louisville Conservative War Platform of May 25th, in the other hand, and ask the public to confide in them, after they had adopted both, in about ninety days. With

such facility of reconciling light and darkness, there need be no surprise that, upon a little exercise of their great gifts in holding opposite principles, in quickly succeeding platforms, they should be able to express opposite principles in the same platform, and expect to be credited when they say they sincerely hold to all. It is, therefore, quite like them to expect the public to accept as sincere and sufficient some general professions of continued devotion to the Union and the Constitution scattered through their last platform, when, as we have demonstrated, the Constitution would be suppressed, and the Union dissolved, *ipso facto*, by the object they propose and the means they adopt. As if to make this clear beyond all doubt, they add a general declaration to all their special ones, which embraces every possible evil that might chance not to be embraced before. If their resolute purpose to cause the war to fail—their making their disloyal convention a permanent revolutionary tribunal—their actually menacing the Federal Government with war—their demand of an instant cessation of hostilities against the rebels—their declared purpose to call a convention of all the States, in some unexplained manner, and for palpably unconstitutional and disloyal objects—if all these schemes of anarchy and rebellion fail, then, finally, they are for any means, provided they are *peaceable* toward the rebels. "*Or other* PEACEABLE *means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.*" "On the basis," etc. Can any one read the fearful wickedness detailed in the speech of Ashdod, summed up with these few closing words in the speech of Canaan, and imagine any prevarication more shameless! General McClellan says it appears to mean, that the rebels *must* return to their loyalty and obedience. If he is elected, we trust in God, he will hold the peace men to that meaning, and the rebels to that duty. We are not a candidate for the Presidency, nor therefore under immense temptation "to see what is not to be seen," and the obvious and intended meaning appears to us to be, that we are not to be allowed to fight the rebels any more—for any purpose or on any pretext. It is a full and deliberate judgment against the nation, the Union and the Constitution—if force is required to save them, as every body knows it is. The American people have two effectual remedies in their hands. The *first* is, to

renounce and overwhelm such horrible principles, together with all who maintain them. The *second* is, to crush the rebellion and all who give it aid and comfort, so thoroughly and so quickly, that the authors of this atrocious peace panic will have no armed accomplices left. Then what a career of security and glory will the nation run!

24. It has always seemed to us, to be a thing unworthy of the American people, as well as wholly mischievous in all its effects, to agitate the question of peace at all. We have already shown abundantly, that in the nature of the case, there was no way to make peace with armed insurgents, except to pardon them, to conquer them, or for them to return voluntarily and in good faith to their obedience to the laws, and their true allegiance to the nation and its government. Every imagination contrary to these great truths, is utterly futile, and can end only in making our condition worse. Moreover, nothing can be more notorious than that the rebels never have been in state of mind to listen to any conditions of peace, even if there had been any authority in the nation that had power to offer them, which were consistent with the safety, the honor, or even the continued existence of the United States as a great and free nation. We have not considered it worth the space it would occupy to expose the deceitful intrigue of the rebel agents at Niagara—whose real objects were to organize a military force amongst the refugees in Canada, and concert a better understanding with the traitors scattered amongst ourselves. Nor can it be necessary to cast any additional contempt upon the mock mystery and palpable conceit and folly, worked out at Richmond between Mr. Davis and Mr. Benjamin on one side, and two of our meddlesome citizens on the other. Such attempts ought to be punished, if they can not be prevented; for they agitate the public mind and encourage the rebels in fatal hopes, which can never be realized. The truth, no doubt, is, that God will give us peace just as soon as the insurgents, and their accomplices among ourselves, and, perhaps, we loyal Americans also, are in a condition to accept it as a real and lasting mercy—among the greatest He bestows. At present we deem it perfectly certain, that the peace which those united in the principles of the Chicago Platform propose to give us, would be the cause of far greater and more protracted misery, bloodshed, and confusion, than that they vainly imagine their

masterful remedies would avert. And is it not, by any means, improbable that while their success would disgrace, and possibly destroy the nation, their defeat may re-enforce the rebel armies by the addition of many thousands of them; or may even result in their general insurrection throughout the loyal States. Let the will of God have way and fully accomplish itself. It is better far better, if nations will have it so, that the land be drenched in a universal baptism of blood, and come out of it pure, glorious, and free, than to sink down under the ferocious dominion of rebellious nobs, to whom all law is an occasional restraint, and whose supreme idea of regulated liberty is accomplished in reading down every thing above them and trampling on every thing beneath them.

25. Up, then, faithful men of this great Republic, and stand for the vast inheritance which God has given you. Since the beginning of the world, no insurrection has ever been crowned with triumph. In all time, no insurrection was ever heard of so little deserving to triumph as this. To the end of the world there never can be another whose triumph would be more deplorable than this. Are we insane, that we should be thought capable of allowing this one to triumph? Are we lost to all the inspirations of our race and our condition, that we will permit such a combination of such factions as now assail us, to take our crown of freedom and break our scepter of renown? Are we so unspeakably base as to desert our children in the moment of victory?—so utterly undone as to give up the glorious heritage won by their valor and made sacred by their blood? The shades of your ancestors call to you from the mighty past. The loud cry of freemen all over the earth rings upon your hearts. The latest posterity will bless you if you are faithful to them now.

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ART. I.—*A Christian College—Its Instruction and its Government.*

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF REV. DR. WILLIAM L. BRECKINRIDGE, PRESIDENT OF CENTRE COLLEGE. DELIVERED IN PRESENCE OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, AND OF THE SYNOD OF KENTUCKY, IN SESSION AT DANVILLE, OCTOBER 14, 1864.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, Members of the Board of Trustees of Centre College:
Mr. Moderator and Brethren of the Synod of Kentucky:

You will allow me to address myself to you all, as Guardians of the School, whose principal charge you have seen fit to assign to me.

I hold the office at your pleasure, and by your good will. On no other terms could I ever wish to hold it; and this, not only because my brethren are the persons with whom, above all others, I desire to be associated, but also and more, because the school is yours—founded, built up, and supported by the Church to which we all belong; and now, as one generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, resting on your hands, the sons come up in the place of the fathers.

Believing with you, that all events are so many Divine appointments—for even the lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord—I recognized His hand in the circumstances which have led me to this place, and I accepted the conclusion as the ordering of His Providence. Looking only at myself, I had shrunk from the difficult and solemn trust which it imposed—the more when I thought of the men whom I was to follow in this work. But looking at the whole matter, I could not do otherwise than undertake the service

to which you called me. The responsibility was, in large part, with you—my share of it being met when I should do what I could to carry out your will.

The generous confidence you have given me is the more gratefully acknowledged, because I count it a token of the Divine goodness and favor to me, that you were not only willing so to use your trust, but that you desired, without any seeking of mine, to commit these great interests to my hands.

You can not be indifferent to my opinions and my purposes concerning them. You must wish to know from myself how I propose to conduct them. And to meet your wishes in this respect, I stand here now to say plainly, in your presence, what I hold touching our work, and how I desire to perform my part of it as a servant of the Church for the Lord's sake. I trust you will approve the views which I shall submit to you. Otherwise that you will correct them, so that by your superior wisdom we may be directed in a better way.

I. First of all, then, I look upon this College as a CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION.

The people who were foremost in laying its foundations, were Christian people, drawing their principal motives herein from the interest they felt in the kingdom and glory of our Lord. They were not behind other citizens in their love for the whole country, or their concern for the honor and welfare of this Commonwealth, whose advantage they especially consulted; but in this enterprise their chief concern was about the Church, and they undertook their work, first and mainly, for the sake of the Lord Christ. They were friends of education, but they were, far more, friends of religion; and it was out of regard for this grand interest, which lay nearest to their hearts, and which, in their calm judgment, they set far above all, that they put their hands to this work. So we read every history that has been written—so we interpret every tradition that has come down to us—so we recall every recollection that abides with any of us—of the rise of this movement. I well remember it in my early days, when I was just beginning to assume the responsibilities of manhood. The ministers were gathering for this cause the gifts of the people, their offerings to the Church, for the love of Christ, and His truth as they held it. The first religious contribution of any consequence I ever made was cast into this

treasury, as the treasury of God, no less in the interest of religion than any other object of Christian benevolence.

In the early settlement of this State, our Fathers of the Presbyterian order—few in numbers, but strong in the faith which has distinguished this branch of the Church wherever it has had a place, steadfast friends of sound learning, which they held to be among the surest and best supports of true religion—set their hearts on the religious education of their children. They wished the preacher and the schoolmaster to go hand-in-hand—often, in fact, going in the same person; and wherever they set up the public ordinances of Divine worship, they desired the school-house to stand under the shadow of the house of God.

As these principles were expanded, and the means and opportunities of illustrating them achieved, they aimed to establish schools of higher grade—always to be consecrated to the Gospel, dignified by its presence, adorned by its beauty, controlled by its power. We need not trace here the circumstances which disappointed their hopes and broke up their plans, until, at length, all these were revived and brought together in the founding of this College, on which the leading men of that day in our Church laid themselves out to gather into one the interest and influence of all their people, that by these combined, with the blessing of God, they might build up an institution of learning to the praise of His name for many generations.

Such having been its origin, we might expect to find its history full of His mercies, for He has never been "unrighteous to forget the work and labor of love, which His servants have showed toward His name." And so it has been. No smaller measure of success in any respect, than was reasonably to be looked for, in return for the exertions made, has ever discouraged its friends. No heavier disaster than is common to man, has ever cast a gloomy shade over its prospects. Its best lovers and its greatest benefactors, indeed, must go to their graves and their recompense, each at the appointed time. Its most untiring, useful, and honored servants must rest from their labors in its behalf, for God has greater works than these for them to do, in a better field than this. But heavy as these losses have been to the College, and sore as the distress and

sorrow they have brought to its friends, no misfortune has befallen it which we may not hope that time, and patience, and the blessing of God, will repair; while signal mercies have run along its track all the time—its path strewn with marvelous proofs of a kind and favoring Providence, and still more marvelous proofs of the loving kindness of sovereign and infinite grace showered down on them that were serving it, and on them that it was serving. Many of our best ministers, ruling elders, and private members of the Church, in this Synod, and away beyond its bounds, in every direction, were brought to the Saviour's feet while pursuing their studies here. If you should strike off their names from the roll of our brethren, of the living and of the dead, you would sadly mar its beautiful fullness. If the sum of their effective labors in the cause of Christ were thrown out of the grand account, and all the good He has been pleased to accomplish through them were substituted by the evil they have put down and destroyed, what a wail of anguish the reversing would bring up from many hearts, at home and abroad! for some of them have gone to distant people, and with skillful and diligent hands have scattered knowledge among the ignorant, and borne the message of grace and salvation to the heathen.

Moreover, there is reason enough to believe, that not a few young men have received religious impressions here, which were not lost when they went away; but, in God's own time, and by His merciful goodness, they were matured in the peaceable fruits of righteousness, and finally gave to the country and to the Church some of the first citizens and most useful Christians—while others, coming as young and recent servants of our Lord, grew up under the opportunities, which they enjoyed here in the pursuit of knowledge, and the means of grace, into the stature of men in Christ Jesus—some of them, able ministers of the New Testament—more of them owned and blessed of the Lord in other stations. To say nothing of many more, who, coming here without previous religious training, and either wholly indifferent to the Gospel, or prejudiced against it, were so far brought under its influence as to count themselves its friends, and to be in many ways its supporters in after-life, although we know not whether they were brought under its saving power. It has pleased God in these ways to send out

hence imperceptible but powerful forces, into families and neighborhoods, where they have done great good—especially in behalf of religion.

It has been remarkably so in the society immediately around the College, and closely connected with it. This community, contributing in many wise and generous methods to its growth and improvement, has received back again into its bosom an hundred fold for all that it has done—nay, for all that it has proposed—in this sacred work. When this house of worship was in its building, its colossal proportions, as they seemed to many, so much beyond the requirements of the occasion, the minister said, in his zeal and his hope, "We are building for the millennium." But, as one of our brethren—himself an example of much that has been said, a son, and now a pillar of the College—lately reminded a church meeting, when he was persuading the people to rise and build another house, the millennium has not come, but the place is too strait for us—these large dimensions have shrunk to a littleness that cramps our swollen numbers. Doubtless, in the good providence and the amazing grace that have brought out this growth, many influences were at work; but no one will dispute, that for the means to this end, the College has been the principal thing—the College and the men it has gathered and held here, through so many years—especially, that eminent servant of God, who, during the lifetime of a generation, guided the College, while he preached the Gospel to this people, to whose great works you will quickly join—in your warm recollections, and in your sorrow over these bereavements, the signal abilities, and the arduous labors of his successor. And as long as the happy influence of the preaching and the lives of these, our honored brethren, shall abide among these people and their children, so long must they feel that they have reason to thank God for this Institution. I think, too, we may justly count the School of Theology, with all it has done and may yet do for this society, among the benefits it has reaped from the College. The same considerations, which prompted our fathers and ourselves to desire a school of academic instruction for our sons, led us on to desire a school of professional training for so many of them as were to be ministers of the Word. The one naturally drew

the other after it, and planted it by its side. Else the Seminary had hardly been here.

Coming to my work, then, at your bidding, I have come to it with these conceptions of it uppermost in my mind, and with the desires, which spring out of them, strongest in my heart. Nothing in the expressions of your will, when you called me to it, pleased me so well, as that which declared, "that the religious instruction of the students shall form a very special and important part of the President's labors, and that the Professors shall assist him in this work," which they are all ready to do.

I desire every good thing for these boys, and for all who shall follow them—every treasure of useful knowledge that can go to make a scholar rich—every accomplishment that may adorn a gentleman—every virtue that will give dignity to a citizen. But most of all, and far above all, I desire for them the mercy that shall make them the children of God through faith in Jesus Christ. And if, by infinite grace, I can help to lead them to His Cross, and hold them at His feet, then my work will be done the best for their welfare, and the most for your honor as over me in the Lord. We are not at liberty, and we have no heart, to do this work in a sectarian spirit—not, first and mainly, for the sake of that branch of the Church, which we love so well, but, first and mainly, to swell the company of true believers in Christ, and to save these souls from death to the glory of our Lord. To these ends, therefore, and in this spirit, with the help of God, I propose, as long as I hold this office, to direct my earnest prayers, and my diligent exertions, in preaching the Gospel, and in every other form of teaching which it may be your pleasure for me to employ.

Our precise methods of religious instruction may be most clearly set forth in the terms appointed to us by the Board of Trustees. We were required to submit to its consideration a special report, with a distinct scheme, embodying our conclusions on this subject, which, approved by the Board, became a law for us. It is now in use, with no discontent on the part of our pupils, and with hopeful promise. At the hazard of some repetition, I introduce it here:

"The President and Professors, having maturely considered the subject to which this order of the Board of Trustees refers, respectfully submit this report:

"There is no difference of opinion among us, as to the importance of this department of instruction above all others—understanding, as we do, by the religious instruction of the students, exertions to fix, in their minds, just and clear knowledge of Divine things, and to bring them, by God's blessing, under the saving influence of His revealed Word. This Institution was founded by His servants with a view to the liberal education of the sons of His people, in which they embraced, as a leading thought and a main desire, their training on Christian principles, and the constant inculcation of Divine truth—in the special hope that He would be pleased to use the work of their hands for the increase of laborers in the Gospel ministry.

"The history of the College shows that He has had respect to the desires and the exertions of His servants. The large number of ministers and other pious men, who have received their education in chief part, and in like manner their religious impressions, here, makes this very plain.

"While we thank the Lord for all His kindness in the past, we pursue our work as He will help us, in His fear, with the hope, that the favor, which He has shown to those who have gone before us herein, will not be withheld from us in our day, nor from those who shall come after us. The late manifestation of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit confirms us in this hope, and encourages us to do whatever He will enable us to do, for the promotion of the great ends of the Institution.

"We do not withhold from the Board a frank expression of our sense of the difficulties attending this work of religious instruction, even in a Christian College. The students, for the most part, come out of the families of God's people; but so many of them, as have not been renewed by His grace, come to us with the old evil heart of unbelief, and this does not love to study, as it does not love to follow, the Word of God.

"Then, there may be found some difficulty in adjusting the direct religious instruction of all the classes to their other studies, in such arrangements as will satisfy all concerned, touching the due proportions of each. It is not desirable to excite the discontent of parents, who do not highly value religious knowledge in their children, by seeming to engage their attention to it in too great proportion to other subjects of study.

"There are inconveniences, too, in calling them together at

other times than those recognized as College hours—so many of them lodging at distant places, even for miles around the town—while we do not think that much good is to be expected for the students from reluctant and compulsory attendance on religious instruction, at hours and under circumstances inconvenient and distasteful to them.

"The opinions and testimony of those, who have been engaged here, for many years, in the instruction of Bible Classes on the Sabbath day, add nothing to our confidence in this method for us, or to our hope of much advantage from it, in the future, over the little, as we suppose, in the past time.

"Our main hope for good in this matter, rests, under God's blessing,

"1. On the simple, clear, and faithful preaching of the Gospel—on which, we think, the students ought to be induced to wait, by all such influences as can be wisely used, and by all the attractions which can be justly offered to them—with the least that might be repulsive—reserving every authoritative requirement as a final necessity. They understand our rule, our wishes, and our expectations—and we believe they rarely violate them—while we do not habitually institute inquiries on this subject, in any formal manner.

"2. On apt, judicious, and frequent mingling, with regular instruction in their usual studies, of the applications of Divine truth to other branches of knowledge, and its appeals to the heart and the conscience. There are few, if there be any studies pursued here—we believe there are none—which do not afford occasions of doing this, if, by grace, we can use a true skill, a tender and earnest love of truth; and a deep concern for lost souls, in the improvement of these occasions.

"3. On the regular, systematic, and careful study of the Word of God, by all the classes, as a College exercise. We believe that it would comport with the pious and wise designs of the founders of this Institution—with the views of its best friends and supporters in this day—and with the solid advantage of the students, for the life that now is, and for that which is to come, to make the Sacred Scriptures a text-book for every class, throughout the entire course of instruction.

"Accordingly, we recommend to the Board of Trustees, to order an arrangement, which will give to each class a weekly

recitation on the Word of God, in our own tongue—with such use of the original as may seem meet to the instructor. And we judge, that the most suitable time for this exercise will be the first hour on Monday morning—beginning the secular labors of the week with this sacred study. We think the aim ought to be to interest the students in the Divine Word, for its plain sense—in hope that the Holy Spirit will apply it to their minds with its saving power, as that which is able to make one wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus—while we would leave the more precise methods of instruction, in their details, to the judgment of the teacher."

II. In the second place, and subordinate only to the first, I conceive of this College as A SCHOOL FOR SOUND LEARNING. And by this I mean solid, thorough, useful education—the training of the sons of the Church, and the youth of the country who should resort to it, with such methods of instruction, and in such branches of knowledge, as would make them fair scholars. Its founders were friends of education in this sense, and were content with nothing short of this measure and extent of good learning. Few of them, perhaps, were finished scholars—few of them even aspired to this grand distinction—a rare attainment in our more favored day—impossible to many in the circumstances of those revered men. But their prevalent, if not their universal, sentiment was a high value of knowledge and wisdom, obtained by laborious study in the course of education—that is, in the pursuit of learning.

Such, beyond doubt, are the sentiments, clearly held and warmly cherished by the members of this Board of Trustees, and by the ministers and ruling elders, who compose this court of the Lord's house. I will do my utmost to carry them out, in all of which I am well assured of the cordial concurrence of my colleagues.

I draw my sense of our duty, in part, from what I understand to be your aims and wishes in this matter. You are the governors and supporters of a school in which faithful instruction is to be given, to the end that its pupils, well taught in whatever they profess to learn, may become good scholars therein. You desire no less than this for your sons, when you put them in our care. You may justly hold us to account, if we come short of our best exertions to effect it. You will

require the same for the sons of your friends, who, under the sanction of your names as you manage this great trust, commit them to our charge. We promise, in the fear of God, and out of respect to all our obligations, that we will give good instruction, and that we will do what we can to inspire our pupils with a desire to receive it. It shall be our desire, not to give them a show and pretense of knowledge; but to make them truly study, and well understand what we try to teach them—persuaded that the great ends of education are in a manner lost, if this be not gained.

Our theory is just and wise. If we could fulfill its great designs in every case, the benefits we would dispense were beyond all estimate. The elegant ornaments of a liberal education—the refining and elevating influences of good scholarship—the clearness and early maturity of thought it would impart—the fair sweep and ever-swelling force of knowledge, even in the measure of its acquisition in the College course—how well they would prepare a youth to choose his path in life, and to endure the further toil that should make him master of his calling, whatever that might be! And when this was gained, how grandly would it all impel him, as he started in his career of active labors, and usefulness, and honor! Oh! that we could make them all see how much they might gain by diligent and honest study now, and how much they are sure to lose by the lack of it! We covet this influence over them for their own sakes, and we do not forget that it would put a crown on your heads, gentlemen, and on ours. But we may not repress the mournful acknowledgment of the imperfectness of our success. As on the other and far higher interest, so on this, we are subject to many a sad disappointment. The utmost diffidence will not allow us to ascribe it to ourselves. Our brethren who have preceded us in this work, with their gifts, and skill, and large experience, were obliged to make the same acknowledgment; and we fear the day is far off, when the lamentation will be no longer repeated. Indeed, some of the obstacles to complete success are inherent in the nature of things, and it is impossible to remove or overcome them. Some of them belong to the times we live in, and these will give way when the times shall change, and better days shall come again. Some of them are due to the state of our

society, irrespective of these times, and these it belongs to the friends of education, and to institutions of learning, to correct; for it is one of their uses to mold the public sentiment, and give to the people just opinions and right desires concerning education. I judge that the principal method by which they may hope, with the Divine blessing, to achieve these great objects, is the pursuit of their aim, amid all difficulties, to make good scholars.

This is our work—to make good scholars. One of the principal difficulties we have to contend with, is the natural repugnance of so many to close thought and hard study—and there is no path to the knowledge we speak of which does not lead through these. Then we must have trouble with all of this class.

The dull and the inert can not learn any thing, which requires much mental exertion, without a degree of labor very great to them; and these unhappy infirmities often preclude the irksome toil. Some of these, indeed, are blessed with a desire to obtain knowledge, and other motives, also, impel them to the effort. But it is a slow and tedious process, which seldom gathers more than a very small stock. Others of them want these motives, as they lack the capacity of quick attainments; and thus the utmost exertions to which their indifference can be moved, often come to nothing. I do not say, they had all better be at home; for at school they may learn something, and the entrance of a little light may invite a little more, until, as sometimes comes to pass, long and toilsome study receives its just reward. The heavy boy, indeed, comes out the heavy man; but, at last, his well-drilled and well-stored mind is the honorable distinction of a student and a scholar.

Those of more lively turn, and of quicker powers, from whom, for their brightness, we look for much, sometimes give still greater trouble, and wind it up in sorrowful disappointment. Such often presume on their quickness, and hope to make up thereby for the manly toil they are not willing to endure. Conscious that, with less of exertion, they could accomplish more than others of slower thought, they are improvident of time, fitful, irregular, and thus they allow themselves to be left behind, when they are able to be foremost. How can we make scholars, even of the brightest, who will not be students?

There are, unhappily, many other forms in which this aversion to close and diligent occupation in study betrays itself and obstructs our work. Some will give attention only to such studies as they fancy they have a special taste for—which are, for the most part, of easy acquisition—the more difficult being out of the line of this kind of taste. Some are given to change—persuading themselves that they have learned enough in this department, and proposing to pass into that, although they have mastered nothing. Others are too fond of company, and love to spend time in society, which ought to be given to their books. And all this trouble is greatly enhanced with many by their interest in public affairs. In full sympathy with the universal and intense agitation of the people, the young, like ourselves, are eager for the news. These themes have no place in our personal intercourse with them, and are excluded from their public exercises; but they can not be shut out from their thoughts, or stripped of the power to impede their studies. No wonder that often their minds are hardly held to their work, and easily drawn to more exciting subjects.

It is a multiform, and it is a sore evil—this dread of grappling with difficulties in the struggle for knowledge. Certainly it is our duty to meet it at every point and in every shape it takes, and to do all that may be in our power to overcome it, and to supplant it with a better spirit. And, doubtless, the wisdom and the skill of a true teacher find some of their best uses herein—to quicken sluggish insensibility into active life—to reduce the impatience of the restless and the wayward to sober and steady occupation—to strip the text-book and the blackboard of all that is repulsive, and make the recitation an agreeable entertainment. But if any, who are over us, think it easy to be done, and look for us to do it oftener than in some happy cases, we cheerfully offer them our seats, and will stand, as rulers in their stead, while they try to do it.

The young are the less to be blamed for all this, because they have not yet learned better. They are yielding to an influence natural to the most, the evil of which they can not be expected to understand, for they do not clearly perceive the uses of learning, and can not rightly estimate the value of knowledge. The fault is far greater with them who ought to know better, and

by these a principal obstruction is thrown in our way. It is the extremely inadequate view, which is taken of the whole subject by so many people, who call themselves the friends of education. I speak not in bitterness, but in sorrow, when I express the conviction, drawn from all my observation, especially as a teacher, that the public mind is sadly wanting in a clear understanding of what it is to educate our children, and in a right appreciation of its benefits. There are many parents and other persons having the control of youth, who seem to take no distinction between going to school and learning something—between the form and ceremony of attending College, and the actual acquiring of knowledge. No wonder their sons do also confound things which are totally distinct. It is not unusual for students, so called, to repair to College in expectation of gaining something—they know not what—by methods they have never considered, in seasons too brief for any object, which requires time and labor. Others, whose notions are not quite so vague or so crude, and who propose a longer time and a more liberal course, have yet no conception of being thoroughly taught. The patient, steady, rigid drilling of the mind, which is so necessary and so large a part of education, enters not into their thoughts. They say they want to learn some things, and that is all they aspire to—leaving out of their scheme, if we may call it so, the very things it were best for them to learn. The wisdom and experience of ages—the great multitude of scholars, who have made teaching their study and their work, with the general consent of the lovers of knowledge and learning, in remarkable harmony—have brought out, as their best conclusion, what we call a course of study. I do not say it is the best that is possible. It is enough for me to say, it has been received as the best that is attainable, and it is in use by principal schools of higher grade all over the country.

What is plainer than that the people who propose to educate their sons, ought to accept it gladly, and persuade them to pursue it faithfully to the letter, all through to its close? Instead of this, many a hand—the hands of the advocates of sound education, the hands of the friends of good learning, so they count themselves—we see laid upon it, to mar its beauty, and rob it of its power. And we are obliged to stand by, and let them do it.

I say I find little fault with the boys. They have heard at home, and from friends and neighbors, older and wiser than themselves, that the College course is too long, and that much of it may be left out, with little or no loss. They are allowed, if not encouraged, to attempt a short and easy method, with the strange delusion, that this will give them a respectable education.

There are youths, no doubt, whose time is very short—all that can be withdrawn from the necessities of their condition, even for the sake of knowledge—and whose circumstances, if not narrow, are at least restricted to small expenditures, but who do ardently desire to make the most of these orderings of Providence. Profound respect is due to an ingenuous youth, who bears himself with manliness and honor, in any right pursuit, and every encouragement and opportunity we can offer ought to be freely afforded to him to learn all he can, if it were for no more than an hour. But this is another matter, every way different from the choice of a brief and meager course—so like derision of the long exertion and the laborious culture which make a scholar—refused, with time enough, if life continue, and means enough at free command.

There is another form in which this shallow view of education exposes itself, closely allied to this, and not less injurious. It is the extremely imperfect state of primary instruction. So many come to us, no way prepared as they ought to be, for the classes they propose to enter. Some are so deficient in the rudiments of learning, and so poorly taught in what they think they know, that they must take lower places than they desire; and when admitted to these, they must go over what they ought to have learned long ago. And this almost makes certain a slow and halting gait throughout their journey, to say nothing of the labor of elementary instruction it unjustly imposes here, which belongs elsewhere. I offer no complaint against the teachers, from whom they come to us. Some of them have the same difficulties to contend with in their places, that trouble us in ours. These commonly give to their pupils all they are willing to receive. It is mainly due to the low, obscure, narrow views, that are so often taken of the nature, the methods, and the uses of mental cultivation; and then it comes out of the haste and impatience of the people, in the practica'

education of their children, and their neglect, or unwillingness, to require them to be soundly taught in all they profess to learn.

I have thought it my duty to say so much—mournful, indeed, but its utterance not to be forborne. I have said it, not to discourage you or ourselves, our pupils or their friends, but to rouse us all to a just sense of our obligations in this great concern.

You will not, I trust, infer, from any thing that has been said, the slightest disparagement of the young gentlemen here before you. They fairly represent the youth of the country. They are just like those who have adorned these halls year after year from the beginning—not a few of whom are now the leading men in all affairs—of which all my brethren are witnesses, and some of them are examples. Some of these will make their mark in like manner. Meanwhile, as a body, they are pursuing their studies with commendable diligence, and in their general deportment they are conducting themselves, as far as I know, with exemplary propriety. I deem myself happy in having them under our care, and I congratulate you, gentlemen, who have rule over us all, on their presence in this school to-day.

III. It remains for me to say a few things concerning GOVERNMENT and DISCIPLINE, so far as these have been put into my hands.

It has been well said, as I believe, that the world is governed too much. I take the principles which control all things to be few and simple. The Supreme Moral Law, divinely given, is summarily comprehended in the Ten Commandments. A great expositor, who was taught of God, explaining the duties of our political and social relations, having rehearsed a few plain rules, declares that all the balance may be reduced to a single head; for, if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in one saying, which exhausts the subject. I suppose, then, that small communities, at least, are best governed by a few comprehensive rules, easily understood, easily remembered, easily observed—commending themselves to the judgment of all—kindly, but firmly enforced.

There is a fine example in the wisdom of Dr. Kane, setting out for the Polar seas. "We did not sail," he says, "under

the rules that govern our national ships; but we had our own regulations, well considered and announced beforehand, and rigidly adhered to afterward, through all the vicissitudes of the expedition. These included, first, absolute subordination to the officer in command; second, abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, except when dispensed by special order; third, the habitual disuse of profane language. We had no other laws."

It is according to this general view of the subject, that I propose to conduct the rule of this College, as I share it with my colleagues. Proceeding on such principles of government, I desire to keep, in my own heart, a spirit conformable to them; and trying to govern others, to endeavor to govern myself—remembering how Infinite Wisdom has taught us, that "the slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city." I assume concerning every pupil, and am slow in coming to doubt of any, that he is imbued with sentiments of virtue and honor, which make a true gentleman. I shall aim to feel toward him, as far as possible, and always to treat him, as if he were my son—offering him my counsel, as he may seem to me to need it, whether in the way of commendation, or reproof—whether as to his soul, or his studies—trying to guard him against the harm that he may do himself; and if he be likely to suffer any damage from others, doing my utmost to protect him. I shall never treat him otherwise than in a frank and open manner—despising in my heart the method of control, that would bid me watch him, or make another a spy on his actions. I greatly desire that he shall give me his confidence; and the way to win it, and to make him a just return for it, is to give him mine. I believe that, under such a rule as these thoughts suggest, our boys would govern themselves far better than we can govern them under any other. And in every case in which it wholly fails, after a fair trial, then he had better go home—if not on his own account, certainly on ours, and for the sake of his companions here. And this is often better done in a silent and quiet way, than by open and formal discipline, whether respect be had to the youth himself, to his friends, or to the College.

You will allow me the freedom of expressing my opinion

concerning certain principles, which have long had place in the government of many colleges, and which are still upheld and approved as just and wise, perhaps necessary to good discipline. If the mention of them seem needless among us, or if my views of them exceed the respectful and diffident reserve, which it becomes me to use in allusion to other Institutions, I hope to be justified by my desire to be understood on the whole subject, and by my unwillingness to appear, through my silence, to consent to principles which I think false and mischievous in application to college government. I refer to laws, which, apparently likening students in the college to citizens in the Commonwealth, subject them to like rules, in requiring them to give testimony against each other, when charged with offenses which need to be proved—laws, which, going a great way beyond this, when disorders have been committed, but suspicion has attached to none in particular, allow them all to be called on to say, whether they have taken part in these disorders—requiring each one to purge or criminate himself, under heavy penalties in case of refusal to answer. I use the mildest expressions on this subject, when I say, that I do not accept these methods of governing a college. I do not conceive of it, as of a State, with its courts, and its witnesses, and its grand juries. Still less do I conceive of its power, as stern and inexorable in its search after evil-doers. It is to me more like a family, with its pious care, its anxious oversight, and its parental government; and when I could guide it no longer with this method, and in this spirit of control, I should desire to give it up. I am obliged, then, to declare that I could have no share in executing laws, of which I have felt it my duty to speak in these terms.

I am happy to suppose, that so far as they have had any place here, it has, in the main, been as so many dead letters; and I venture to express the hope, that whenever they engage the attention of the Board of Trustees, they will be formally laid aside. These young men will take no advantage of their absence; on the contrary, if they had ever been thought of as binding, their removal will give greater dignity to all that remain, in the eyes of these ingenuous and manly youths. They know, as we do, that such laws could not be enforced, to any serious effect, among the sons of our people—the cool

judgment of the people, and the warm impulses of their sons equally against them. And for myself, I greatly desire it to be known by all, that it is not your pleasure that any part of our rule shall be conducted on these principles.

And now let me remind my brethren, that we, whom they have put in charge of this Christian College, with its solemn trusts, and its great work, need all the support your wisdom can give us every way. While we look for the direction of your counsel and authority, we earnestly ask you and your people to help us with your prayers, that, by Sovereign Grace, we may stand in our lot, and quit ourselves like men. Our fathers, where are they! Our brethren, so many of them gone from us, and we must follow them! The time that remains to us is short, and it warns us to accept the lesson of infinite wisdom and goodness, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest."

ART. II.—*The Freedom of the Will, as a basis of human responsibility and a Divine government, elucidated and maintained in its issue with the necessitarian theories of Hobbes, Edwards, the Princeton Essayists, and other leading advocates. By* D. D. WHEDON, D. D. THIRD EDITION. NEW YORK: CARLTON & PORTER. 1864. pp. 438.

LANGUAGE is conventional, although originally given by inspiration of God. Words are arbitrary instruments of suggestion, rather than vehicles of thought. At his creation, as the history shows, man was endowed with ideas to some extent, and with language, by which to express them. After this primitive furniture, he was left to increase his stock of words, as his stock of ideas increased and created the necessity. Nevertheless, both the concreated speech and the superadded words were, and continued to be, conventional. That is, you and I, and all with whom we have occasion to interchange ideas, agree, that the word *horse*, for example, (written

or spoken,) shall be the instrument, not of originally *creating* in the minds of others—for this it can never do; but of calling up or suggesting—of reproducing the conception of a certain quadruped. If the conception or idea had not previously existed in our minds, the word could never produce it. Custom-use-settles the meaning of words, and the mode of their connection in speech. Horace might have omitted the *almost* and affirmed use to be the *norma loquendi*—the law of speech. If, therefore, a writer or speaker deviate from common use, and is, therefore, misunderstood, and suffers from such misunderstanding, the fault is his own. When he uses terms in a different sense from what reputable use has decided; or when he introduces new terms, hitherto unknown in the language he proposes to employ, it must be on account of its poverty, or because he does not intend he shall be understood. My fears are always stirred when a man can not make himself understood, when he hides under vague and novel terminology; he is like a snake in the grass, hard to find, and therefore dangerous. I would rather, in such case, deal with a rattlesnake, than with a copperhead. The former you can find by throwing in a stick or a stone; but the latter, how can you locate him?

This bit of philology is suggested by the very unusual number of such words in the book before us. They meet us in the index, in the first chapter and the last, and in all between. Of this we have just reason to complain. No man has a right to introduce such a mass of outlandish terms into the English language; no more than Solomon's courtiers had to introduce such a body of outlandish women into the purlieus of the court. We have made a list of the chief of them, and here they are—ninety in number. Let the reader try his patience on them, bearing in mind that they are all excluded from Webster, (edition of 1848,) and that there are many others in our volume, equally unused and outlandish, which Webster has honored with space in his great work, viz.: Volitional, freedomism, thought-circle, motive-object, choice-object, equilibrial, post-volitional, homiletically, volitivity, unfreedom, self-superinduction, sub-consciousness, pluri-efficient, preferability, preferential, non-differentiation, volitionality, alteriety, alternativity, unipotence, unification, formulated, post-volition-

ally, volitionate, unitary, securative, choosable, either-causal, intinted, doable, intuity, mustness, definiting, non-commensurability, equipotent, inalternativity, unequivocalities, non-resultance, forth-putting, pluripotent, unipotent, alternativity, abstractionism, resultancy, experiential, unexperienceable, unthinkability, pre-volitional, predestinarianists, necessitative, limitative, unisubstanceism, volitionally, anteceding, experiential, motive-meter, superexperientially, freedomist, a can be, a will be, a never will be, rightest, sequently, anteriorly, unethical, significates, exceptionlessly, the can be otherwise, the must be, the can be no otherwise, the agent-power, the have become, the now being performed, timelessness, theodiric, dehumanize, guilts, damnability, primordially, educable, subconsciousness, lenitude, proportionment, automatically, probationarily, defectus.

Now, reader, with such a vocabulary, and many other barbaric but obsolete terms, in which to clothe his thoughts, you will expect from our author frequent unintelligibility, and will not be surprised at such sentences as the following, which we present simply as a sample of style and sentiment, viz.:

"An apple is chosen for its sweetness, as motive; a rose for its beauty; a perfume for its fragrance. At other times there is a separate motive-object, which invests the object of choice with its motivity. The game is the motive for which the sportsman chooses a gun; money is the object for which the laborer toils. Yet, after all these motive-objects lend their motivity to the choice-object, and thereby render it the choice-object, it is the motivity by which the object of volition becomes its object. The motivity is the true object in the object, and is really chosen in it," p. 172.

Again, pp. 223–4: "The doctrine that the *will always can but never will* volitionate for weaker motive, is supposed by its advocates to be covered by the maxim, which they illustrate by various instances, that *many things can be, but never will be.* That maxim is true, but it does not cover the doctrine. Theirs is a *never-will-be* of a specific and a peculiar kind, under conditions and presuppositions that nullify the *can-be.* When a *will-be* or *never-will-be*, *under a certain fixed sort of condition*, results with absolute uniformity, even upon an infinite number of repetitions of the experiment, including all possible cases, then a reverse *can-be*—either to the given *will-be* or given *never-will-be*—is impossible.

The *will-be*, or *never-will-be*, is, then, a necessity, and not a mere certainty." Such is a sample, quoted exactly, of the uses to which our author puts this new language; and sure I am, the reader will ask no more examples; and I pray, excuse me for what has been done. Shut your eyes, if the light be too brilliant for a steady gaze. The reader may also note, in both these quotations, examples of my

2. Minor criticism on the book, viz.: carelessness in regard to punctuation and grammar. The reader has had difficulty in understanding the former quotation, for want of a comma after the word "all,"—making the preposition *after* govern "all these motive-objects," contrary to the author's design, which, after the scrutiny of two or three readings, we find to be thus: "Yet, after all, these motive-objects," etc. In the latter quotation, five points are required by the rules of punctuation. This little fault is exemplified on almost every page of the book, making it probable that the author (as do the English *literati*) left this whole matter to his proof-reader. But the most injurious offense to grammar is that against the rule, which construes the present participle as a noun, whenever it has an article prefixed, and requires a preposition to follow for the government of the subsequent noun: ex gr., p. 274, "The knowing it, therefore," etc.; p. 324, "The denying the freedom of man," etc.; p. 228, "This *securing* the event," etc. Doubt is sometimes also created by obscurity of antecedent. An example meets us on the title-page: "elucidated and maintained in its issue," etc. What is the antecedent to "its?" Whose or what's issue? I am positively unable to determine. After patient and laborious reading of the whole book, my mind—not my will or desire—but my *mind*—my judging power, holds up her scales *in equalcbrio*. But we may not dwell on these trifles.

3. "Style is the man himself"—the peculiar mode in which a person expresses his thoughts. Here Dr. Whedon has asserted *his* freedom. He is bold, dashing, self-confident, not always the most courteous and respectful toward "the king's English." Of course, a work professedly controversial may not be expected to deal always, or even generally, in honeyed words. Accordingly, we find a goodly amount of the cut-and-slash style of the guerrilla band, rather than the calm, silent and sure

approaches of the sapper and miner—the regular closing in of lines drawn by the skillful engineer.

Indeed, bold self-confidence, in style, matter and manner, is a *necessity* in the Arminian theory; it flows from that philosophy as necessarily as any consequent within the range of mental movements flows from its antecedent. How could it be otherwise in the operations of a mind that places its own *will* outside of and independent on the decrees, purposes, foreknowledge, and omnipotence of God? This is characteristic—not, indeed, of Dr. W. so much as of the philosophy he advocates; and we should fault him not simply for the necessity which shuts him up to this style, but rather for the voluntary advocacy of the very doctrines whose entertainment creates this necessity. Like every other necessity of consequence, it is the antecedent mental state that gives moral character to the actions they necessitate. Like causes produce like effects, (or, if not, inductive philosophy is dead, and Bacon and Newton were fools); and, consequently, wherever we find this philosophy intelligently held, we find this characteristic abounding. I say intelligently held, for it is most assuredly true that many profess Arminianism who are sound Calvinists, and we shall see anon whether Dr. W. be not in this category. At present, it seems proper to exhibit a sample of this bold, dogmatic, dictatorial style. Turn to page 277. The author is demolishing Edwards' argument from Divine foreknowledge in support of the certainty of future events, and their consistency with man's moral agency:

"We have, then, before us the true, distinct conception of a FREE TOTALITY of free volitions; the infinite, universal, eternal *system* of *free events*, which, while they are each one able to be otherwise than *thus*, yet will freely be *thus;* and, while they are able to be *thus*, and truly *will* and *do be thus*, are able to be otherwise than thus. Now, of this *free totality*, thus clearly, we trust, conceived, our doctrine affirms that it exists in the anterior omniscience of God, and *is the very future totality which God foreknows.* It is that grand totality (each item of which *will be* with full *power otherwise*) which is the totality embraced in God's foreknowledge. And just because it is this grand, free, alternative totality which stands included in God's foreknowledge, therefore God's foreknowledge embraces a grand, free, alternative totality," etc.

Take another example, p. 208: "Would any sensible man give a flip of a copper for choice between damnation for necessary action and damnation for necessitated being? Is a necessitated motion any more responsible than a necessitated quietude? Motion or action is simply change in space or time. Is necessitated change any more guilty than necessitated sameness? Necessitated motion is, in fact, necessitated being; *being* necessitated to exist in different successive spaces. But why is necessitated being in different successive spaces any more responsible than necessitated being in the same space through successive time? God can as well necessitate me to *be* a certain thing, and then damn me for it, as necessitate me to *do* a certain thing, and damn me for it," etc.

4. Another remark—unpleasant for me to make—in which my judgment and the dependent volition run counter to desire, is this, that the reasonings of the book are generally difficult to comprehend. Especially is this so, in regard to vital points in the discussion, where feeling seems to confuse perception, and thus, combining with the use of the new language, mystifies the whole process; and while the reader is laboring in the darkness and confusion after the premises, lo! he stumbles, to his utter bewilderment, upon the conclusion. We found this ground of complaint in *Tappan on the Will*. Many instances also occur in *Bledsoe's Theodice*, though there is there a much more accurate language, and a greatly superior logic. I may say, with truth, that these authors contain most of the matter of this book before us, and it strikes me, the acknowledgments are not quite as full and candid as they might be.

5. Another remark, prefatory to entering upon the essential points of the discussion, is that stated by Isaac Taylor, viz.: What greater compliment could be paid to any author than that very numerous opponents, both in his own country and foreign lands, have been reduced to the dire necessity of putting in a bald protest against this one small work, and of saying, Edwards must be wrong, for he overthrows our argument? (This is quoted from memory, but is substantially correct. See Introduction to Edwards.)

See the *Princeton* for October, p. 679: "However successful or unsuccessful these attempts, they are certainly renewed testimonies of the highest order to the mighty power and ada-

mantine logic of that great work." .... "Surely there must be some strength in a fortress which having survived all other assaults from the Old World and the New, for nearly a century, followed by the fierce bombardment of Tappan and Bledsoe here, still abides to challenge the cautious sapping and mining of Howard, along with the furious and desperate storming of Whedon."

6. It is worthy of special notice, that this work is almost purely rationalistic. It does not, indeed, expressly repudiate Scripture, but almost entirely ignores it. Even when answering Edwards' argument from foreknowledge, where that divine quotes and cites hundreds of Scripture texts, the response almost wholly excludes the Divine Record. If an infidel philosopher—if a Hume, or a Hobbes, or a Chubb—were discussing this subject formally, as a mere philosophical question, such ignoring of Scripture would not surprise us. But when a Christian divine responds to the argument of another divine, under the heading, "THE THEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT," when his opponent quotes and cites hundreds of Scriptures, and the respondent ignores the whole, or nearly so, it does seem to us passing strange! And this astonishment is not diminished when the eye falls upon such passages as the following: "The PROPHESIES of Scripture, were they ten times more numerous and explicit than they are, *furnish no argument for necessity* or *predestination*. Men are adequate to falsify both Divine foreknowledge and Divine predestination. *The free agency of Jesus was uncontradicted by the predictions of his conduct. He himself affirms his own full power to falsify the predictions of the Old Testament.*"—p. 281.

From this we are referred to a subsequent page (310), where occurs the rarity of several Scripture quotations, but their relavency to this point is not easily seen: "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity," etc.; "The Lord hath opened mine ears, so that I was not rebellious, neither turned away my back," etc.; "Thinkest thou that I CAN NOT *now pray* to my Father," etc.

7. But I must resist motives which urge me to deal in further general remarks, and come to the more important *matter* of the book.

And, first, let us define terms. I have no doubt that much

of this controversy, as of most others in morals, theology, and politics, may be abated, if not entirely removed, by fixing the conventional meaning of words.

WILL is used as a noun in four distinct senses: (1.) It means that power, faculty, or property of the mind or soul, which is exerted when we pass volitions; as in the title of the book—Edwards on the *Will*. (2.) It is often used to express a decision of the understanding—a judgment of the mind; as when a man makes his *will;* that is, decides and utters his determination as to the disposal of his property after his death. (3.) And this same, objectively considered—the document is called his *will*. (4.) It is also used as a synonym for *desire;* as when the servant obeys the summons into his master's presence, and inquires, "What's your *will*, sir?" What do you wish or desire to be done?

As a verb, will, as an auxiliary in the first person, includes the conception of an action lying in the future, and of a purpose or determination of the speaker to accomplish said action. In the second and third persons, it expresses simply the futurition of the act.

Volition is the verbal noun formed from the verb will, and, of course, describes the action or operation of willing—the soul exercising the Faculty No. 1.

It will be seen at once, that we differ from Edwards and Locke, both of whose definitions of will are too loose, and most of the words used by them bring us within the regions of the intellect. "So that whatsoever names," says Edwards, p. 14, "we call the act of the will by, *choosing*, *refusing*, *approving*, *disapproving*, *liking*, *disliking*, *embracing*, *rejecting*, *determining*, *directing*, *commanding*, *forbidding*, *inclining*, *or being averse*, *or being pleased or displeased with;* all may be reduced to this of *choosing*. For the soul to act *voluntarily* is ever more to act electively,"—and he quotes Locke: "The will signifies nothing but a power or ability to *prefer* or *choose*."

Dr. Whedon defines will in the fourth sentence of his first chapter, thus: "The will is the volitional power, by which alone the soul consciously becomes the intentional author of external action—external, that is, to the will itself—whether of mind or body." p. 13. Now, reader, study this closely. Do you not wish to interrogate it? Every definition ought to be

clearer than the thing defined. Is this so? Will is *volitional power;* (1.) What is power? (2.) What does *volitional* mean? (3.) By this volitional power, and by this alone, the soul becomes an author, consciously and intentionally—the author of what book? (4.) This action, of which the soul is sole author, is external to the will itself—how can "the will," "the volitional power," become author of an action—whether of body or mind—outside of itself? (5.) Is the will a person? It has consciousness, and power, and intention, or design and purpose, is the will an intelligent agent? Is the thing made clear by this definition? The Doctor seems to think not, for he tries it again, p. 15—"We might define will to be that faculty of the mind, in whose exercises there is not felt the element of necessity." Most convenient definition for an Arminian or Pelagian! for it assumes the point at issue. He quotes and objects, properly, to Edwards' definitions. Then gives us Coleridge's, as nearly approved, viz.: "Will is that which originates action or state of being." Not satisfied with this, he gives us his own third definition, p. 15: "We define will to be *that power of the soul by which it intentionally originates an act or state of being.* Or more precisely, *Will is the power of the soul by which it is the conscious author of an intentional act.*" In these, being the third and fourth efforts at definition, there is an example of the unhappy confusion caused by vagueness of the antecedent—"it intentionally originates"—what is the antecedent of "it?" Is it *will?* or *power?* or *soul?* In the fourth—"*it* is the conscious author." What? The Will? Power? or Soul? "And this definition furnishes a complete demonstration that the will is a clearly different faculty from any other in the mind; for it is always distinguished and characterized by the *intention*, and also, as we shall hereafter note, by *motive.* Volition, indeed, might be defined as that act of the mind which it performs with intention." Here we have the first of thirty-three instances which I have marked, in which Dr. W. gives up the point in controversy; for he includes *motive* and *intention* in his very definition of will. This is our doctrine—that the *motive* precedes the volition. Here, also, we have a most unique case, where a controversialist, full of fire and fury, secures, as he asserts, a demonstration in his own behalf, in the very act of giving a definition of one single word used in the

controversy. "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him."

Desire may be analyzed into *uneasiness*, a vague and undefined resistance in the soul against it—the active, yet undirected exercise of the law of self-love; and, when an object is conceived as capable of removing the uneasiness, the out-going of the soul after that object. Hence, Locke held that uneasiness moves the will. Edwards' is quoted and misconceived by Dr. W. as confounding desire and volition. This allegation is partly true, and only partly. But I am not here to defend Edwards. No such presumption shall be charged upon me. The truth I hope to vindicate.

A voluntary act is an act of the mind, willing—or passing a volition. What is the object of that action? In the response, I venture, not without some diffidence, to commit an idiosyncrasy. Th only direct object of a voluntary act is the bodily organism—the brain, the nerves, the muscles of the body. On these only does the volition terminate. *The human will can do nothing else but move the body.* Only two reasons have we space now to give in support of this position: and they must be stated very briefly. (1). By a voluntary act men always mean an outward—an external movement: we never mean an internal or purely mental movement; as if the will moved the other mental faculties immediately—as if thoughts were under the direct control of the will. For (2) man has no power directly to will a thought into his own mind. Volition is never the direct and immediate parent of a thought. If you choose to define a thought, a *state of mental activity*, then my affirmation is, that no thought ever acknowledged volition as its immediate father.

This doctrine you will find in the books. Dugald Stewart gives us a natural and conclusive reason in support of it. The idea of willing a thought into the mind, presupposes it already in the mind, or how could it otherwise be the object of volition? But, waving for a moment this cogent argument, and supposing it otherwise—supposing *thoughts* to be direct objects of volition—or will's action, what then? Why, then, mental labors would cease within the whole field of investigation and research. Who would be such a fool as to rack his brain in study, and consume the midnight gas in pursuit of knowledge?

He has only to will it, and all the demonstrations of science, and all the grand conceptions of poetry and the entire Cosmos, are present to his thoughts. What fools Humboldt, and Bacon, and Newton, and La Place, and Gœthe, and Milton! Why, a few volitions can instantly and directly pour into my capacious soul all the trains of thought and all the knowledge which these miserable drivelers acquired by their life-long labors! Thus we have another *argumentum ad absurdum* against the idea, that direct volition can create thoughts.

8. If now the question arise, how does the will (1) move the body? what is the connection—in other words, the cause of this uniform sequence? what necessitates bodily motion immediately to follow volition? I answer, so God has ordained it; but He has not pointed out in His word, nor has He yet enabled man to discover and understand how spirit acts upon matter, or how matter may be so used as to influence spirit. No Eiffel has ever yet engineered a bridge across the Niagara that divides between Pneumatology and Ontology. The fact of the sequence we know. When I will it, my hand rises and falls. When the volition passes, my feet, obedient, carry me along. Is there any philosopher yet foolish enough to deny the uniformity of the sequence? or its necessity? or to pretend that he can explain the phenomenon?

9. In close connection with this, we may note, as a necessary antecedent of volition, faith in ability to perform the voluntary action. No man can put forth a volition to perform an action, unless he believes he has the physical power necessary for the act. That such belief is an indispensable antecedent to volition, appears to me self-evident. I am not certain whether Dr. W. admits or denies this necessity in his critic upon Dr. Chalmers, p. 17; but I suppose he is necessitated to agree with his friend Prof. Tappan, who declares he can put forth a volition to upturn a mountain! The absurdity lies, doubtless, in some peculiar meaning of the words. I can *will* to expend or exercise my muscular strength in lifting at a rock of ten tons weight; but to *will* to lift it, is a pure absurdity. The will is subordinated to the faith in natural, just as in spiritual things. Until he believed, the man had no power to lift his withered hand; until he exercises true faith, the sinner has no ability—he can not come to the Father.

Choice, which Edwards improperly uses to express an act of the will, and makes equivalent to volition, is, in my apprehension, an operation of the understanding. The very best service which Cousin has done in his Psychology, and which atones, in some degree, for the many errors and mistakes he commits in regard to Locke's doctrine, is where he draws the line of demarcation between the domain of the intelligence and of the will. See p. 316. "Now, to prefer, supposes that we have motives of preference, motives to perform the action, and motives not to perform it; that we know these motives; and that we prefer the one to the other; in a word, preference supposes the knowledge of motives for and against. What these motives are, whether passions, or ideas, errors or truths, this or that, is of little moment; what is important is to know what is the faculty here in operation, that is to say, what the faculty is which knows these motives, which prefers one to the other, which judges that the one is preferable to the other, for that is the meaning of the word prefer. Now, what is it that knows and judges but the intellect? The intellect, then, is the faculty which prefers. . . . . What is it to deliberate? It is nothing else than to examine with doubt, to appreciate the relative weight of these different motives which present themselves, but not at first with that evidence which decides the judgment, the preference. Now, what is that which examines, doubts, and finally decides? Evidently the intellect, which, subsequently, after having passed many provisional judgments, will abrogate them all, in order to pass its final judgment, will conclude and prefer after having deliberated. It is in the intellect that the phenomenon of preference, and the other phenomena included in it, take place. . . . . Deliberation and conclusion or preference, are, then, facts purely intellectual, p. 317. . . . Now, the faculty which says, I ought to do it, is not and can not be the faculty which says, I will to do it; I take the resolution to do it. Here the action of the intelligence completely ceases. I ought to do it, is a judgment; I will to do it, is not a judgment, nor consequently an intellectual phenomenon. In fact, the moment we take the resolution to do an action, we take it with a consciousness of being able to take a contrary resolution." Here is the grand error—the power to contrary of New Haven—and the power of alteriety, or the immunity of Dr. W. to put forth

a volition the contrary of the volition actually put forth. Of this hereafter. We proceed with Cousin, who now comes over, like our author, entirely to our side of the question. Thus, p. 318: "To will is an act and not a judgment; but it is an act altogether internal. It is evident that this act is not an action properly so called; in order to arrive at action, it is necessary to pass from the internal sphere of the will to the sphere of the external world, wherein the action is definitely accomplished which you first conceived, deliberated on, and preferred, and then willed that it should be executed. If there were no external world, there could be no completed action, and not only is it necessary that there should be an external world, but also that the power of willing should be connected with another power, a physical power, which serves as an instrument, and by which it can attain the external world."

Here is dependence of volition; not, indeed, upon its proper antecedents, as Cousin has justly and very properly stated them, but he holds the *necessary* dependence of the volition upon its connection with our material organism. "It is necessary to pass from the internal sphere of the will"—"it is necessary, not only that there should be an external world, but also that the power of willing should be connected with another power—a physical power—our brain, nerves, and muscles, as I stated above—all these necessities lie in the way of the will, and estop volition." This is necessitarianism—a little too strong for us Calvinists. It would better suit the Greek Stoic.

"Freedom is *exemption*."—p. 23. I should rather say, freedom is action according to law; and this is true both in regard to dead matter and living mind. The use of this word is very important to the Arminian in his dealing with the uneducated mind, who, alas! too *naturally* cling to the phrase *free will*, meaning thereby *exemption* from the strict bonds of law. It popularizes the erroneous, and utterly hides away the true issue. Who can be found opposed to freedom? Are we to be bound, like slaves, to the car of necessity, so that we can not do the thing that we would? Who will dare to call in question our freedom, and rob us of the liberty of choosing our own course? Thus prejudice works upon ignorance, and perverts truth and justice; and if we could believe it was done ignorantly, it would

relieve us from many unpleasant feelings, and help us to endure the wrong with patience. This can not be, however, as long as we see so artful a working of this prejudice in this book. To enhance his unjust advantage in this particular, its author exercises his inventive genius in the manufacture of new words, to catch the ear of the loose-thinking. Hence, we have free-will, and *freedomist*, and *freedomism*, constantly occurring, and deluding the reader with the insinuation that his opponents are not in favor of freedom. The very phrase, "free-will," most unhappily introduced on this subject, is both unjust and unphilosophical. No man has yet shown the position of Locke to be erroneous, when he objects to the phrase *free-will*, and proves its absurdity. *Freedom*, in the ordinary, true, and proper use of the word, is as inapplicable to the faculty of the mind called *will*, as squareness to virtue, or swiftness to sleep. But this absurdity has become so domiciled in the home of controversy, as to be practically accounted a citizen.

Another term, equally deceitful, is *necessity*, and a main instrument of fraud; and no definition has ever been able to save even the definer himself, much less his readers, from falling victims to a fallacious term. What is necessity? It must be something horrible and hateful, for Arminians and Pelagians evermore hold it up to the reprobation of mankind, and they are all honorable men. We have, in this volume, the changes rung on necessity—necessitarians, necessitarianism, necessitation, necessitate; and all these in a sense utterly inconsistent with the true meaning and conventional sense of the word necessity. Edwards, p. 34, defines it thus: "When the subject and predicate of the proposition, which affirms the existence of any thing, either substance, quality, act, or circumstance, have a full and certain connection, then the existence or being of that thing is said to be necessary, in a metaphysical sense. And in this sense I use the word *necessity* in the following discourse, when I endeavor to prove that necessity is not inconsistent with liberty." ...."*Metaphysical* or *philosophical* necessity is nothing different from their certainty."....p. 36: "Therefore, the only way that any thing that is [to] come to pass hereafter, is or can be, is by a connection with something that is necessary in its own nature, or something that already is, or has been; so that, the one being supposed, the other certainly follows.....And therefore *this*

is the necessity which especially belongs to controversies about the acts of the will."—p. 36–7. A necessity of consequence—a certainty of connection—is what Edwards holds and teaches.

Let us now ascertain what is the position he takes; and you have only to look back a few lines. Here it is explicitly stated: "I endeavor to prove that necessity is not inconsistent with liberty." This is the grand point. But, most unfortunately, his opponents do not so understand it. That our author missed the point, is evident from the discovery he seems to have made, at a late period, viz.: That the Westminster Confession (Chapter III) maintains the position of Edwards. "God, from all eternity, did, by the most wise and holy counsel, of His own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so, as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established." Among the proof-texts are these: Eph. i, 11, "In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will." .... Acts ii, 23, "Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain." .... Acts iv, 27, 28, "For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and counsel determined before to be done." Now, in all conscience, I ask why Dr. W., with such doctrine and proof-texts before him, paid no attention at all to the Word of God? No human language can express, more fully and clearly, the unalterable fixedness of the Divine foreordination, and yet the absolute freedom of their actions, in fulfilling those decrees, and doing whatsoever God's hand and counsel determined before to be done. How does he meet this proof? Why, dear reader, first he makes a flourish over the stupidity of "such men as Wesley (!), Dugald Stewart, and Sir William Hamilton," for not being able to detect the false representations and fallacy that he, the Doctor, is now, through abounding grace and free omnipotent will, about to expose. And then asserting that all which is meant by the language of the Confession,

is, that no force is applied, so as to destroy the will by preventing the passage of volitions. "All of which means that the responsible will is free to be controlled by the absolute natural necessity of motive force, free to be necessitated; free, because necessitated."—p. 421.

Here, and every-where, he, and Prof. Bledsoe, and others, I suppose, insist on a physical necessity. Calvinists—rather would I say, the advocates of dependent volition—mean a necessity of consequence, corresponding with man's rational and moral nature; but forever, their opponents, the advocates of independent volition—independent on reason, conscience, and God himself—insist that we mean physical force, when we talk of the volition being always as the last dictate of the understanding. It is vexatious to be thus interminably misrepresented. Calvin complained of this same confusion. Ins. I. 238: "But a distinction has prevailed in the schools, which enumerates three kinds of liberty, (a triple liberty)—the first, freedom from necessity; the second, freedom from sin; the third, freedom from misery; of which the first is naturally inherent in man, so that nothing can ever deprive him of it; the other two are lost by sin. This distinction I readily admit, except that it completely confounds necessity with coaction. And the wide difference between these things, with the necessity of its being considered, will appear in another place." Again, I. 239: "Then man will be said to possess free will in this sense; not that he has an equally free election of good and evil; but because he does evil voluntarily, (*voluntate agit*,) and not by constraint, (coaction.) That, indeed, is very true; but what end can it answer, to decorate a thing so diminutive with a title so superb? Egregious liberty, indeed, if man be not compelled to serve sin, but yet is such a willing slave, that his will is held in bondage by the fetters of sin." He goes on, not to deny the fact of man's will being *vincta teneatur peccati compedibus*—held bound in fetters of sin; but the folly and mischief of applying the term *free* to the simple fact that man chooses. "How few are there, pray, who, when they hear free will attributed to man, do not immediately conceive that he has the sovereignty over his own mind and will, and is able, by his innate power, to incline himself to whatever he pleases." This is the very thing Calvin denies that man possesses; but

shows that the *voluntas vincta teneatur compedibus peccati*—the will is held bound in fetters of sin; man is a *will slave*—*εθελοδουλος*. This passage, egregious liberty, etc., is quoted triumphantly in the *Theodice*, as proof that Calvin held the phrase *free will* in the Arminian sense.

10. What, then, is the point in controversy? Not whether man be a free agent. This all maintain. Not whether man is endowed with a faculty of will. This, too, is universally admitted. Not whether an act unconnected with a volition has a moral character. This none affirm. But, is volition dependent? Does the man exercise the power of willing, under the influence of motives? Is the volition caused by reason, conscience, self-love, Divine love? Are there any influences operating upon the mind—or in the mind—in the man, that lead, guide, direct, and cause him to put forth a volition? This is the question. Calvinists affirm. They maintain that the mind of man is so constituted, that mental states preceding volition stand as motives leading on to acts of will, according to its laws, and cause these acts to be as they are; and that this subordination of mental movements is essential to human responsibility. The man's mind, or soul, always moves and regulates the bodily actions, according to its own nature; so that the volition proceeds from the previous states of the mind, as effect from its proper cause. The volition is as the last dictate of the understanding.

The Arminian holds and teaches, that the will is independent on all preceding mental states—is uninfluenced by them—that this independence of volition sets it far above the influence or causative effect of all motives; that if motives cause volition, the man is a slave, and not a free agent; that the power to will is not only above motives, however strong, but above the possibility of control, even by the power of God; that there always is in the mind a power, at the time a volition is passed, to pass a contrary volition; and of this power to contrary choice, the soul is conscious at the moment it wills.

On page 25, Dr. W. says: "Supposing a given volition to be in the agent's contemplation. Will is the unrestricted power of putting forth, in the same unchanged circumstances, a different volition INSTEAD. Hence, it is often at the present day called *the power of contrary choice.* Cousin, Psychol., p. 315:

'And, in fine, at the moment when I do this action, along with the consciousness of doing it, am I not conscious, likewise, of power not to do it? . . . . I am conscious of thinking this or that, with the consciousness of not being able not to think it.'"

Here let us note, 1. Consciousness is a present, reflective activity of the mind. It is absurd to speak of being conscious of the future, or of the past; or to say, I am conscious of my own existence. But to say, I am conscious I have a knowledge of my own activity, is to speak common sense. Existence is not an object of consciousness.

2. Power is not an object of consciousness. No man can be conscious of power; or, in other words, no man knows that he has any power, but by its exertion, present or remembered. But our friends of the omnipotent will say, they are conscious of power; and highten the absurdity by affirming that they are conscious of "not power:" a non-entity is the object of knowledge the most intimate conceivable. They constantly appeal to experience: "Am I not conscious of power not to do it?" I answer, No. It lies utterly beyond the range of your consciousness and mine, this *power to contrary*. It is contrary to common sense and the experience of mankind. Where is the evidence of its existence? Who was ever conscious, at the moment he passed a decision of his judgment, (for this is the meaning of the word choice, as Cousin has proved,) of a power to pass a contrary judgment? Many years ago, there lived in Philadelphia a lady whose eyes were diseased, and who, lying unusually long one morning, was called up by her chamber-maid telling her it was late. "Why don't you open the window-shutters?" "Why, madam, they are wide open, and it is bright sunshine." "Oh! I'm blind!" was her agonizing exclamation. The like case occurred with the second man who ever stood upon Mont Blanc—Dr. Paccard. He asked his guide, Jaques Balmat, to remove the fur-skin from before his face, that he might see the gorgeous scene of an Alpine sunrise. The guide replied, "Sir, there's nothing before your eyes." "Oh! I'm blind!" The not-power of vision is not an object of consciousness. Many a man has been paralyzed in his limbs during sleep, and knew not the loss of power to move them, until he put forth the volition to move

them. This not-power consciousness is a foolish non-entity. I know thousands of such assertions are made; but, then, these men speak what they otherwise contradict; for,

3. They all admit and maintain that this contrary power has never yet been put forth in exercise. God is affirmed to be under the same law; he is an agent in whom is also found this choice, with power to contrary choice; but neither God nor angel, neither man nor devil, ever exercised or exerted this power. More than this, it is affirmed that no such exertion ever will take place. Dr. W. says, p. 274:

"Freedom, in every individual case, as we have defined it, implies, that *of several volitions, one and no other will take place;* one in opposition to many—*numerically;* one in opposition to any other instead—*alternatively.* And so of a whole series of volitions, namely: of the entire existence of any one free being, temporal, or even eternal—each one volition, and the entire series of his individual volitions, though possible to be otherwise, yet will be each some particular one way." Thus, the power of choice is one—(or, if the Doctor will allow me the use of his nomenclature—for doing which he seems to praise or blame Dr. Shedd), "one and no other" is surely *unipotent*, after all, and the alternatives, in countless millions, are gone forever. Why distract the world by contending for an alternative power, never exercised, and never to be exercised? But we have a right to go into the territories with our slaves. Well! do you want to go? Oh! no; they would freeze to death! Why, then, deluge a nation in blood, contending for a right and a power which you can never exercise? Why so fierce for an alternative power, which, confessedly, can never be called into action?

4. The understanding, as judge, alone can weigh motives. Motive is all that which moves the mind. Better had Edwards said, motive is all that which *tends* to move or cause the mind to act—every thing within the range of its conceptions, which invites, leads, induces the judging power to occupy the tribunal, with balances of justice in hand. Cousin, in our opinion, is conclusive in his evidence, that this whole business of deliberation, of weighing motives, of using the *libra juris*—the balances of justice—lies within the region of the intelligence. This is, in reality, Edwards' belief, as is manifest in his expla-

nation of the greatest apparent good. He there speaks of the voluntary action, as determined by that which appears most agreeable; and all the concomitants and circumstances, beauty, availability, distance or nearness, in time and place, certainty or uncertainty, as to the objects. In fact, confounding *choice*, which is a process of the judgment, with *volition*, he necessarily attributes to the will, not only the whole intellectual operations, but also the sensibilities, emotions, appetites, desires, etc. We may regret this absence of nice discrimination in the use of terms, and may make a flourish about terminology; but let us not overshoot the mark. A hundred years ought to make changes—even improvements. Still, it is not demonstrably certain that the book under review has pushed either the analysis or the terminology to much advantage. Whilst we suggest alterations, we admit that the language of Edwards is English, and, by close attention, may be understood.

5. Volition, *per se*, has no moral character. As long as you know only the external result of volition—ignorant of its antecedents as well as its consequents—you can form no opinion of the morality of the man who wills it. Passing through a meadow, I lift my cane, apparently to strike a blow. You, at a distance, observe my movement, and know I put forth a volition. Tell me whether it was right or wrong. It can't be done, till I know your motive and design. Well, my design was to kill a copperhead, and my motive was to protect myself and others from being bitten and poisoned to death. All right! Therefore,

6. Motive and intention give character to volition, and the action it generates. A prisoner stands at the bar, charged with murder. You are in the jury-box. The man's life is in your hands, and the oath of God upon your soul. The accused is asked, Did you kill this man whose body was found pierced through? I did, sir. Did you pierce him through *voluntarily?* I did, sir. Now, juryman, are you ready to deliver your verdict? No, sir. What more do you want? Why, Mr. Attorney for the Commonwealth, I want to know whether he killed him of purpose, design, intention. How was this, prisoner? Well, yes, sir, I intended, designed, purposed, and determined to kill him. Now, juror, are you ready to give a verdict for the Common-

wealth? Not quite ready, sir. What more can you need? I want to know his *motive*, and its moral accompaniments—what the state of his feelings toward the deceased—the antecedents of his volition, that produced the physical blow and the death; and I can't give you a verdict, until you prove malice prepense. Mr. Prisoner, what do you say to this? I say, sir, that I killed him in self-defense. I had no ill-feeling toward him; but he assaulted my life, and I wrenched the dagger from him, and stuck it into his own heart. Now, Mr. Juror, we have nothing in evidence to the contrary; are you ready with your verdict? Ready, sir. Are you all agreed? "All agreed. The prisoner is NOT GUILTY." No honest jury ever gave a verdict of guilty, until they traced the act of the man-slayer to its *motive*—until they found the state of his heart corrupt, wicked, malicious. *Motive alone gives character to action.* Unless you can trace the overt or physical act to the *volition*, the volition to the *judgment* of the understanding, the judgment to the *intellectual perceptions*, the perceptions to the *reason*, the reason to the *appropriate moral feelings*, and all to the MOTIVES, you can form no opinion, even, of the morality—the right or wrong of any action. So far, and so far only, as *volition* is *caused* by the antecedent states of the mind, hath it any moral character. No *voluntary action*, which is not an *effect*, finding its proper *cause* in antecedent *motive*, is ever held to be praiseworthy, or blameworthy. And this is the practical judgment of the whole human race, not excepting Dr. Whedon.

7. Here I may, just as well as any-where, attempt the proof of this non-exception; that is, show that Dr. Whedon holds the doctrine of dependent volition, and proves volition to be an *effect, caused* by motives, as above. Some time back, I said I had marked thirty-three passages, in which Dr. W. abandons his ground, and takes his station on the Calvinistic platform. I have noted a few others, making in all thirty-seven. Be not dismayed, reader; it is not my design even to cite the whole, but only a few, as a sample. And,

1. Page 68: "When we say that will, or the self in willing, is sole cause of its own volitions, there is, nevertheless, one clause properly to be superadded, and always to be implied, namely: *Will in its proper conditions.* And this leads to the discussion of the conditions, or occasions, and limitations of free

action of will." Under these *proper conditions*, he introduces all the antecedent *causative influences*, on which we contend volition is dependent, as above stated. He enumerates three: the "object," design, or intention, the "*mental* comprehension," and the "motive." Thus he spreads himself over the whole Calvinistic ground. "Motive," says he, p. 71, "is usually considered as a condition to the possibility of a volition by the will. The motive is not only actual, but potential. It is not only that in view of which the volition is put forth, but that in view of which the volition is able to be put forth." The motive is *potential;* without it, the action *could not be.*

Page 88: "To the preliminary question, *What causes the will to act?* it is competent to reply, that every agent, in his proper conditions, is under a general necessity of action, even while free in the particular choice." Here is necessity; but, moreover, here are the *proper conditions*, as under the preceding cases.

Page 134. "We are now able to apply these views to illustrate the nature of what are called *influences;* that is, *motive influences*, in relation to will. As will acts more or less in accordance with such influences, there is a due propriety in saying that influences act upon will. But there must be most clearly understood, as resulting from our statements thus far, the distinction between a *physical force* and a *volitional influence.*" Here, again, the whole ground is yielded, and he even condemns himself, and his whole school, for their pertinacious assumption and often assertion, that Calvinists teach a necessity and a causative influence of motives, of a purely physical nature. And yet, most strange consistency! he proceeds immediately to illustrate a *volitional*, or *motive force*, by his favorite doctrine of chances, or contingencies—a matter purely physical.

Page 163. Motives may be "the previous ground and reason of the will—yea, the necessary" (in the sense of *requisite*) ground, etc., without which the will acts not; they may *excite* by a prevailing influence, which prevails for the act; they may be fully and freely acted in accordance with; "and yet, astonishing as it may seem, the said motives may still not be the necessitative cause of the volition." . . . . "And so the motive, though a requisite condition, is not a necessitating cause."

Excuse me, but once more—p. 363: "When the choice is made, it is, of course, made sequently upon some one of the motives; and hence it is sometimes inferred therefrom, that the relation of necessitative cause and effect existed between that motive and that volition. But on the hypothesis of freedom, as truly as upon that of necessity, there is a motive that lies in immediate antecedency to the volition; there is a reason, last occurring before the choice, in sequence to which the will, terminating the comparative survey, makes the choice."

This comparative survey, what is it but the process of weighing motives, judging of their force and value, and finishing up the intellectual operations of the intelligence? "Here," says Cousin, "the action of the intelligence completely ceases;" for the choice is made; the necessary movements to external action are all passed, and it only remains for the soul to put forth the volition executive. Here is the entire theory of dependent volition. Calvinists hold, and here Dr. W. asserts that Arminians equally hold, that these processes must take place. Now, this "mustness" is necessity; and, as he says on p. 164: "We have, in effect, shown causative limitations, by which, however subjectively free, it (the will) is objectively un-free." How extremely convenient to mount the Calvinistic pony, when there is no other mode of escape! Necessity makes its own law.

Another decisive proof that all mankind exercise a constant, practical belief in the causative influence and power of motives, is the fact, that all men, and in all ages, have used reasonings, arguments, persuasions, *motives*, for the purpose of inducing others to will and act as they wish them. Now, all this is based on the principle, that a change in the mental movements, views, feelings, desires, motives, which precede volition, will operate an influence upon the mind, and control its volitions. Cut in between these mental states and the volition, abolish all causative influence of motives, and then all reasonings, arguments, persuasions, and presentation of motives, is foolish and absurd. Deny causality in motive, and then fools and madmen are the only free agents. If a man acts without motive, he is only fit for the mad-house or the insane asylum.

8. Notwithstanding all these, and thirty more cases of neces-

sitated Calvinism, it is the *theory* (*abstract*, most assuredly) of this school, that between the entire concatenation of perceptions, conceptions, thoughts, emotions, feelings, desires, weighing of motives, conscience, and *last* decision of the judgment, or understanding, there must intervene the exercise of a power to will, in opposition to all the preceding movements, or the will is not free. An action resulting from, occasioned, brought about, caused, influenced by—accommodated to the whole of these anterior operations—is not free. Between all the exercises of the soul—perceiving, understanding, impulsions of conscience, judging, weighing of motives, resisting of evil temptations, fighting against fleshly lusts, and even "reason last occurring before the choice" (act of will), there always comes in a power, which decides independently, above, over, and in opposition to them all—a power overpowering them all. A power which God himself can not resist, is necessary to Arminian freedom. So Bledsoe perpetually repeats, "an action can't be caused." Whether this be not the *voluntas vincta compedibus peccati*—the will bound in fetters of sin—of which Calvin reprobates the idea of calling it freedom, let the reader judge. To my mind, it is the most dire fatalism. It sweeps away all the elements of moral responsibility, and makes the man a victim of capricious chance.

9. On this point Dr. W. quotes part of a paragraph from Isaac Taylor, who demonstrates this doctrine of omnipotent will, "whose *freakish movements* neither men, nor angels, nor the Omniscient himself can foresee. . . . It is the unalterable condition of my existence to be governed by a power more stern and inexorable than Fate herself. Alas! Contingency is mistress of my destinies." And this answered—evaded by an utter perversion of our doctrine, in the course of which he asserts, "Necessity (as held by Edwards, of course, he means) is the control of the soul in volition by some foreign causation," p. 120. Surely Dr. W. does not mean to say, that reason, conscience, deliberation, judgment, motive in the mind and heart, are "some foreign causation!" "Freedom is the control of the act by causative self;" but this self excludes all the antecedent mental states, perception, reason, judgment, conscience, motive—take these all away, and where is causative self? Here is a fatalism equal to any thing in Hobbes, Hume, or Priestley;

unless, indeed, it be the optimism of Bledsoe and others, who teach that sin is incidental to any moral system. God has done His very best in making this world, and He is doing His very best in mending it. The Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia, who is also a lawyer and was a preacher, declares, in his *Theodice*, if he thought that God could save one more sinner than He does, he would not undertake His defense! How obliging! But look at the fatalism, which places a limit to Divine power: a nature of things above the Maker of things: but this fearful result we have no space to reprobate; see our author, p. 321: but we must forbear.

Many other points are necessarily passed over. Perhaps the Editor will afford space for additional remarks.

This book runs us into Universalism of the worst type. It maintains that the heathen are safer than Christendom: that the population (described in a late New York paper) in the vilest dregs of our cities are in a very safe condition, being as certain of heaven as those who die in infancy: a knowledge of Christ and the Gospel is not at all necessary to salvation and entrance into heaven. I can't argue these points now, but quote a few lines. Pages 346–7: "But within the bosom of Christendom there is an immense class adult in years, but apparently entitled to the moral immunity of infancy. . . . . Excluded, perhaps, by invincible barriers from any possible knowledge of the truth as a very idiot, unwarned and unconscious that there is any truth to be sought, they seem incapable of being held to a just penal responsibility. . . . . But what is the ultimate destiny? Precisely the same, we reply, with that of the infant. . . . . The irresponsible adult, however, incrusted in irresponsible sins, is redeemed by an unknown Saviour." Hail, ye inhabitants of the Five Points! Safer and happier are ye than are believing Christians. For these may fall from grace and perish; but ye are as sure of heaven as those who die in infancy. "He that believeth not shall be damned"— "Where there is no vision, the people perish," Prov. xxix: 18. "As many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law," Rom. ii: 12.

I was very desirous to touch the argument from foreknowledge, predestination, and a dozen others. But will only express my grief and abhorrence at the manner in which Dr. W.

discourses about the free moral agency of the man Jesus, and His necessary liability to sin in order to His being righteous and holy. And so of God the Father, who is represented as a free moral agent, liable to sin, apostatize from holiness, cease to be God, and become a devil. And all these changes in God and Christ are based on the *absolute necessity* of power to contrary in order to the being of moral and meritorious excellence. Did ever demon before conceive of such a *necessity* as this? But let us hear Dr. Whedon, p. 383: "And so the moral merit of all beings, finite and infinite, arises from this, that in their proportion of power, space and time, they, in the possession of the full and complete volitional power of doing wrong, do persistently and freely that which is right." P. 316: "We can as easily conceive an infinite omnipotent Person to be bad as to be good..... God is holy in that He freely chooses to make His own happiness in eternal right. Whether He could not make Himself equally happy in wrong, is more than we can say." What can Dr. Whedon mean by right and wrong?.... P. 317: "And how knows a finite insect, like us, that in the course of ages the motives in the universe may not prove strongest for Divine apostasy to evil? If God can be supposed by Dr. Day thus to apostatize on the hypothesis of subjective freedom, why may I not fear on the hypothesis of external subjection to motive? I can as readily suppose that motives may so change as to change the Divine Will, as to suppose that the Divine free will should change in view of the motives." Thus God and Christ are fallible moral agents—liable to sin. If God is a fallible *moral agent*, He must be accountable for His moral conduct: to whom must He render His account? Who will snatch the rod, rejudge the sentence, be the God of God?

Art. III.—*Slavery in the Church Courts.*

It is a matter calling for profound gratitude, that the time has come when men have the courage to utter their honest convictions. When neither fear of bodily harm closes the mouth, nor dread of offending an organized system of oppression weakens the native instincts of humanity; when no apprehension of losing favor causes men to plead for that which they hate, and palliate that which they know to be wrong. The time has, we trust, well nigh passed, when a craven spirit in the guise of a desire for peace, permits those made audacious by repeated concessions, to carry their wicked measures; and thus, under the specious name of compromise, jeopard every settled principle. God be thanked that the day of compromises with slavery is over; when weak men and trimmers joined together in crying that the peace of the Church must be preserved; when compromise meant that one side must yield all, and harmony be purchased by the surrender of the present conscience of the people, and the removal of all the landmarks of the past. Yes, we rejoice that the time has come when manliness has regained its self-possession; when emancipation has, in great measure, thrown the shackles from the negro, and begun the more desperate task of delivering the white man from the fascination of slave power. It has ceased to be a crime worthy the punishment of the judges to call things by their right names; and logical acuteness no longer consists in ringing endless changes on the distinction between *malum per se* and *malum per accidens*, in regard to a concrete system which can not exist when all its accidents are taken away.

Moreover, the time, we trust, is ended, when the Church is allowed to join hands with the State for doing evil, while the world is deceived as to her secret purpose by violent protestations of desire to keep free from political intermeddling. The time was when the ministerial character was too holy to join with the civil power in denouncing an acknowledged evil, but just holy enough to aid and abet a faction in its work of sedition and blood; when the Church was altogether too spiritual to testify against sin, provided the State had taken the initia-

tive, but spiritual enough to hound on a hesitating insurrection, based upon the system of which it could not speak; when our Zion was too pure to defile her garments by even praying for lawful rulers, but just sufficiently pure to incite a faction to usurp unlawful power. Yes, we are happy to think the time has at last come, when the shibboleth, "Just as much opposed to slavery as any body," is not required to prove a man to be no Abolitionist: since the former has ceased to be the superscription on a spurious coin, and the latter is no longer a name for civil and ecclesiastical leprosy.

That slavery has been an incubus, crushing out the manliness of master and servant, and has prostituted the moral tone in our Church, is a truth acknowledged in some form by nearly every man of note in her communion. The moral sense of the world being at variance with oppression, has often forced this admission from those who upheld slavery. And the genius of Christian civilization undermining this institution throughout the world, the untrammeled utterances of good men in all parts of our Church, have, at various times, united in its strong condemnation. But the influence of slavery in defiling all who come in contact therewith, has produced the curious fact, that while it remained substantially the same, opinions have undergone the most radical changes. While the system was gathering strength every day, as a political power, and no fears entertained of its destruction; while the property invested in it was safe, and no dread of pecuniary loss rose like a specter, then well nigh every Christian joined in its condemnation, and advocated its destruction. It is not necessary to inquire how much of this opposition was genuine, and how much assumed in deference to the opinions of the Christian world as a palliation for its indulgence: such is the fact that when the Northern section of the Church and the Government began a vigorous resistance to the persistent encroachments of slavery, this tone was changed. While still, perhaps, ready to admit that it is an evil, and ever forward to show that the system was a great loss to all having property therein, the negroes themselves the greatest pests on earth, and their masters martyrs to the benevolent desire to elevate them by oppression; yet, when any person among them undertook in good earnest to advocate its extinction, he was at once accused of being an Abolitionist—a name

synonymous with all villainy. So that the actual doing of that which each person acknowledged in substance to be right and desirable, made a man more odious than a felon, and placed a mark upon him blacker than that of Cain. This was the case with the citizen at home; but woe to the luckless wight who, migrating from a northern latitude, chose to stir up southern blood by using the arguments which former statesmen, jurists and divines, participating in slavery, had put into his mouth. If he persisted in this, his life paid the forfeit of his intermeddling, or escaping in haste he was happy, if without personal violence he regained his rock-bound New England, there to meditate the folly of uttering as sober earnest that which our Southern brethren claimed as their especial right to utter in a Pickwickian sense. The consequence of this was, that every man who found it to his interest to remain in the South had either to fall in with the current of expressed opinion, that is while pretending to denounce, really to defend, or preserve entire silence. Persons who went from abroad were scarcely allowed the poor privilege of a formal disapproval, even if coupled with an actual participation in its blessings, until they had taken out naturalization papers, which could be accelerated by the manifestation of particular zeal in defending the system on economical, and especially Scriptural grounds. Hence, the great number of those who, being born in Northern States, did not, up to the time of their hegira, see any thing in the system to love, but much to condemn, yet, when it was covered with the gilding of Southern favor and wealth, at once saw it transformed into a thing of wondrous beauty. It is too much to suppose that poor humanity could resist the blandishments of Southern hospitality and elegance; and hence the senses were captivated by the brilliancy which shone around the elegant mansions of the planter, while the eye could scarcely be expected to rest upon the squallid hovel of the slave. Nor could the ear, used to the courteous address of chivalry, be expected to hearken to the unseemly cry emitted when the castigation of the humane overseer was applied as a means of Christian civilization. So, while the system remained precisely the same, setting at naught all the rights of humanity and Christianity, opinions of it changed because men looked at it through a different medium. Hence, multitudes from the North, whom business or

pleasure drew southward, were so captivated with the elegant exterior of slavery, that they were ready to listen to the demands of their slaveholding brethren: especially when set off by such powerful arguments as the preservation of peace; a united Church; the glory of conservatism; and the self-denying labors of the master in educating the ignorant and vicious negro to a position fit for freedom. We have, therefore, reason for hearty thankfulness that the Church has, in great degree, become emancipated from this incubus which crushed out her very life. There are occasional instances in the Northern States where our people are still enslaved, or if at liberty have not yet learned that they can act freely. The number in the border States is yet large, and it may require two or three proclamations in the form of deliverances by the General Assembly, before those who are in their chrysalis state will know how to use their liberty.

In order to strengthen the bulwarks of slavery and silence discussion in the highest court of the Church, as discussion is always dangerous to any system which rests on darkness and ignorance, the doctrine of Higher Spirituality was introduced. By this it was maintained that the Church could not meddle with any question whatever which could become a subject of State legislation, since this would be jeoparding her sanctity. It was held that the entire business of the Church was to preach the Gospel, which is, in fact, a truth which no man may gainsay. But what is it to preach the Gospel? Certainly not to proclaim an abstraction, a mere formula, but a concrete system of doctrines which that plan of revealed truth embraces. This is no less than the whole duty of man, illustrated by the life of Christ as an exemplar after which his people should copy in all things. This is comprehensive enough to embrace man in all his relations to God, to his fellow, and to himself. For there is no act which has not a moral significance, nor can be freed from the standard of the Divine will, which will is made known to us in the Gospel. Therefore every act of life being amenable to the tribunal of Christian doctrine, comes under the purview of the Church, which is the witness for Christ on earth; and must be passed upon by His embassadors, unless they prove faithless to His instructions. The declaration that the duty of the Church is to preach the Gospel exclusively, becomes a palpable absurd-

ity when that Gospel is reduced to an abstraction. For this embraces no concrete case, no individual nor act, no application of doctrine nor practice. When we fritter the Gospel away to this extent there is nothing left, for it is not like mathematical truth, independent of concrete number and special applications. If we carry out the principle fully, and say that the Church must not meddle in politics, where will this end? It is no more meddling in political strife to consider the subject of slavery, provided it has any moral or immoral quality which comes under the cognizance of the Gospel, because this subject is one that engages State legislation, than for the Church to raise her voice in regard to any other action. The State legislates on theft, lying, fraud and licentiousness; must the Church, through fear of defiling her garments by meddling in politics, be silent when her people commit these crimes, or cease to rebuke a sinful world when such iniquities abound? Yet slavery, as carried on any-where, will involve every one of these things. We are well aware of the tremendous arguments adduced to show that slavery is not a sin *per se*. But slavery never did and never can exist *per se*. It involves an imperfect master clothed with substantially unlimited power over the body and soul of a servant, and therefore a certain train of consequences; and so must be either good or evil. If good, it is the duty of the Church, whether the State acts or not, to conserve and perpetuate it. This doctrine, we may say in passing, Dr. Palmer, one of the great lights of New Church purity, boldly advocated at the very time when it was held to be utterly wrong for the Church to act against slavery. If, however, the system be evil, the Church must, at her peril, endeavor not only to clear her own skirts of it, but also to destroy it elsewhere as a work of the devil, independently of what the State may think or desire. Drunkenness again is a matter of State action. Must the Church be silent for that reason, and never inveigh against this vice? Yet the political canvass in several States has turned on this question, and carrying out the doctrine of Church spirituality as expounded by those in the interest of slavery, the Christian man must not express his opinion nor take any action on this subject; and the Church, through dread of being contaminated, must never try the offender who breaks the rules of sobriety, nor lift her voice against the prevalence of this sin. The State also pun-

ishes adultery, providing a remedy for the injured party, and mulcting the seducer for tampering with female honor. Here again the Church has no voice, because she must not meddle in any thing connected with the State. Even when this vice assumes the form of polygamy and mormonism, she is powerless, because this offense is one which has, and probably will again, agitate States, if not the National Government. And thus while these sins are involved in the very idea of slavery, and inherent in its nature—not the accidental attendants, but the necessary concomitants of the system, since the laws regulating slavery compel negroes in most States to live in concubinage, and put female virtue in the slave beyond the reach of legal protection. Yet the Church must be quiet, lest she implicate herself in political strife. As an illustration of this policy, we will relate an occurrence actually witnessed. In Transylvania Presbytery, at its spring meeting, in April, 1861, a resolution was introduced by Rev. S. B. Cheek, to memorialize the Legislature for the passage of a law permitting church members, and others who had a conscience in the matter, to have the marriages of their slaves legally solemnized. By this the master would voluntarily submit to the pecuniary loss incurred by making it impossible to sell either one of a married couple without the other. This resolution contemplated no compulsory action on any, save those who felt scandalized that Christian masters must, by existing laws, see members of their own households and churches living in a state of concubinage; and who chose to avail themselves of its provisions to put away this sin. Though it was introduced in the most Christian spirit, and embraced a case where the consciences of believers ought, if ever, to be bound, yet this resolution was laid on the table—nearly every member of Presbytery voting against it. For it was argued by an eminent man, himself *once* an emancipationist, that though the matter presented was one of undoubted grievance, involving a sin which ought to be purged away, yet, to prevent agitation in the Church at such a time of intense political strife, there must be no intermeddling; and so, with a few words of caution, spoken in a whisper, against drawing upon the Church the suspicion of sharing in the Abolition crusade, this paper was secretly buried like an untimely birth. Verily, when Presbytery took this action, we seemed to hear such words of alarm as were

thought to be heard in the stillness of the night immediately before God's vengeance fell upon Jerusalem, "Excedere Deos;"* when even the heathen thought that the gods did depart from the temple, and leave it to its fate. Nor were our apprehensions calmed when the same day the thunders from the cannon opened on the fated Sumter, proclaimed, like the knell of death throughout our land, that insurrection which a craven spirit had permitted slavery to inaugurate.

Such a monstrous doctrine touching the proper jurisdiction of the Church, is revolting to common sense as well as common decency. Yet, for the support of negro slavery, this doctrine has been hatched up and the attempt made to foist it upon the Church. Its absurdity becomes manifest at once when applied to any one of the common sins of which the State takes cognizance. Were Dr. Thornwell, the father of this monstrosity, alive, we would be glad to hear him attempt, we say *attempt* advisedly, to preach a sermon involving only an abstract Gospel. Where he would find his text, his illustrations, his application, we certainly could never imagine from any of the noble sermons he did preach. They could not be found in the Bible; nor in Aristotle, which was his second book. No; the thing is impossible in itself, and never carried out into practice even by its advocates. It was refuted continually by themselves when applied to any thing else than slavery, and maintained solely to defend their love and practice of this system.

This doctrine was never palatable to the Church at large; for except where interest dulled the vision, its absurdity could not be overlooked. Even the most distinguished Northern apologist for slavery, who, we are happy to see, has himself been lately manumitted, drew up the paper which the General Assembly of 1860 passed, wherein is to be found the doctrine of the Church on the question of her mission. "Politics, in the wide sense of the word, includes the science of government, the policy of States, and the duties of citizens. The plain principle which determines the legitimate sphere of the action of the Church, is, that it is limited to teaching and enforcing moral and religious truth; and to such truths as are revealed and

* Exapertæ repente delubri fores et audita major humana vox "Excedere Deos;" simul ingens motus excedentium.—Tac. An. V. 13.

determined by the Sacred Scriptures. The Bible gives us no rule for deciding the litigated questions about public improvements, a national bank, or a protective tariff, or State rights. But it does give us rules for pronouncing about slave laws, the slave-trade, obedience to magistrates, treason, rebellion, and revolution. To shut her mouth on these questions, is to make her unfaithful to her high vocation."

Again: It is a fiction to attempt the separation of the duties which a man owes to the Church and those due the State, in such a way as to make him appear in two characters. Jesuitical casuistry has attempted this, but honesty rejects the subterfuge. There are two classes which the citizen must perform, diverse in their mode of execution, but not different in their nature. For unquestionably, if we possess a personal identity, it is the concrete of all our thoughts, words and deeds; each one of which is either indifferent, or of moral significance. Leaving the former out of the question, then each one of the latter has an influence which goes to make up the sum of that which we call character, and which is impossible of division. Hence, the Christian and the patriot, the citizen and the Church member, are not two persons, but one and the same, considered from different points of view. Therefore we can not engage in politics in any way, even the most general, unless the higher duties which we owe the Gospel of Christ sanction our conduct, and thus it be for an advancement in Christian character. Every act of life has its significance both from its own nature and its influence upon us, and hence is invested with an importance from its tendency to make us better or worse. The follower of Christ must keep wholly aloof—not merely in his character as a Church member—from every thing that prevents his obedience to his Master; so that if he engages in any duty to the State, it must be by the sufferance of his Lord. Is it right to obey God rather than man? is a case plainly put to every man's conscience. Accordingly, we must not be citizens at all, unless we can also perform our parts as Christians. Still, we can not but be citizens. While God leaves us in the world, we have to participate in its obligations, as well as in its labors for our sustenance. Hence, we can no more throw off nor pretermit the duties we owe in the one relation than the other. But if the State requires of us that which is at variance to the will of

God, the alternative is clear. Duty to the State is not always, nor perhaps chiefly, compliance with its injunctions. Often that required of us is rebuke and correction, just as the Christian man's life does not consist in the maxims of a sinful world or compliance with its conduct. He must strive perpetually to reform abuses and correct errors in doctrine. So in the State. He owes a duty to it just as much in endeavoring to reclaim it when gone astray, as to aid it in its work of government when right; and he can not absolve himself from this perpetual obligation. Moreover, government is of Divine origin. God setteth the solitary in families, and the State is only a family of large dimensions. It being His ordinance, every man is a part of this system, one as much as another according to his ability; and while God is pleased to let him live, his obligations to conserve the State are binding. The idea, then, that the Church to secure her sanctity must stand aloof from the affairs of the State, is sheer nonsense. The Church must not be dependent on the State for her action, nor *vice versa;* except in so far as they are a mutual help to each other, and counterparts of universal law, given by the author of nature for the regulation of his children. A perfect system of government certainly would not defile the garments of the Church by contact, and as the people constitute the State, the obligation rests upon them to make it such—pure and holy; and if it is not so, then, especially in a State of free franchise, the sin rests upon the individuals who make it what it is. Vain is it for us to say that we will have nothing to do with the politics of the State because they are so corrupt. But why are they so corrupt? Who has made the State what it is? He that holds aloof will say, surely not I, because I have nothing to do with it. Just here is your offense, because you refuse, when you see it in corruption, to interpose your power, and at least try to remove the wrong. A man may be just as guilty by not participating in the government of his country, as though he were the personal author of its corruptions. For our guilt may be quite as heinous in refusing to prevent a sin where duty so called, where we had the ability and yet did not, as though we were the perpetrators. Therefore to say in a time of public crisis that the Church must abstain from all share in political excitement, is in direct variance with her duty. If good men should ever act

the part of citizens, it ought to be when they are most needed. When not needed, if that could occur, then may they not act. So in times of perfect quiet the Church may, without injury, abstain from those questions which do not directly concern her, and give herself to that of more immediate import. Of the relative importance of her duties she, taught by the Word of God, as every man for himself, must judge. Each owes duties to the other: the State to protect from violence and wield the arm of power; the Church to warn, to exhort and to instruct, but not to take the sword. When the Saviour of sinners said, My kingdom is not of this world, in the next clause He showed how this declaration was to be understood. The Church is not intrusted with the sword; that belongs to another branch of God's ordinance, the civil magistrate. The Lord recognizes the rights of both when He says, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. While both arms of power are obedient to their founder, there is no conflict, for they severally aim ultimately at the same ends, the glory of God and the good of men. When the civil power becomes corrupt and will not be turned from its wickedness, when the subject has exerted all his influence to reclaim it yet in vain, when it turns to be his oppressor, he then can realize that Christ's kingdom is not of this world; *i. e.* has no affiliation with the powers of evil, for which the world is often used as the synonym. So the Christian man, when reduced to this extremity, can not appeal to the same force for his protection which the State calls upon to destroy him—the Church and the State are irreconcilably at variance, and Peter must put up his sword. The Church can do nothing then but submit to persecution, and make her appeal directly to God, who will overturn until He come whose right it is to reign. But for men and Churches to refuse to come to the help of the Government on the plea that they are set apart for a holy work, and therefore must not meddle in public affairs, is downright absurdity, if nothing worse. This is usually the miserable subterfuge devised to screen a cowardly shirking from duty, when a bold course would expose to loss or censure; or it is a sophism under which to conceal treason, by refusing to support the lawful authority, or to put on record the cherished opposition to it. A profession of piety too immaculate

is often found in company with a scanty profession, on the principle that what we really possess needs no display, as it will answer for itself. So the Church may always be suspected of some sinister design when she places herself in a position so high that she can not condescend to perform her true mission, that is to preach and enforce the truth of God in all its concrete applications to the conditions and wants of humanity.

If we apply the *argumentum ad hominem* to the advocates of this spirituality in the Church, during the recent troubles of our country, they appear in signal variance to their own teachings. Those men who were the most violent in their invectives against political preaching in the North, who perpetually lamented the degeneracy of the Church from this cause, were the foremost in urging the insurgents to revolt. It is safe to say that Dr. Thornwell, whose influence in South Carolina was so well known, did more than any other man, in forcing that State to her final plunge into perdition. No tirade was too violent, no denunciation too bitter, no appeal to mad passions too inflammatory, to be employed by this eminent minister of the Prince of Peace, to urge his fellow citizens to conspiracy, sedition and bloodshed. In private and in public he incited the people to madness by his sermons, his prayers and his writings. Yes, he drove them by indecent haste to consummate the accursed crime of treason without cause, and bloodshed without provocation. And then, to crown all his efforts, he would fain sanctify its consummation by invoking the benediction of God upon this terrible work, which the Convention assembled for secession had wrought by his advice. We may also instance Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans, a disciple of this same school, whose Thanksgiving Sermon of November, 1860, may challenge any production which has appeared during the last four years of violence, for extreme views, for exciting the worst passions for the worst ends. Forgetting his sacred calling, he appeared to exult in the unlimited extent to which he carried his radicalism on those questions which the wildest politicians scarcely dared to broach. Probably no Christian country has ever witnessed such *outrè* views as the Southern clergy were foremost in advocating; and their Church Courts vied with the State Legislatures and the Sovereignty Conventions in recommending measures of purely political character. At the same

time, we have the strange spectacle exhibited of unmeasured denunciation against Northern ministers and Church Courts, for doing far less, and in a much milder way, the very same kind of acts they were performing. Yet they say it was the political meddling of the Northern branch of the Church which rendered division necessary. It was the persistent preaching of those doctrines of slavery which the whole Church has pronounced right, that rendered it necessary for an aggrieved and persecuted section to repudiate its connection. But the true reason was, the churches in the North felt that the Government was to be supported and rebellion crushed, that the schismatic churches felt themselves too holy for such communion. It was a great sin for a minister to pray for the Government which had protected him and his fathers, but perfectly consistent with inviolate piety to hound on an unwilling people to insurrection, robbery and murder. Nay, more. Those who felt outraged because the Church in the hour of our country's peril passed resolutions of sympathy, found it quite consistent with their type of holiness to offer public petitions that "the bones of Yankees might bleach on every Southern hill." Those who lead bands of guerrillas to commit robbery and murder, receive their teachings from such as advocate the new theory of the "Church of God," which makes her mission so holy that she can do no work except that which belongs to him who is called the "accuser of the brethren." And such as indulge in bush-whacking until personal safety from the ministers of outraged justice compels them to take refuge in another State, celebrate their advent by instructing the Church on "her duty to keep aloof from all the excitements of politics." Those who are exceedingly desirous to so speak in Church Courts "that no man may know which side of politics (*i. e.* rebellion) they are on," find it perfectly consistent with their creed to aid and abet treason by every means which a too indulgent government will suffer. Holy men whose hands are red with the blood of patriot sons, slain in defense of their country's integrity, "would be glad to have such a reputation for freedom from political complications, that they could preach with acceptance through the length and breadth of our land," to parents made childless by their treasonable machinations. But it makes all possible difference whose ox is gored. So it makes all difference

whether meddling in politics be on the side of loyalty or treason. When you cross Mason and Dixon's line, the moral character of an action becomes changed. Looking to the North, to speak for our country or pray for its rulers—the offense is rank, it smells of perdition. Looking to the South, the same is virtue, clothed in a robe of such spotless purity that neither conspiracy, treachery, robbery nor murder can impress a single spot.

But the Church has not in the past considered it foreign to her domain to legislate on moral questions; and of these no one has occupied nearly the same attention as slavery. From our earliest history as a denomination in this country, scarcely a year has passed without some action on this subject. Before the formation of the Assembly, the General Synod acted again and again with reference to it; and always manifesting dislike and desire to be freed from its guilt and disgrace. In the Synod of 1787 a committee brought in a report, in which it was held, "It is more especially the duty of those who maintain the rights of humanity, and who acknowledge and teach the obligations of Christianity, to use such means as are in their power to extend the blessings of equal freedom to every part of the human race." After the consideration of this subject the Synod passed a judgment, which was reaffirmed by the General Assembly of 1793, in which occur the following words: "Finally, they recommend it to all their people to use the most prudent measures, consistent with the interest and state of civil society, in the counties where they live, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America." Subsequently, the declarations of the Assembly were frequent and always to the same tenor. There was thought to be nothing wrong in legislating with reference to the institution as it existed under their own jurisdiction; and they did not deem it meddling with politics to exert their influence to secure "the abolition of slavery throughout America." Of course the days of the higher purity and holiness of the Church had not arrived, when she could not act upon any sin with which her membership was complicated, but forsooth she should defile herself thereby! From year to year the Church, both in the lower and higher courts, treated this subject, and it was thought nothing amiss to preach against oppression; to call slavery with its concomitants of man steal-

ing, dissolution of the marriage tie, separation of parent and child, cruelty—a sin, and pray for its abolition. Later refinement introduced the name emancipation, a distinction scarcely known in the simple days of the Church, when to get rid of slavery in any way was called Abolition, from the very natural primitive Latin. So when the Assembly of 1818 met and chose virtually to reaffirm all the previous testimonies, by adopting unanimously one far more distinct, denunciatory and sweeping, even the fathers in the South—who had not learned, as yet, when they said slavery ought to be abolished to mean, "it must be perpetuated to the millennium"—voted with their brethren in the North for a declaration containing the following sentiments: "We consider the voluntary enslaving of one portion of the human race by another as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, and as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ, which enjoin that all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system. * * The consequences of slavery are not imaginary, but connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is exposed often take place in fact, and in their very worst degree and power. * * From this view of the consequences resulting from the practice into which Christian people have most inconsistently fallen, of enslaving a portion of their brethren of mankind—for God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth—it is manifestly the duty of all Christians who enjoy the light of the present day, when the inconsistency of slavery, both with the dictates of humanity and religion, has been demonstrated, and is generally seen and acknowledged, to use their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times, and as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and, if possible, throughout the world." Can we suppose that any one could have uttered these words during the last twenty years, before an audience in the South, or even before a "conservative" congregation in the North or East, and not been accused of political preaching? Is it to be

supposed that the writer could have gone, in the year 1860, to South Carolina, the State of his fathers, and there, even among his kindred at Columbia, have uttered these words, and escaped without personal injury? Yet eminent men of all parts of the South voted for this very deliverance. Here is a calm, duly considered, and carefully worded minute, passed unanimously by the Church in her highest tribunal, yet involving all that any Church Court ever did utter on this subject; embracing every thing that the opponents of slavery have desired, and containing the whole substance of the present political strife. This declaration appeared to satisfy the Church at large for a long time, though there were deliverances by particular Presbyteries and Synods, which affirmed substantially the same thing. No general testimony would have been required from the Church after this had its recommendations been faithfully executed. For in that case the Church would have freed herself from this sin and shame; and it is not too much to believe had she been faithful to her duty, she would have led the whole country to eradicate the national plague spot, and thus have prevented the present horrid insurrection and strife. But while we pass any other declarations of the Assembly, till 1845, it would not be proper, especially in view of the recent action of the Kentucky Synod with reference to the deliverance of the Assembly of 1864, to pass by the action of the Synod of 1854, prepared by a committee appointed for that purpose. This paper, let it be remembered, was enacted in a slave State, drawn up by slaveholders, approved by a slaveholding people, with no taint of Northern Abolitionism or political preaching in it. It is impossible to quote more than a sentence here and there; but to those who are not familiar with the whole, we can truly say that any one part of this very long testimony is quite as decisive as another in the utter condemnation of slavery morally, politically, and socially. "Its effect is to deprave and degrade its subjects by removing from them the strongest checks to human corruption. * * It dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance. * * It deprives its subjects, in a great measure, of the privileges of the Gospel. * * This system licenses and produces great cruelty. * * Brutal stripes and all the varied kinds of personal indignities are not the only species of cruelty which slavery licenses. The

law does not recognize the family relations of a slave, and extends to him no protection in the enjoyment of domestic endearments. * * It produces general licentiousness among the slaves. * * This system demoralizes the whites as well as the blacks. * * This system draws down upon us the vengeance of Heaven." Now if human language possesses the power to be more explicit in the utter condemnation, more uncompromising in the absolute abhorrence, more sweeping in unqualified denunciation, we have never discovered it. The most cordial hater can here find an armory wherewith to equip himself against all defenders of the "Divine Institution." True, the language is temperate, but it is the still, small voice, which is more terrific than the thunder crash. It is barely possible, had this paper been presented to the Synod, in 1864, some tender consciences might have felt constrained to protest *against contaminating the Spiritual Kingdom of the Lord Christ, by the introduction of some of Cæsar's carnalities.* Possibly some holy sufferers from Federal oppression might have been straitened in their bowels, lest, by being brought to a vote on such a paper, it might be discovered which side of the civil strife they occupied. But we have become wiser now. In 1834, men had just sense enough to speak the truth, call things by their right names, and clinch their convictions by a vote. Now we are too smart, by half, for this. *We have no convictions, and are heartily ashamed that we ever had any.* As a Synod we talk on both sides and vote on neither. Instead of calling obdurate sins by hard names, we gloss them over with soft, mellifluous periphrases; and through fear of offending some erring brother (who shows very plainly he has no fear of offending us), reeking with treason and deserving the rope, we enter into a compromise, the main features of which are to surrender every vital principle, to put ourselves out of sympathy with all good men, be compelled to eat our own words, and gain nothing from our opponents but contempt for our craven concessions.

This is somewhat in anticipation of our subject. The Assembly of 1845 made a notable deliverance on slavery. The paper of 1818 was entirely satisfactory to both sections at the time, and continued to be so to the Northern section of the Church. But in the mean time the political creeds of the South had undergone a change. Formerly the fathers of the Republic, as well

in the South as elsewhere, looked upon slavery as a temporary evil to be tolerated only until the political body became strong enough for the safe removal of this imposthume. But now, either the increased productiveness of slave labor occasioned by the invention of Whitney's gin (by which, as many wise men once thought, cotton had become king), or else superior wisdom, especially in Scriptural interpretation, had shown the economical nature and Divine warrant for the system, and the modern Pharaoh was hardened to such degree that he was not disposed to let the people go. And when Pharaoh led the van, Potipherah followed in the rear. Of course there is no insinuation of any connection between the two powers; for be it known that by the year of grace 1845, there were already intimations of a degree of holiness in the Southern Church, which turned out of doors not only Cæsar but all his belongings; which preached a Christianity so sublimated that it contained nothing that ever did, nor, by possibility, ever could have any reference to concrete virtue or sin. Be that as it may, the Assembly of 1845 passed a paper—not unanimously—which was intended as a sop to the Southern Cerberus—slavery, freedom from political intermeddling, and cotton. Of the character of this paper it is not our purpose to speak particularly. Suffice it to say, it *did not satisfy* the North, which had been content with that of 1818; and it *did satisfy* the South, which had by this time discovered the imperfections of the former one. It would be our individual opinion that the deliverance of 1845 is somewhat feebler in its condemnation of slavery than that of 1818, were it not for the opinion of the author, whose judgment ought to silence all when he says: "The act of 1845 is less pro-slavery than that of 1818." Capable, as its author is, of deciding with reference to his own meaning, and competent as he is on a subject about which he has succeeded in making men of both parties believe he advocated their diametrically opposite principles; being at the same time "just as much opposed to slavery as any body," and yet no Abolitionist; still, strange to say, he did not satisfy the anti-slavery wing of the Church. For the ghost of slavery would not be laid, and it reappeared next year in the Assembly, and again in 1849, '50, '61. The desire to prevent agitation is manifest in the action taken these several times, and all that was done was to refer to the previous deliverances;

it being thought that action then, because of the growing excitement, was "unnecessary, untimely, and unwise." But in 1863, when the autumnal fruits of slavery were grown in rich profusion, in a war of Cyclopean magnitude, when the conscience of the Northern Church forced its highest court to an expression, and when either the absence of our Southern brethren, and the consequent fear of giving offense was removed, or, perchance, the mind of the Church had become emancipated, at all events it reaffirmed, in unmistakable language, the action of 1818, with which the Church was then satisfied; showing that so far as the Northern branch was concerned she was perfectly content, and moreover, consistent with her former declarations.

Coming now to the last general deliverance of the Church, viz., that of 1864, we find no difference in sentiment between it and that of 1818. There is the same distinct and unqualified condemnation of the whole system, and a determination to get rid of it. The difference between the papers is not in the animus exhibited as to the nature of the thing itself, but as to the time and mode of destroying it; now that it has become intolerable to the Church, as the chief author of the evils which affect our distracted land. Thus, while the action of 1864 declares: "Whilst we do not believe that the present judgments of our Heavenly Father and Almighty and Righteous Governor have been inflicted solely in punishment for this sin; yet it is our judgment that the recent events of our history, and the present condition of our Church and country, furnish manifest tokens that the time has at length come, in the providence of God, when it is His will that every vestige of human slavery among us should be effaced, and that every Christian man should address himself with industry and earnestness to his appropriate part in the performance of this great duty;" the Assembly of 1818 enjoins upon the Church "as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion," * * "and we earnestly exhort them" (*i. e.* those already laboring to abolish slavery) "to continue, and if possible to increase their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery. We exhort them to suffer no greater delay to take place in this most interesting concern than a regard to the public welfare truly and indispensably demands, * * and the duty is indispensably incumbent on all Christians to labor for its complete extinction." The

two deliverances are so entirely in concord wherein they refer to the nature of slavery and the necessity of its entire abolition, that it is unnecessary to compare them further. The only difference is that in that of 1864 the time for final action is believed to be fully come. The judgments of God which good men had formerly considered as impending, have burst upon us; and now the sin must be put away that He may remove His rod.

Nor is the jurisdiction of the Church in this matter a whit more extensive than that of 1818. It is there claimed that the Church has power to free herself from this evil; and by an injunction to do so, of course, the duty is implied. Nor does the action stop here, but she must use her "honest and unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times" (*i. e.* in the introduction of this system into our communion), "and as speedily as possible" not only "to efface this blot on our holy religion," but also "to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible throughout the world." Here was political intermeddling of the most extensive kind foreshadowed. The Church is to begin by exercising her jurisdiction in freeing herself "from this blot on our holy religion." The leaven is to work outwardly, even if it interfere with municipal rights, with State constitutions, with fugitive slave laws. It intermeddles with State sovereignty, provided that be based upon or connected with the peculiar institution. It even ventures upon *obiter dicta* and runs counter to the decisions of eminent jurists, where they say that "a negro slave has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." It might even interfere in the rights of commerce, in rendering unprofitable the traffic in bloodhounds. It goes beyond our pent-up Utica, and ventures on a politico-missionary tour to all Christendom; and when all Christians shall have acknowledged the equal right to freedom, founded in the brotherhood of Christ and in common sense, the missionary is to go on his work of reformation to all the ends of the earth. Very intermeddling political act that of 1818. Probably had its requisitions been carried out, the king of Dahomey would have felt himself constrained in conscience to utter a solemn protest against such political preachers, as he saw his slave pens torn down, and his cargo for the next slaver escaping to their native villages.

Doubtless he would have adopted the language of one of old. *These Christians do exceedingly trouble our city, being political preachers. They have turned the slaves loose in my market over the sea toward the sun setting; and now having turned the world upside down, have come here to put my whole craft in danger.*

Enough has been adduced to prove incontrovertibly these two facts, viz., that the Church claimed jurisdiction in the matter of slavery, and that she considered this system a sin involving every species of iniquity; and therefore to be abolished at all hazards, and as speedily as possible. These facts are reiterated and reaffirmed by successive Synods and Assemblies, which embraced the leading men, the piety and talent of the denomination. They are set forth in no crude and momentary action, but are the matured opinions, the well-considered utterances of men who knew what they wished to say, and did not hesitate through dread of offending erring brethren, to declare the truth. It is perfectly safe to affirm that the opinions of the Church, as expressed in her judicatories from 1787 until 1845, exhibit no variations of utterance touching this subject, except a growing restiveness under the felt guilt of the system, a greater zeal for its overthrow; and naturally enough an increasing distinctness and particularity in its condemnation. The earlier action exhibits unflinching hostility, but expresses disapprobation in general terms. The later, previous to 1845, as feeling disappointed at its continuance, are more objurgatory, while pointing out, with greater accuracy, the special guilt and sin which it entails. Even the action of 1864 is virtually contained in that of 1818, and in that of the Synod of Kentucky, of 1834: so that the position of the anti-slavery party of the Church is precisely that of the whole Church until 1845. Accordingly, those who uphold the action of 1864 have at least the consciousness of being consistent with themselves, and with the solemn and well-matured opinions of the fathers. So that whether these views be right or wrong, at least they must be allowed this recommendation, that they do not war with the fixed principles of the Church; nor have their authors changed their base in attacking anew the sin of slavery.

Here, however, we are met by the persistent efforts of those who oppose the action of 1864, to show that the Church has departed from her ancient landmarks, and ventured upon new

and dangerous, even political, grounds for her action; that she no longer contents herself with her own jurisdiction, but must take part in the civil strife of the day; that while doing what she has always insisted on doing, she arrays herself with one of the political parties, because it chooses to announce as one of its cardinal principles the same which she has always held. Hence, to satisfy these new apostles of Church purity, she must abandon any or every one of her tenets, no matter how vital or long she has held it, provided the State trenches thereupon; and so, should the State, by an increase of morality, choose to undertake any measure relating to Christian duty, for example, that of punishing profanity, or of sending missionaries to the heathen, of course the Church must abandon her proper vocation, lest she be accused of intermeddling. Moreover, if one of the political parties be more virtuous than the other; if it make temperance, education, relief of the oppressed, obedience to magistrates, as the ordinance of God, a part of its policy, then the Church must wash her hands of all such unholy companionship; and, by keeping aloof from this party and all its measures, effectually throw herself into the arms of the other faction, which, like Gallio, cares for none of these things; but which believes that neither Church nor State has any thing to do with morality or religion; which thinks that education to both white and black races is dangerous; that intemperance is no sin, since it is the unbounded use of one of the good creatures of God; that the negro is to be oppressed for all time, because he is (not) the offspring of a certain Canaan, who was cursed; and that magistrates must not be obeyed, nor governments sustained, because that implies an infringement of the rights of men to do, each what seemeth good in his own eyes!

But the Church is not to be driven from her position by any such sophistry. She will still stand where she has hitherto, and is not responsible for the grievances of those whose opinions have so changed that they can not abide by her decisions. While the Church has, in the main, kept on in the even tenor of her way, those of the discontented faction have progressed backward so rapidly, that there is nothing in common between them and her. Now, if schismatics will honestly acknowledge that they, and not the great body of the Church, have

apostatized, then, at least, there would be the virtue of sincerity, the frankness of an open adversary, who is willing to be judged by his real sentiments, and suffer the consequences of his own acts. But instead of this they make the dishonorable attempt to throw the *onus offensionis* on those who believe and act as they have always done. These are accused of wishing to divide the Church by freeing from its communion those who will not abide by their own covenants. By secret insinuation the Church is accused of doing violence to the consciences of God's people, in putting a political yoke upon their necks, while the real state of the case is, that they have so far departed from the faith, and given heed to the lying spirits of sedition and treachery, that they can not or will not see the difference between the preservation and the utter subversion of all that constitutes us a Church or a people. Thus we hear complaints that the last Assembly placed them in a position of hostility, and therefore "they do not love that high Court as well as formerly." But the true case is, that they have placed themselves in antagonism to the Assembly; they do not love the Assembly, not for what it has done to them, but for what they have done to it—on the principle that we dislike more one upon whom we inflict an injury, than one who commits a trespass against us. It is a matter well worthy of inquiry, how far this hostility to the General Assembly is fostered and directed by a hatred to the Government to which the Assembly adheres. Of course we can not tell the mind of every one who opposes this last action; but one thing is clear, we do not know of any person who is a cordial supporter of his loyal Government, who "loves the Assembly any less" for what it did the last meeting. On the contrary, we do know that all the politically disaffected; those who have aided and abetted treason; those who, while claiming to be loyal, always act in concert with the disloyal; those who continually prate of the usurpations and cruelty of the Federal power in ferreting out and bringing to justice those who, while enjoying its protection, threaten its life—these men have nothing to say as to the unlawfulness of joining in rebellion, or the inconsistency of that branch of the Church which broke off in order to keep free from intermeddling in politics, now found in the van of insurrection. No, we have no difficulty in determining, the

moment we hear a man speak of the constraint of his conscience in the matter of the Church acting just as heretofore, that such tender conscience is not at all burdened in aiding and abetting sedition, robbery, and murder. We earnestly desire all such possessors of burdened consciences to know, that, however they may deceive themselves by such pratings and assumptions of extra holiness; however much they may dupe a misguided people by teaching doctrines of Church purity, they do not deceive us. Their designs are transparent as the day. It is not the first time the cry of "stop thief" has been raised in a crowd to direct attention away from him who has just violated the eighth commandment. We do not then think that it is necessary for the Church to trouble herself to convince these erring brethren that they are in fault. They know this already, unless they are given over to strong delusions; and if schism follows, the guilt of this be on their own heads; for the Church at large is innocent. For these reasons we oppose the recent action of the Synod of Kentucky, in its dissent from the General Assembly, and the censure implied therein. For in this the Synod most certainly proved recreant to her testimonies in 1834, and to the general spirit of her utterances for the last three-quarters of a century. It is clear that the Assembly of 1864 did nothing more than was contained by implication in the act of 1834, as may be seen by a comparison of the quotations. Nay, verily, strong as the Assembly's action was, we venture most confidently to affirm that the Synod of 1834, by its committee, went further, used stronger language, and exhibited more intense earnestness in every respect, save that the Assembly conceived it saw, in the present posture of our country and the Church, the indications that the time for final action had, in the providence of God, fully come. Now, the only tendency of such action as the last, is to put the Synod out of sympathy with its true friends, and the friends of virtue and law every-where. It satisfied no person, because it was not what any one really desired. It changed no person's opinions; it bound no conscience; it uprooted no prejudice. All that it did effect was virtually to estrange it from the Church of our fathers, and, by an intimation of our lack of confidence in its wisdom and discretion, to apply an entering wedge for future blows to drive

even to severance. Let us examine this paper somewhat particularly. It says: "The General Assembly at different times, but especially in the years 1818 and 1845, set forth the opinions and views of the Presbyterian Church in the United States on the subject of slavery. By these deliverances this Synod was willing, and is still willing, to abide; and any further or different utterance on that subject by the last General Assembly was, in the judgment of the Synod, unnecessary, unwise, and untimely. Unnecessary, because the former deliverances were sufficiently expressive of the views of the Church, and had been acquiesced in with great unanimity for many years. Unwise and untimely, because the whole country was excited upon the subject of slavery, and the means adopted by the President of the United States for its extinction—in regard to which there was great division of sentiment in the public mind; and the Assembly could not take any action on the subject without at least seeming to cast its influence with one or the other of the political parties which divide the country. * * The action of the Assembly was untimely, because times of high political excitement are not proper occasions for ecclesiastical courts to express opinions upon the topics which constitute the party issues of the day. The mission of the Church is spiritual, and any interference with matters purely political is a departure from her duty." This is followed by a declaration of strict adherence to the General Assembly, which, so far as the formal action goes, neutralizes all that precedes, but does not take away the implied censure for acting on the subject at all; and particularly at this time. It is as much as to say, "the Assembly has done wrong, yet we will adhere to it as strongly as though it had done right;" in other words, the wrong that it has done does not affect us in the least. The gist of the whole matter, so far as the subject at issue is concerned, is contained in three words, viz., that the action of the General Assembly was "unnecessary, unwise, and untimely." Let us consider each briefly. If the mere fact that the Church had once passed upon a certain matter rendered it improper for ever to reconsider that subject, nothing would soon be left to do. For as fast as it once delivered an opinion, then the action being final, this subject is for all time removed from the list of matters for consideration; and so when the topics of real

importance, being always few in number, are exhausted, then the mission of Church Courts is ended. On this principle all the action from year to year is unnecessary. So, also, the preacher must open his mouth once for all on a given topic, deliver his dictum, and it remains like the decrees of the Medes and Persians. Or, not to confine him so closely, after he has several times taught certain doctrines, he must not repeat his views, albeit they are true and wholesome, though an exigency may arise from the peculiar moral condition of his people, which renders it in the highest degree requisite that they be instructed again. But while the history of the world repeats itself in its essential features, and each day, though not the same as the preceding, has substantially the same requirements, there is the necessity of line upon line, and precept upon precept. The course of moral teaching is like furnishing daily bread. While the sin remains it must be preached against, and while the people remain in ignorance, or lapse back into corrupt views on any special duty, they must be instructed again and again. Though in the Word of God there is a complete directory for the practice of virtue, though every topic of Christian morals has been ably handled, and all this be within the reach of him who wishes to know the truth, yet the Church must have a living ministry to enforce, by renewed and constant application, the truths which are her inheritance. Nay, even in the Word of God, in its several books delivered in different ages, and in the same book revealed during one man's life, there is this repetition of leading truths. Hence, the declaration of the Synod that the last deliverance of the Assembly was "unnecessary," if true, must involve the fact that the subject-matter was unnecessary, or the people not only sufficiently instructed, but faithful to the former testimonies—neither of which were proven by the views and practices entertained at that time. It is sheer absurdity to say it was unnecessary because the testimonies before had covered the ground; for such a dogma would cut up by the roots the whole system of Christian instruction, as well as supersede the necessity of Church Courts at all. More especially does this become apparent when we consider that this was a time when our country was rent asunder and bespattered with blood, because the previous deliverances of the Assembly on slavery had not been heeded.

It is not strange, then, that while our country was in a deadly struggle through the civil strife brought on by this sin, which the Assembly had so often deplored and condemned, it should be deemed proper for the Church once more to deliver her solemn testimony.

But the action is also considered "unwise." Why unwise? Because it set forth substantially what the whole Assembly and what this Synod had constantly affirmed ever since they both had a being. Unwise because it was wrong in itself, contrary to the Word of God, and to sound morality? If so, why was this fact not discovered in reference to previous deliverances? Was it unwise in itself considered, or because of the men who voted for it? Then, let it be condemned on its own demerits, and a better way shown. If the men of the last Assembly were not wise, let the Synod show them their error, which can only be done by stultifying themselves and their fathers in all the past. Yes, truly, if this action was unwise, all our past course on this subject was equally so; the present convictions of the great body of the Church on matters vital to morality, are all folly, and the religion of the Bible is a delusion. Once more. The action is "untimely;" and the reason adduced is that this is a period of excitement, when men's minds are inflamed, and there is danger of such action being construed into favoring one of the political parties. We have here, then, a sad evidence of willful blindness or perversity, when brethren can see in the present mortal agony of a nation contending for its very existence nothing but *a mere contest of political parties.* If this war, begotten, nurtured and maintained both by and for slavery, does not mean the subversion of free government, the destruction of the principle that the majority shall rule, a principle which is the glory of Presbyterianism, and which it is our boast that the Republic copied from our polity—then, pray, what is it? A mere party contest forsooth, which has drenched our land with the noblest blood, and caused our country to swarm with guerrilla cut-throats, laboring in the interest and by the sanction of treason. But a fair, soft name does not change a foul deed. Yet something must needs be done to appease those brethren whose consciences are straitened by any appearance of favoring the cause of loyalty. Admit that this is a time of excitement, and that the country is divided as to the desirable-

ness of abolishing slavery. What then? Who brought us into our present excited state? Those who were satisfied with the former position of the Government and the deliverances of the Church on this subject? Surely if they were satisfied, they would desire no change. What if the country is divided? What has divided it, but that which Stephens said was the corner-stone of Southern institutions; and Dr. Palmer declared it to be the mission of the Southern Church to conserve? No one, perhaps, will now say that slavery has not been the cause of our troubles, and therefore there is no need to argue the point. But you must not say so, lest you take sides with one of the political parties, and thereby offend brethren who never hesitate to take the other side. On this principle the miscreant who burns your house must not be prosecuted, but conciliated, lest he assassinate you in the bargain. If the Church deliver an opinion at all on a subject quite within her jurisdiction, as assumed by her previous action, when is it more timely for her to do so than when she sees the sin in question culminating in ruin to our country, and misery to all persisting in its continuance? Now is the time, when slavery is on its trial before the bar of the Church, the State, the Nation and the world. Testimony is now rapidly taken to show that it is guilty, and must die the death. Where can it be more timely than now for the Church to utter her voice? Suppose a murderer who had been the terror of a country was on trial for his crimes, and there was one witness of undoubted integrity, whose acquaintance with the history and acts of the culprit was thorough and circumstantial, and therefore his testimony material to the case; would it be proper to exclude this evidence because a community was highly excited, and outraged justice was calling for the offender's blood? Suppose further, that the murderer belonged to a gang of banditti, who were known to be desperate men, and from their affiliation with influential families exercised a dangerous power, must he therefore not anger them by testifying to the truth? Who but a craven-hearted poltroon would be willing to compromise justice by avoiding the hatred or securing the favor of such a man or party—a party which at best could be depended upon only when help was needed to commit some abomination? Untimely, indeed! If the help of a friend is untimely when you need it, why should it ever be

given at all? But here comes in the hobgoblin of political intermeddling, of joining a party, of soiling the beauteous garments of the Church *by being found on the side of the State which cherished and protected her.* There are but two parties in our country, that which is for its preservation and that which is for its destruction; and all men must range themselves on the one side or the other. Now if sedition, robbery and murder are sins; if slavery is what it has often been pronounced to be, a sin; if it draw upon us the vengeance of Heaven as the Synod of 1834 declared, then is it a mere matter of political partisanship to range ourselves on the side of the lawful authority, and the Church to be found testifying for truth and righteousness; especially when this requires her to compromise no principle, to enunciate no new doctrine? If taking the part of the Government at such a time as this be meddling in politics, make the most of it. For one we desire it to be known, that at the time of our country's peril we were found on her side, and not ashamed to declare our abhorrence of that skulking timidity which fears to utter honest convictions, or lukewarm patriotism which loves our country less than its enemies. By the maintainance of such principles we will live, or contending for them we will perish. But here we incur no risk of becoming political partisans, except in the estimation of those who have already bound themselves heart and soul to that faction whose avowed object is to destroy the Government of our fathers, and out of its ruins erect an aristocracy whose corner-stone shall be that sin which the Church has always condemned. Even now, by the action of 1864, the Assembly does not go to the State and seek to join itself to its policy. The State on the contrary has come to it, and avows as its course that which has been the declared policy of the Church from the beginning. If there is any intermeddling, it is the State which does it; and surely the Church must not forsake her mission because the civil power comes nigh and offers her a helping hand to do that which hitherto she has found herself unable to accomplish. Therefore we deem the Assembly entirely in the right in its last deliverance, and the Synod entirely wrong. True, it may be said, that passing this paper was better than being forced to accept a worse one. But that is not the alternative with good men. The choice is not between a great and a small sin; of

two evils choose not the least, but neither. Hence such a victory is a defeat, such a compromise is a virtual surrender of principle. It gains no friends to the side of right, it silences the clamors of no foes. Each man goes home with his own interpretation and his own convictions: the one to lament that he is compelled, contrary to his better judgment, to vote against the Assembly, and determining to rectify his record in the future; the other with more violent antipathy because he has been foiled in his attempts at schism, and with deeper laid schemes to carry his measures by more subtle trickery. So it is emphatically our opinion that the action of the Synod, to use its own words, was "unnecessary, unwise and untimely."

But perhaps too much of a local character has already been said. We are always prone to think our own grievances the greatest, our own acts the most important. It matters very little what a disintegrating faction in Kentucky may do, except in so far as principles of universal application in the Church are concerned. The Church at large will probably survive the blow, if the corporal's guard of tender consciences shall find it necessary to set out on a pilgrimage to seek the Southern Confederacy; and there join in founding a Church where there shall be neither national politics, Northern learning, piety or morality. But we much doubt whether even such a pure Church can long exist when its creed, its sacrament and its mission shall have been emancipated.

The action of the Assembly of 1864 is more important than that of any preceding Court, not because it enunciates any new doctrine on the subject-matter of slavery, or exhibits any clearer testimony than had been previously rendered, but because it assumes that the time for final action had now, in the providence of God, fully come. It is pertinent to our subject to consider this statement at some length. The sentiment of the Church, as we have seen, has always been inimical to slavery, and she constantly looked forward to the time when it should be utterly uprooted. This also was the common opinion, at least expression, among all those interested, that the slaves were to be emancipated as soon as God should open a way for doing it safely. It is not needful to inquire how far pecuniary interest aided in the discovery of arguments to show that such a time had not come; nor how it could ever arrive when each

succeeding lustrum did but make it evident that said set time was removed further into the future. These arguments were sometimes based upon the danger of political action; often on the unfitness of the slaves for freedom; seldom on the gain which would accrue to the master. The last is the more singular, because strangers sojourning among slaveholders were thoroughly instructed in regard to the idleness and ignorance of the negro, (whom no one was permitted to instruct); the unprofitableness of slave labor, and the perpetual worry and vexation which they gave their masters in the humane efforts to educate and civilize them. This may perhaps be accounted for on the ground that slaveholders always claimed to be actuated exclusively by principle, and not by filthy lucre as other men. However this may be, nothing could be done because the period for emancipation had not come; and it would be doing wrong to hasten it before its time. By this salvo the conscience was lulled to rest, and delay in doing what was felt to be a duty, was construed into a virtue; since, however good the thing, it must not be done in too great a hurry. So the Colonization Society, though praiseworthy in itself, as far as regards the negro who emigrated, and the savage country to which he went as a sort of missionary, yet on the matter of hastening emancipation, was an arrant cheat. Men engaged in this enterprise merely to relieve their consciences for being slaveholders, or for showing to the world what firm friends they were to freedom; when at the same time they knew perfectly well that a system which removed a few hundreds every year, while the increase of the slave population counted by hundred thousands, could not, according to the known arithmetic, in any brief period remove the institution. But great progress has been made in brushing away the sophisms in regard to the fitness of the negro for freedom. Since we find that he can no longer be kept as a slave, many reasons can be discerned and admitted for his emancipation. Whenever the world becomes ready intellectually and morally for a change, it is fair to argue that the time has come providentially for its accomplishment. The belief that we are ready for emancipation is well nigh universal, and is founded on two considerations. The first is that slavery is inconsistent with the purity of our Church and the existence of our Nation. While this view was held by many

at the beginning of hostilities, yet the great majority of our people would have been perfectly willing to secure peace by new compromises with slavery. Doubtless, had the insurgents been defeated in the year 1861, (which humanly speaking looked feasible) it would have been re-established on a firmer basis than ever. But by and by as the contest continued, the people became more fully aware of two facts, viz., the South rebelled to conserve and extend slavery, and that this system was really the strength of the insurrection. Disguise the fact as we may, it was patent to all that where slavery did not exist there loyalty prevailed; and that as the war in its natural progress interfered with it, there hostility to the Government manifested itself among those who hitherto professed a nominal loyalty. Moreover, the rebellion was kept alive by enabling the masters to enter the army, leaving the slaves at home to gather the crops which fed them. So at last the country was reluctantly forced to the conviction that slavery must be killed, or it would take our national life.

Then again the course of Providence has shown us our error in regard to the negro himself. We who lived off his labor, had so often asserted that he could not take care of himself alone, that we actually believed it. This contest has shown that he possesses all the essential elements for a free man. He has proved his own manhood in many a hard fought battle. He has met his haughty Southern oppressor where men have to lay aside their prejudices, and shown himself a soldier quite equal to him who formerly classed him among his cattle. He has shown an aptitude for education now that opportunities have been opened to him. Formerly he was pronounced hopelessly dull in those States which made it a felony to teach him to read. He has also shown a fidelity to the principles involved in our national strife, and always, when allowed a free choice, ranged himself on the side of freedom and loyalty. He has proved himself strangely perverse in preferring to be his own master to continuing under the guardianship of his indulgent overseer. How often have we experienced the vanity of the assertion that negroes will not leave their masters; or if they do, will be glad to get back again. They do not seem to appreciate the blessings of servitude; which if a blessing at all, is perchance so much disguised that the dull comprehension of

aged men and women, who have all their lives had ample opportunities of enjoying its sweets, can not perceive it. Thus, as regards both races, the time so long hoped for by the real friends of freedom, so long prated about by its hypocritical advocates, has now come when the negro can with safety be set free.

Other providences are conspicuous. The natural tendency of a civil war is to emancipate a servile population; and that too, whether either party desires it; much more so when the contest is virtually about its continuance. The progress of armies render null the ordinary operations of law, and where restraints are removed those who are bound only by them will be set free. If you break the bottle which contains the volatile gas, it escapes. And it is certainly too much to expect the powers of the Government would still uphold a system which made and supports the war, in the interests of the enemy. Wherever therefore the shock of battle and the power of arms is felt, slavery must necessarily cease. Again: In a struggle which requires such immense resources, we must expect each belligerent to avail itself of help from every quarter. Hence as our armies are depleted by slaughter, sickness or expiration of time, when more are needed and the negro be found capable and willing, why shall we not use him? Whether a loyal negro is as good as a traitorous white man, is not a question we will stop to discuss when an armed foe threatens to destroy our Government. So it is that some two hundred thousand negroes are engaged actively in the contest for the Union, and with such favorable results that the insurrectionary party are fain to follow suit. Of course they doubt not that the far greater affection the slave has for his oppressor, and the remembrance of all the overseer's kindness, will make him more faithful to his old master, who loves him far too well to make him perpetually miserable by giving him freedom—than to the one who in good faith offers him a musket and tells him to assert his manhood. Thus, between the two woodmen the axe is dealing lusty blows at the tree of slavery; and all who wish safety had better stand from under. And still further, the hostility to slavery is manifesting itself in the action of several States whose people have voted on this subject in a manner startling to others, if not to themselves; and new States arise

from their effete oppression. The feeling is well nigh universal that slavery is dead; and now the desire is strong, urgent and impatient to bury the filthy carcass out of our sight. True, there are those vain enough to think that they can stay the progress of this work. They may do so if they can reverse the dictates of the conscience fully aroused in the Church. They may effect their purpose if they can stay the determination of the American people to erase the plague spot from our nation. They may if they think to make insurrection a success, and popular government a failure. Yes, when they can take the arms from the hands of a free man who has fought our battles, and proved himself equal in prowess to his master, and make him the crouching slave that he was; when they can roll back the civilization of ages and prove to the Christian world that it is the best condition of humanity to be in slavery, then may they say, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon."

It is often objected to the present course taken to destroy slavery, that it is not the one we desired and thought best. It is true that many philanthropists have devised schemes which they thought best adapted for its final destruction. It is but fair to acknowledge that those States where it existed had the clearest knowledge of the system and its relations; and had any scheme devised by man been effectual, doubtless theirs would have been the one. But it is not the doing of man; the hand of the Lord is evidently at work, and this fact is clearly recognized by the action of the Assembly. It seems very proper that man's wisdom should not have the honor of this work, because we delayed it so long, and threw so many obstacles in the way of its accomplishment, that we proved ourselves unworthy to be the instruments of its destruction. It is unquestionably the fact that there was far less disposition to emancipate in 1860 than in 1830; and it is a notorious fact, that, of those who were zealous in 1849 to effect emancipation in Kentucky, but a small number have continued the friends of freedom. This change, we are aware, is laid to the charge of Northern intermeddling; but how much soever the Abolitionists did interfere, even unwarrantably, on this subject, this did not change the inherent nature of the issue, nor make it less desirable. Truly that man's convictions of truth

and right must be shallow, if he is deterred from doing that which he knows to be his duty, because some officious person interferes and urges him to bestir himself. But when there seemed the least human probability of the thing being done, then the Lord led us by a way we knew not. In this we have only another illustration of the common course of God's providence. Seldom are we led by the way we expect, even to the gratification of our wishes; and it is well-nigh never by the means and methods anticipated. But so the result is attained, let us be content even though our wisdom was not consulted in its achievement. We can have but little faith in the sincerity of those friends of emancipation who perpetually prate about the wrongs done us in taking away our negroes. Doubtless the Synod thought in 1834, that we would be rid of slavery in less than thirty years by the methods proposed; but when in 1860 we are much further in sentiment from the result than then, let us take care lest our philanthropy is spurious, which refuses to take as a boon that which is offered in a manner objectionable to us. While the thing is future, and no present prospect of loss before us, we talk nobly of our purposes to do right; but when a slight sacrifice stares us in the face, we talk about "the large pecuniary interest which is jeoparded;" blame the Assembly which agrees with the civil power in the desirableness of the movement, and find our love for the Church growing feebler, because she now believes the time has fully come to do that which she always deemed desirable.

But there is still another objection urged, viz., the cruelty to the negro of turning him out so suddenly to provide for himself, without the requisite schooling for freedom. Possibly some person may deceive himself, by such a sophism, into the belief that he is acting from disinterested motives—surely he can deceive no one else. If the negro as a slave can support himself and his master, with no personal incentive to exertion, surely he can take care of himself alone, when he has all the stimuli which influence men to noble and vigorous exertion. It makes a material difference in our exertion to interpret the declaration, "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread," to mean another shall take the first fruits, and leave the laborer the refusal; and that he who works shall receive the entire reward of his toil. But again, such

disinterested philanthropists forget one very important element, that is, if the Lord sets this people free, he will be able to provide for them. All the objections, therefore, which are urged against the action of the Assembly—all factious opposition, manifested or pretended pity for the negro, may be resolved into the love for the practice of slavery, against which the Synod of 1834 warned our people.

It has, as before intimated, been a standing reproach among slaveholders, that the Church in the North, for the last quarter of a century, has persisted in agitating the anti-slavery question; and the assertion has been reiterated times without number, that it has been only the unwarranted efforts of Abolitionists which retarded this work. This view is so often taken by good men, that it deserves a notice; for we are satisfied that they are greatly mistaken. It is certainly true that there was a time when the whole Church perfectly agreed on the subject—the South, as in the Assembly of 1818, voting for quite as radical measures as the North desired. Now, it is quite certain that the North was always satisfied with these measures, provided they were carried out in the spirit they were conceived. Moreover, when renewed action was taken in 1845, it was not to satisfy the Northern wing of the Church, but those who thought the Assembly, by the former action, was trenching on their ideas of the mission of the Southern section. This was evinced by the repeated deliverances of Southern Synods, which were unwilling that the action of 1818 should be considered as the sentiment of the Church now, but only as a history of the opinion which prevailed at the time of its adoption; and also by the signal failure to act in accordance with its provisions, in freeing the denomination from the system. A course precisely parallel to that which had been going on in the State was manifest here. While the fathers of the Republic, South as well as North, had lamented the existence of slavery, and had always looked forward to its extinction, and acted with this view, the politicians of a later date had been extending and strengthening it, until it threatened to absorb the whole country. At this the North became alarmed; for it was evident that instead of abiding by the early declarations of hostility, and measures being taken to carry out these views, the system was every day becoming more wide-

spread and immovable. Hence there was good ground for dissatisfaction in the free States. So, precisely, in the Church. Our Southern brethren, instead of taking measures to free the Church of the sin, as enjoined by the Assembly repeatedly, each year only added to the firmness with which all held their grasp upon the institution. Dissatisfaction thus arose at the want of good faith manifested by making the prospect for freeing the Church from this evil more distant and uncertain every year. In the early days of the Church, as we have seen, it seemed to be taken for granted that slavery was wrong in itself, and its necessary concomitants evil; but by and by, a set of divines arose who preached and wrote to prove the justice of the system, and its warrant from the Bible. Formerly it had been right to preach and pray against slavery, and for its speedy destruction; later it became necessary to cease this—it was meddling in political matters, and could not be tolerated. However, just in proportion as it became unlawful and dangerous to oppose, subjecting the hapless preacher or editor alike to the punishment of the magistrate and the fury of the mob—in the same ratio it became lawful, expedient, and commendable to preach, to pray, and to write in favor of the divinity of slavery—for it was not political preaching unless it was against the system; it was all precisely as it should be, provided it was in the interest of slavery—consistent alike with the highest type of piety, and the most immaculate Church purity. Now, what influence would this course naturally have on the North? So long as slavery was admitted to be wrong, and promises made for its abandonment; and while these were believed to be made in good faith, forbearance was extended to its participants through a charitable consideration of the difficulties which beset its speedy abolition. But when, instead of being faithful to the admonitions of the Church, a determination to defend and continue the system became manifest, the North took the alarm, and felt herself justified in agitation. And therefore, while we have no sympathy with the fanaticism frequently manifested; while we utterly abhor the infidel and blasphemous doctrines of Garrison, Parker, and their followers, yet we do not consider ourselves entirely free from blame for these men being what they are. Had we faithfully stood

by our former testimonies as a Church, and always acted as we spoke, these infidels would have had no power—nay, they would not have existed at all; or, if they did, only as an insignificant and despicable handful. But when we began to defend slavery by appeals to the Bible, and screen a system which embraced so many abominations, abhorrent to the moral sense of humanity, we put arms into the hands of the infidel, and gave him occasion to blaspheme. So that this perpetual prating about the abolition of the North, and its retarding emancipation, is the merest sophistry, invented to disguise our own shortcomings; and for which, in our failure of duty and unwarranted attempts to wrest Scripture, we ourselves are largely culpable. The great apostasy in the Quaker Church, by which so many became infidels, is due almost entirely as a reactionary movement against the defense of slavery on Biblical grounds. So also the swarm of fanatics, the various *isms*—those odds and ends of humanity so justly held in abomination by our Southern people, are, in large part, a fungous growth from the errors broached in maintaining this system. Their rallying cry was always Abolitionism, it is true; but this, so far from being an evidence that the rejection of slavery as a divinely ordained system leads to infidelity, proves just the reverse, namely, the attempt to harmonize the abominations which accompany it with the religion of the Gospel, render it an object of suspicion, and repel men from it.

We said at the beginning we were heartily glad that the day of compromises had well nigh passed. These are essentially wrong in their nature. Good men and measures do not need any, and bad men should not be indulged in them. Compromises for the last half century, whether in Legislatures or Church Courts, have been synonymous with joining hand to hand to do iniquity. In our later history they have had no other significance than an entire surrender of principle to satisfy a factious and wicked opposition. Hence they have become a stench in the nostrils of our people, and it is sincerely to be hoped another one will never be made in the life of our nation or Church. In saying this we do not wish to offend those truly good and lovely men, some of whom, to our joy, we know, who merit the blessings pronounced upon peacemakers. We

honor their motives, and our hearts yearn to follow their lead when with affectionate earnestness they portray the blessings of peace and unity. But still, when we speak or act we must be true to our own convictions, which are that all compromises are radically evil; and that they are mistaken who think to preserve the peace and unity of the Church by such expedients. This additional fact is worthy of serious consideration, that when a compromise is made the men of better spirit, and therefore more likely to be right, will yield most; while he who is wrong, the consciousness of his error making him perverse, will concede nothing. So it has been in every attempt to patch up a peace between the two sections of the country: those who stood where our fathers had done, in order to keep peace with an audacious faction made a compromise, this did not consist in the two parties meeting half way between justice, but in that party who had the right, surrendering half thereof, and the other nothing; or at most only half of his wrong.

In the late meeting of the Synod of Kentucky, the folly and wrong of compromises were most clearly manifest. The discontented faction, which felt itself aggrieved by the action of the General Assembly, were unquestionably wrong, else all the previous action of the Church was so. For she standing in her old position, the same which she had occupied ever since we had an Assembly, it is plain that those who complained were discontented not because the Church had departed from them, but because she would not follow their erratic course. Yet they came with all the demeanor of injured innocence, fully drilled and organized to impugn the deliverance of the Assembly; to find fault with and threaten all who occupied the position of consistency. They have so long played the part of accusers, so long asserted that they were the only ones faithful to the ancient testimonies of the Church, perhaps they really consider themselves aggrieved, on the principle that a talebearer may utter an untruth till he believes his own fabrication. Thus error comes clothed in the livery of truth, and truth herself occupies the position of a culprit at the bar.* Interdum fucata falsitas, in multis probabilior, et sæpe rationibus vincit nudam veritatem. Such was the scene exhibited in our Synod. Instead

* Lord Coke.

of meeting these men with a vigorous opposition, they must, for the sake of peace in the Church, be conciliated. But why conciliate them? Had they been injured and therefore needed to be soothed? The Church had not departed from her solemn and well-considered deliverances. She welcomed all her children with equal cordiality. Why, then, soothe those whom we have not injured? Why compromise with those who themselves are guilty of all that threatens variance or schism? It would seem that the party which had offended should take the initiative in offering terms; but here, as always in such cases, if any concessions are made, it is by the party in the right making all the surrender. Compromises, moreover, are not necessary among men who have any principle, so much as among those who are merely dissatisfied and factious. To such nothing can be done to please, because they are resolved to be displeased. This was very clear in the Synod. While the friends of the General Assembly were mostly willing to pass over the last action without comment, preferring no action at all to one in which it was manifest all could not agree; and moreover desiring to avoid controversy, by which offended brethren would estrange themselves still more, yet no such peaceable course would be accepted. Though venerable fathers in the Church besought them to consider the things which make for peace; though the substantial agreement between the last and many previous deliverances were shown; though the dangers of schism were pointed out, and they, with tears, besought to not rend the Synod; as well as the futility of factious opposition exhibited, all would not do. Agitate they must. Though they so often have said that agitation was the bane of the Church, and that all they wished was peace and "to be let alone," this only meant when agitators felt themselves in the minority. To let alone and to be let alone differ somewhat. So burdened consciences must be relieved, though theirs was a self-imposed load. Nay, even when it was proposed that the Moderator should address the Throne of Grace that the Holy Spirit might avert angry contention, this was met by the pert amendment, "Discuss first and pray afterward." When, however, this proposal did not prevail, and the Synod listened to a touching prayer for peace, the schismatic faction, almost before the sounds of supplication had died away, led off in violent invective against the

General Assembly for its "unwarranted action;" and censure of those who still supported it. Then the glove was thrown down and we accept it. Henceforth no compromise with such men nor their measures. It is now a war to the bitter end. For four years we, who have stood faithful to the Church and country of our fathers, have vainly endeavored to conciliate those who were perpetually uttering complaints and asking more concessions. There is no reason why this should continue. A change has now become necessary. We desire very much to be conciliated, and are in the spirit to require it of our petted brethren. Too long have we proceeded on the declared principle of this party, "You will not make a fuss any how, and it is better to secure peace with our party by acceding to all our demands." Forbearance toward such impudence is no virtue, and it therefore must stop. While we desire peace in the Church with all our heart, it must be an honorable one, founded on right; and not a hollow truce which, while we would feel bound to keep, our opponents would regard only as long as it was a matter of convenience. Standing immovably on the ancient testimonies of the Church, and having done nothing to offend these preachers of sedition, we will now wait our turn to be soothed. And if the worst comes, wherein medicine will not heal, the knife may prove effectual.

While the Church at large has a clear and unobstructed path before her, our way in this Synod is not without its difficulties. Schismatics are busy at work poisoning the minds of our people. What misrepresentation will not do is attempted by threats. Those who will not succumb must be deprived of their places. Public institutions are recommended in one breath for the fidelity of their management, and then shown to have lost the sympathy of the people in consequence—not of the unfitness of their instructors for their places—but because of their political opinions, and that, too, by those who constantly complain of political proscription. Then again: Most of us who are not in thorough sympathy with Secession, have hugged neutrality so long that we have become a body of trimmers, setting our sails for the propitious gale wherever that may come from. We desire very much that some person would tell us what to do, so that we might secure our own prosperity and come out on the winning side. We have tried so long to avoid

offending erring brethren that we do not know which side we really occupy. Hence, we are careful to talk and write so as to take no position. In this we vainly try to please all, and have no friends on whom we can rely. Personally, our position is a disagreeable one when any decisive step is to be taken; for an election or the varying fortunes of war may make our record ugly to face; and hence, if possible, we wish no record at all. Few people know the labors of the professed trimmer during a public crisis, save in a State like ours. Possibly in the latitude of Chicago, at one time, and at Princeton, in a slight degree, we had sympathetic brethren. We do not think the claims of our class have been sufficiently acknowledged. Having no convictions ourselves, we have to do the double work of devising arguments and speaking for both sides. Our theories moreover have this advantage. Being intended equally for both sides of the question, they have the merit of freedom from prejudice so often displayed by those who have strong and healthy opinions. Then, being modest and unwilling to herald our own praises, we fail of due consideration. For we belong to a class never held in much favor by the world, especially if our true character be known. Besides, we offer this signal advantage, we may be counted on for hearty support by the winning party as soon as the victory is decisive; and none can shout louder when danger is past and the future beset with no difficulties. And not having any opinions to sacrifice, we also have no prejudices, and can instantaneously adapt ourselves to whatever comes upon us.

There are a few, however, even in the Kentucky Synod, who fully agree with the great body of the Church. These feel that the time so long hoped and prayed for, when the blot on our holy religion shall be effaced, has fully come. Slavery has proved a burden too heavy to be borne by our country any longer. With its sin and disgrace to the Church fully before us, with its outrageous attempts at the life of our country, with its Moloch sacrifice of ten thousand hecatombs, and in the face of our own action, we can not endure the shame of putting back the gnomon thirty degrees that it has gone down on the dial of Civilization and Christianity.

Art. IV.—*Enmities and Barbarities of the Rebellion.**

From the character of the rebellion against the Government of the United States, from its prompting cause, and from its avowed purposes, it would be natural to expect that the enmities it would engender in the hearts of those who are prosecuting it, and the barbarities it would develop in their conduct, would be somewhat remarkable; but we doubt whether the most sagacious would have ventured to predict what has occurred.

All wars, and especially all civil wars, are fruitful sources of evil, of every imaginable form and character. Family feuds are the most bitter of any which occur in social life; and in wars, those which take place between communities of the same blood, language, and religion, are often the most fierce and desperate of any known among men.

The present civil war has one ingredient upon the side of the rebellion which has not hitherto been found in any war waged since the dawn of history, by a people combining so

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* 1. *Address of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America*, to all the Churches throughout the Earth, as reported by Rev. J. H. Thornwell, D. D., from a Committee appointed to prepare it, and unanimously adopted by the Assembly, at Augusta, Ga., Dec., 1861.

2. *Narrative of Privations and Sufferings of United States Officers and Soldiers*, while Prisoners of War in the hands of the Rebel Authorities; being the Report of a Committee of Inquiry, appointed by the United States Sanitary Commission; with an Appendix, containing the Testimony. Printed for the U. S. Sanitary Commission. 1864.

3. *Southern History of the War: First Year of the War.* By Edward A. Pollard. Richmond, Va., 1862. *Second Year of the War.* By the Same. 1863.

4. *Address of (the Rebel) Congress to the People of the Confederate States.* Issued from Richmond, Feb., 1864.

5. *Official Reports of Battles.* Published by order of (the Rebel) Congress. Richmond, Va. 1 vol. 8vo. 600 pp. 1863.

6. *State Papers, Messages, Proclamations, Letters, Speeches, etc.*, of President Jefferson Davis, during the Progress of the War. 1864.

7. *History of the Administration of President Lincoln;* including his Speeches, Letters, Addresses, Proclamations, and Messages; with a Preliminary Sketch of his Life. By Henry J. Raymond. New York. 1864.

8. *Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War.* Presented to both Houses of Congress of the United States; including an Account of the Massacre at Fort Pillow, and of the Treatment of Prisoners of War in Rebel Prisons; together with the Testimony. Published by Authority of Congress. 1864.

largely intelligence, ability, scholastic and literary cultivation, social refinement, high chivalric bearing, and, to a considerable extent, an attention to the demands of revealed religion. Whatever may be said of large numbers in the rebel States, these qualities are conceded to belong to the major part of the leaders of the rebellion; and it is to them alone that we look for its inspiring genius and spirit, as it is upon them that we place the entire responsibility for its character and consequences.

THE STIMULATING CAUSE.

The ingredient of which we speak is negro slavery, under the desire to make it universal and perpetual; and that which gives a coloring to the contest which no other war has ever had, is the bearing which this element has in instigating the rebellion, and in affecting the temper and acts of all who are concerned in it.

No war was ever before undertaken by such a people, for the extension and perpetuation of human bondage. It was the boast of Mr. Stephens, the second officer and the first statesman in the rebel Government, that their Government was "the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth," that "slavery is the natural and normal condition of the negro." As no nation was ever founded upon this idea as its "corner-stone," and no war was ever before waged to maintain it, we may well look for some unusual developments when we see such an object, for the first time in the world's history, undertaken by such a people; and especially when, under the burning scorn of the whole civilized world which denounces the object, it is sought to be accomplished by the enginery of war, upon a scale and with an energy which have scarcely a parallel, and against a Government which, except among despots, has universally been regarded with favor and with hope by the nations of the earth.

As long as the signs gave promise of success to the rebellion, it was not to be expected that the real spirit which animated the leaders would be developed to the full, either in feeling or action; but as their cause has, from time to time, given out to themselves indications of hopelessness, which all their protestations to the contrary have not been able to conceal, the

demoniacal hatred and savage conduct which such a course must naturally beget, have been readily made manifest. These developments can only be accounted for as the result, not perhaps so much of the institution in the atmosphere of which they have been born and have always lived, as rather of the extreme views which in latter days they have taken of it, alike within the domain of politics, morals, and religion—of the visions of wealth, grandeur, and glory which it opened to them—of the distinction, above all nations, to which it was to elevate them, in the tribute from all which it would compel—of the actual approach of the moment when these visions were to become realities, the hand being already extended to grasp the prize which they offered; and finally, of the disappointment and chagrin which the prospect of the failure of all these dazzling promises would naturally produce in the breasts of a proud and confident people. The enmities which this state of things has contributed to engender toward those who have stood in the way of their success, and the acts to which these enmities have prompted them, have been truly surprising, and as they go into history will astound coming generations. That men of such qualities as we freely accord to them, should make such an exhibition of *heart* and *conduct* as they do in an open and formal manner, and should make a virtue of it, shows a transformation of human nature which nothing can account for satisfactorily, but the influence upon them of the institution of slavery, under the elevated and sanctified position which they have given it.

REBEL HATRED DEEP AND UNIVERSAL.

The *state of heart* among the rebels to which we refer, is manifested in feelings of the most bitter hatred and scorn; they give to them a deliberate and formal avowal; they are expressed against the Government upon which they are warring, and against every class and every person who upholds the Government; they are acknowledged by the rebel press, both secular and religious.

They emanate from their President, in numerous speeches and State papers; from officers of his cabinet, in their reports; from members of Congress, in their harangues; from military commanders, in their orders. They are declared by the min-

isters of religion, in their discourses; and by the formal and solemn acts and deliverances of their ecclesiastical bodies, in their addresses to the Christian world. In all these, and in other ways, the leading rebels openly and unblushingly *declare before all men* their unconquerable personal *hate* toward the Government and people against whom they are waging war.

THIS HATRED NOT MUTUAL.

It will be said that these enmities are equally engendered and manifested on both sides of the contest; or, as some declare, that the North, in this, exceeds the South. We meet this at the outset with a flat denial, and challenge the proof that shall *correspond in character and circumstances* with that we are prepared to give.

No message, order, letter, speech, or proclamation, has ever emanated from President Lincoln, dating from his Inaugural Address to the last which has come from his pen, that bears any trace of hatred, personal or official, toward the Southern people at large, or toward those in rebellion, or any portion of them. The instance can not be produced. On the other hand, scarcely any thing which has come from Mr. Davis, but has the opposite character. This is true of his proclamations, numerous public speeches, letters, and messages, both those intended for home consumption and for effect abroad. We say nothing now of the truthfulness as to matters of fact, of the State papers, and other utterances, of these respective personages; but we speak simply of the evidences which the latter bear of *hatred* and *contempt* of the Government and people of the North. The same difference is true of the papers which have emanated from Cabinet officers on both sides. It is true of military orders. It is true, to a very large extent—there may be a few exceptions—of the secular press of the two sections. Of the religious press of the North and South, so far as this has come under our knowledge, we believe it is entirely true. Among divines, we can show evidences of this hatred in those who rank the highest in different denominations in the South, while we doubt whether a single case of a corresponding standing can be found among the clergy of the loyal States. As to religious bodies, the same may be said. While some of less note at the North—though we know of

none—may possibly have exhibited this enmity in their resolutions or deliverances, some of those at the South, of the largest influence, greatest numbers, and highest standing, have openly *avowed* this hatred on their part toward their brethren and the people of the North.

We are well aware, that while these avowals are openly made by men of the South, they *charge* that similar or a more intense hatred exists against them at the North. But here lies their grand error. The Government and loyal people hold that those in rebellion have committed the gravest of crimes in the execution of the work which this view of their duty imposes upon them.

It is not material to the present point, whether this judgment be correct or not. Treason and rebellion against lawful authority, backed up by war, are universally regarded among nations as the highest offenses which men can commit. By all nations, all concerned in them are punishable with death. This is the penalty by our own laws. The Government and loyal people, moreover, deem it their duty to put down the rebellion by force of arms, and to inflict the penalty of the law upon those concerned in it, or at least upon their leaders. Nor is it material to the issue immediately in hand, whether they are right or wrong in this view of their duty. The only question now is, as to the *feelings* manifested by the Government and loyal people.

That which the South charges as enmity and hatred, is simply a disposition to punish what is universally regarded as crime. It has no more of personal ill will in it, either as manifested in official acts of the Government or in its support by the people, than the verdict of the jury, the sentence of the judge, and the execution by the sheriff, necessarily have toward those who are found personally guilty of robbery or murder. The mildest and most amiable man in society may be decided in his convictions that the murderer shall be punished with death; he may as the judge sentence him, or as the executioner inflict the penalty of the law; and yet he may cherish no more ill will toward him than his own father. We do not believe that among the mass of the people, those who desire to see the rebellion put down and its leaders punished, are in any large number prompted to this desire by personal enmity, or seek the

gratification of the passion of revenge. On the other hand, nothing is more common in the South than the formal, open *avowal* of such personal enmity; and that, too, by those in high places. It is so deeply seated that they can not repress it. They make no effort to conceal it. It exists in the heart; and, therefore, its intensity brings it to the lips, and manifests it in deeds.

It is very easy to say, in reply to all this, that the South is more open and candid; that the same enmity is felt at the North, but that its people are hypocritical, and do not therefore express what they feel. This is too shallow. If the same bitterness were *felt* at the North, it would be *expressed*, in words or deeds, or both. It is because the same hatred is *not* felt, that it is not manifested. We do not now speak of exceptional cases, which may be found on both sides. We speak of what is a general characteristic in both sections; and in regard to this, we say, that these enmities are *felt, avowed, illustrated in acts*, at the South, as they *are not* at the North. Of this, the proof is abundant.

I.—*Illustration of Rebel Enmities.*

There are two branches of the general subject. One of these shows the bitterness of *heart* prevailing at the South toward the North, presenting different types and shades of manifestation as seen in their verbal utterances of every varying character, and from all sources of private and public expression. The other exhibits the *acts* and *conduct* sanctioned by the rebel leaders, presenting barbarities which are the natural offspring of the hatred cherished, and which give a character to the rebellion unparalleled in the prosecution of any war among a people of the high qualities which they claim, and which, independently of the modification which the present contest has wrought, we freely accord to them.

The first of these branches exhibits elements of this bitterness of heart which are worthy of the study of the philosopher and the analysis of the ethnologist. The rebels ever claim, from their President down to the lowest in rank, official or social, who speak for them, that they are a superior race to the people of the North; that they come of a prouder stock, and have in their veins a nobler blood. Hence, they seek out the strongest terms of

reproach and scorn, and utter them with sneers and contempt, to characterize those with whom they are contending. They regard "Puritan" and "Yankee" as synonymous of all that is low, vile, and mean; and they freely bestow them upon the whole people who are supporting the Government. Their President, whom they claim to be "pure, polished, and scholarly," is not excepted from the category of those who deal in this abuse. His State papers and speeches furnish the evidence. Their orators and journals make such things the staple of their rhetoric. Contact with the people of the North is contamination. The chivalry would not have them for their slaves. They would rather perish than live under the same Government. If peace should be settled upon the basis of their independence, it would even then be as much as they could bear to have any political or commercial intercourse with the North. As for social intercourse, it could not be thought of for a moment. For all the qualities of manhood, their negro slaves are infinitely superior to "the vile horde of Yankees."

The whole vocabulary of billingsgate is exhausted, in the effort to give vent to the feelings of hatred which rankle in their chivalric bosoms and stir their noble blood. They turn the subject over in every possible way, and rack their brains for tropes and metaphors to do justice in outward expression to the bitterness which reigns within.*

* We could fill pages, in proof and illustration of this Southern hatred, but the fact is too notorious to require it. The *New York Times* says upon this subject: "This display of feeling is of much more significance than a superficial glance would discover. Every one who has been in the habit of reading the extracts copied from the Southern newspapers, has seen that the constant effort of the leaders of the rebellion has been to fill the popular heart with rancor against the North, as a geographical division. The term 'Yankee' is made the epitome of every thing that is odious, and is applied indiscriminately to all who dwell north of Mason and Dixon's line. When Northern parties are spoken of, a certain difference is made between the epithets applied to each. The supporters of the Administration usually get the benefit of the adjectives that express pure hate, while its opponents are more apt to be favored with those that imply contempt. But whatever discrimination there may be in the language used, there is one constant object—and that is the surcharging the Southern heart with the intensest aversion to the Northern people. The Southern man has every influence brought to bear upon him to make him inveterately hostile to the Northern man. This is just what might be expected. The supreme object of the rebellion is separation from the North; and of course, the more complete the moral separation, the easier becomes the material." As a bare specimen of

That these feelings are sincere, we do not doubt. That they have a bold and formal avowal, and from the highest places in social and public life, we have painful evidence. Rebel statesmen and journalists continually avow them. Religious men and religious bodies proclaim them, although in the vehicle of their enmity, in some cases, they do not exhibit so flagrant a breach of good taste. But however choice or guarded their language, their hatred is manifest, for they in terms declare it.

REBEL ENMITY OFFICIALLY AVOWED BY RELIGIOUS MEN.

The "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America," by the pen of Dr. Thornwell, "unanimously" declare, of the people of both sections, that "they *hate* each other with a *cruel hatred;*" and this is presented as one of the reasons to justify that body before the Christian world for separating, *as a Church*, from their brethren of the North, in the "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States."

We do not assume that because that body "unanimously" so declare, that they, of absolute necessity, *all* so feel; and yet it may be so. They claim, however, to utter what is true of their section; and they no doubt speak truly. They make no exception, and give no intimation that the Church at large of the South is not a participant in these feelings. They make no exception for themselves. They avow the hatred boldly, and so far as appears, declare it to prevail universally. As this is given as a reason for a separation of the Church, it is fair to presume that they mean to be understood as saying that the

Southern feeling, take the following from the *Richmond Examiner:* "Now, we know fully from what a rotten carcass we have cut ourselves loose; and to escape its pollution no price is too great. Rather than submit to that foul embrace again, we would bid higher and still higher, until nothing were left to the few survivors of us but bare life. In this sense we may almost be said to be in some sort obliged to the Yankee nation." Of like character, is the following *official* ebullition. General Dick Taylor, (son of the late President Zachary Taylor, and brother-in-law to Jefferson Davis,) in a congratulatory order to the soldiers of the "Trans-Mississippi Army," upon the victory over General Banks on Red River, says: "Long will the accursed Yankee race remember the great river of Texas, and the changed hue of its turbid waters darkened with a liberal admixture of Yankee blood. The cold-blooded alligator and ravenous crawfish wax fat on the rich food, and our native vulture holds high revelry over many a festering corpse."

whole Church of the South so feel toward the North. They then, if we understand them, admit that "they hate" the people of the North "with a cruel hatred;" and they openly declare this to "all the Churches throughout the earth," as one of the reasons formally presented and argued, to justify their secession. We can readily believe that these feelings are really entertained, and their avowal heartily sincere, from developments which are daily occurring in the progress of the rebellion, for the early instigation of which, these men occupying the high places of Zion, are so largely responsible.

But, on the other hand, we totally deny the right of these men—either individually or of this whole "Confederate General Assembly," collectively and "unanimously"—to characterize, in this manner, the people of the North, and especially the Church of the North, and more especially the Church from which they have separated, or, so far as we know, any of those connected with it. The denial might probably be made for other churches, or for all, at the North. We speak more particularly of the Presbyterian Church, because we are better acquainted with it, and because it stands more directly related to this Southern Assembly as having once been one with it.

NO ENMITY ENTERTAINED BY THE NORTHERN CHURCH.

We are bold to say, that the search may be made, in the deliverances of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, upon slavery and upon the state of the country, from those made in 1861 to those made in 1864, and no evidence whatever can be found therein of "hating with cruel hatred," any portion of the people of the South; nor is there any avowal or admission that such feelings exist among any portion of the people. No such expressions are found in any of these papers, because no such feelings are entertained. In the several protests which were entered by a portion of the Assembly, no *charge of hatred* is brought, and there was no ground for it. On the contrary, so far from any hatred being felt, deep sympathy is both felt and expressed in those papers, for Christians at the South. In so far as they are believed to have been guilty in their course, that opinion is expressed, and lamentation over it is made. But while the Assembly condemns what it believes

to be wrong, it is the farthest possible removed from any expression of hatred.*

As an evidence of kind feeling, the General Assembly has never formally declared the Southern portion of the Church separated from it, or recognized the schism as an accomplished and irremediable act. It has left the door open for a return. The volume of minutes contains on its roll to-day the names of every Presbytery and Synod in the rebel States. This, certainly, is more than a negative testimony against the existence of "hate with a cruel hatred." In a few instances, the General Assembly dropped from its Boards, and in some cases Presby-

*In the "protest of Dr. Hodge and others," to the action of the General Assembly of 1861, it is said: "We protest, fourthly, because we regard the action of the Assembly as unjust and cruel in its bearing on our Southern brethren." This is no charge of hatred or cruelty in any *feeling* entertained. The Assembly, in their answer to this point, say: "As to the final ground of protest, it is enough to record our simple denial of the opinions expressed." There were five other protests to this action, but none of them make any allegation of unkindness. In the Assembly of 1862, there were four distinct protests or dissents to the action upon the state of the Church and the country. In only one of them is found any intimation of improper feeling toward the South. In that of "A. P. Forman and others," it is said: "The spirit of the paper we deem to be too harsh, and by no means to accord with that spirit of love and tenderness to erring ones which every-where pervades the Gospel of Jesus." But the paper to which exception is thus made, contains these expressions: "To the Christian people scattered throughout those unfortunate regions, and who have been left of God to have any hand in bringing on these terrible calamities, we earnestly address words of exhortation and rebuke, as unto brethren who have sinned exceedingly, and whom God calls to repentance by fearful judgments. To those in like circumstances who are not chargeable with the sins which have brought such calamities upon the land, but who have chosen, in the exercise of their Christian liberty, to stand in their lot and suffer, we address words of affectionate sympathy, praying God to bring them off conquerors. To those in like circumstances, who have taken their lives in their hands, and risked all for their country and for conscience' sake, we say, we love such with all our heart, and bless God such witnesses were found in the time of thick darkness." In the Assembly of 1863, there were no protests entered to the action concerning the state of the country. The paper adopted says: "Nor need this body declare its solemn rebukes toward those ministers and members of the Church of Christ, who have aided in bringing on and sustaining these immense calamities; or tender our kind sympathies to those who are overtaken by troubles they could not avoid, and who mourn and weep in secret places, not unseen by the Father's eye." In the Assembly of 1864, there was no action taken which shows any bitterness of feeling toward any portion of the South; nor were there any protests entered to the Assembly's paper on slavery, nor to any of the papers adopted occasioned by the existence of the rebellion.

teries have erased from their rolls, certain members who were known to have taken up arms against the Government, or in other respects to have aided the rebellion. But this is no evidence of hatred. These acts have occasioned mourning and sorrow. They have been deemed to be demanded, because the course of these men was criminal; but no hatred has been evinced.

In the event of a reunion of the Church, North and South, if it should be deemed best that a more decided expression of the guilt of the Southern Church should be declared, it would be no proof of any degree of hatred, or of any other improper feeling. Or, on the other hand, whether during the war or after the war, or when the political Union shall have been restored, if the General Assembly in the loyal States should deem it best for the religious interests of the country, to restrict the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church to the territory which it has practically covered during the war, and to recognize or declare in the most formal manner the disruption of the Church, and to set forth the reasons therefor "to all the churches throughout the earth," the reader of such document, we venture to predict, would look utterly in vain for the least intimation of "cruel hatred" on their part avowed in justification of such a course.

What we here declare for the Presbyterian Church at the North—all which is sustained by its official action—we have no doubt is true of every other large body of Christians. Not one of them, we hesitate not to say, has made any such exhibition of "hatred" toward the South, as the "Confederate General Assembly" avows for itself and for the South, to exist toward the North. If any single Presbytery, Conference, Association, or other religious body, at the North, has put itself upon the record upon that level, the case has escaped our notice and is an exception; but we do not believe the single instance can be found.

GRATUITOUS CHARGES—ENMITY FURTHER ILLUSTRATED.

It is quite common, in despite of the record referred to, among a certain class of Southern writers, to bring against Northern men charges of enmity and malice entertained toward the South. One of the more noted examples of this which has

fallen under our notice, is found in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, for April, 1863. It is from the pen of Rev. Dr. Smyth, of Charleston, S. C. He says:

A mind conscious of its sincerity of purpose, and of the righteousness of its desired end—of having a good cause, and justifiable means for its accomplishment—is essential to success. This alone can now animate and sustain the people of the South, whether in the army or out of it, in the patient endurance of past misfortunes, present calamities, and possibly increasing difficulties and dangers. Such a faith will be found to have constituted the vitalizing principle of all successful wars, the secret power of all celebrated warriors, the soul of the Reformation, and the indomitable spirit of our Revolutionary fathers. We have seen, therefore, with what witchcraft the North has succeeded in leading its people so generally to believe that our cause is wicked and theirs righteous, sacred, holy, divine. We are rebels, traitors, criminals, execrable sinners, and deserving the uttermost punishment on earth, and everlasting damnation in hell. The highest sanctions of piety and patriotism have been made to overcome all natural feelings of sympathy and compassion; to inflame malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness; to call down fire from heaven to destroy us; to sustain their present Government in its suppression of all their own liberties and fundamental rights, of all freedom of speech, of the press, and even of thought; and to overwhelm them with a debt of many hundred millions of dollars, and increasing at the rate of six millions a day; and to justify a war of rapine, rape, murder, vandal destruction, inquisitorial espionage, ecclesiastical despotism, and servile massacre. They have a zeal of God, but it is not according to knowledge. Their faith is, therefore, fanaticism. They substitute opinion for truth, dogmatism for doctrine, philosophy (falsely so-called) for religion; and, adopting as a maxim the Jesuitical dogma that the end sanctifies the means, they stop at nothing, and are willing to be branded by an outraged world as infamous, for their mendacity, perfidy, shameless brutality, and an unbridled despotism, more execrable than that of Bomba, if by any means they can subjugate and enslave the South. What melancholy evidence of the overwhelming force of this fanatical fury, and of its blinding delusion, is given in the transformation effected in the principles and character and conduct of such men as Drs. R. J. Breckinridge, Spring, Hodge, Jacobus, and Plumer, and Sidney A. Morse, Mr. Dickinson, etc. Such men now profess to have lost confidence in our morality. And well may they, and we alike lose any confidence we ever had either in the sincerity, uprightness, or power of the human mind, and even in Christian principle, in its present imperfect development. Well may we say, "Cursed be the man that trusteth

in man;" for surely the wisdom of the wise has become foolishness, and the purity of the pure tainted with the corruption of selfishness and sectional prejudice. To this blind, fervid fanaticism, the South must oppose the only invincible shield, and that is faith; faith in God, faith in His Word, faith in His omnipotent providence, faith in the righteousness of a cause sustained by His immutable and everlasting truth. She must be able to give a reason for the hope that is in her, to herself and to every one that asketh it, that so, being clad in Divine panoply, she may be able to withstand in the evil day, and bear up, with unshrinking fortitude, against the heart-sickness of long-deferred hope, and the manifold disappointments, disasters, privations, losses, and bereavements, of a protracted and barbarous war.

Dr. Smyth is an able, accomplished, and scholarly clergyman; not an American by birth, but long a resident of the city where the present treason had its birth, allied by marriage to one of the wealthiest families of South Carolina, of the highest social standing; and his position has given him an opportunity for taking an enlarged and comprehensive view of the contest on the part of the South, which he so eagerly defends.

We have given this extract at much length, not wishing to break the connection of the train of thought; but it is not our intention to dwell upon the matters in full which its pregnant sentences contain. We only note the point immediately in hand: the charge of *hatred* and *malice* which the writer so freely brings against the North, and against several of the most distinguished gentlemen of the North by name, mostly clergymen. We presume the introduction of Dr. Plumer's name in this category is simply a mistake.

It would have been much better for Dr. Smyth's reputation, had he given some evidence of the truth of the charges he here brings against these gentlemen. To couple the names of the most eminent men of his own Church, with saying of those in the same Church at the South, that they are "deserving of everlasting damnation in hell;" that "the highest sanctions of piety and patriotism" demand this; that these men are inflamed with "malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness," toward those of the South, and would "call down fire from heaven to destroy" them; that they "justify a war of rapine, rape, murder, and servile massacre;" and that they are the subjects of a "fanatical fury" and of a "blinding delusion," which have wrought

such a "transformation" in their "principles and character and conduct," as justly makes them the objects of this holy execration; all this, or any part of it, if laid to the charge of such men, should be substantiated by the most incontrovertible testimony. If Dr. Smyth does not prove it—and he makes no attempt to do so—he lays himself liable to the charge of grossly slandering the most eminent of his brethren.

We do not believe there is a particle of evidence to sustain these charges, to be found in any thing which the several clergymen here named, or any of them, have either said or written, since the beginning of the rebellion. Nor do we believe that they entertain the feelings here attributed to them. That they regard the South as engaged in "rebellion;" that its "cause is wicked," and that of the Government "righteous;" that the leaders at the South, whether in the Church or out of it, "are rebels, traitors, criminals," and therefore are "deserving of punishment;" and that, therefore, both "piety and patriotism" may properly call for the execution of the law in such case made and provided; all this is quite likely. But this does not establish, that "they hate with a cruel hatred," as the "Confederate General Assembly" declare, a single Southern man; neither does it prove the least weighty of Dr. Smyth's charges against them; nor does it show that "all natural feelings of sympathy and compassion" have been "overcome" in them.

It is quite probable, however, that while they, in common with many at the North, mourn over the folly and sin of their brethren at the South, in the course that many of the more prominent of them have taken in regard to the rebellion, their "natural feelings of sympathy and compassion," take, to a considerable extent, another direction. They feel for and compassionate the vast multitudes whom the war, which these rebel leaders have begun and are waging, has maimed and made miserable for life; the myriads whom, in the youth of their days and in the prime of their manhood, it has given up to slaughter; the families all over the land, that it has filled with mourning; the widows and orphans it has made; the general desolation it has wrought, North and South; the form of government it has imperiled; the millions it aimed to hold more securely in a relentless and never-ending bondage; the rolling back of the tide of human liberty, now sweeping onward over

the world, which the success of the rebellion would have occasioned; and the blasting for ever, as a final result, of the hopes of the down-trodden in all the despotic governments of the earth.

Just men, godly men, when such a contest is raging, give their "feelings of sympathy and compassion" to the community at large, thus outraged; to the interests of humanity, thus set at nought; to the cause of good government, law, order, and the stability of society, all which are prostrated before the aims of ambitious men in this rebellion—rather than, in the *comparison*, waste their sympathies upon the authors of all this wickedness, be they few or many; be they in Church or State; be they high or low in social life; be they of noble or ignoble blood; be they our "brethren," or be they strangers; and the higher their standing, and the greater their influence, and the more sacred their calling, the less deserving are these "architects of ruin" of the "sympathy and compassion" of men who have a right perception of moral distinctions, and any proper regard for God and righteousness. This, at least, is our own position, and we are willing to go with it to the judgment of God.

MATTERS PERSONAL AND IMPERSONAL.

We are led, at this point, to notice a portion of this article of Dr. Smyth, which bears directly and personally upon the writer of these pages. He deems it important to introduce our name to the public, and to condemn us upon false charges. We are not disturbed at this; and as we are mentioned along with some of the most eminent men in any branch of the Northern Church, who are likewise condemned by him, we only suffer with others who have been faithful to rebuke the ringleaders of treason.

We are not anxious to bring any matters of merely personal concern before the public; but as Dr. Smyth, in this article, under the head of "The Divine Right of Secession," has seen fit to attribute sentiments to us which we have never uttered, and as we have no opportunity to bring the matter to his notice in any other manner, we shall be pardoned for referring to the subject here. Attempting to justify secession from the Word of God, he says:

From these admitted premises, divines at the North, of every denomination, with amazing unanimity, have drawn the conclusion that the secession and defensive war of the South is rebellion and treason against God's ordained government, and are, therefore, to be "crushed out" with all the weight of unmitigated and pitiless destruction. The cool ferocity or raging vengeance with which this interpretation of God's Word has envenomed the hearts of the most humble and venerable Christians at the North, is perfectly appalling. Not Saul, in his career of murderous persecution, nor the disciples, when they would call down fire from heaven to destroy, were more inflamed with pitiless malevolence, by the infatuated thought of doing God service, than are modern successors to their misguided zeal. Earthly suffering to the uttermost is not enough. Swift destruction does not slake their fiery vengeance. It is not enough, like Dr. Stanton, to gloat their eager thirst for our misery; to anticipate, in fiendish joy, the hanging of their *Christian brethren*, (the italics are Dr. Smyth's), and the helotry of our wives, mothers, and sisters; pandemonium must be prepared; purgatorial fires must be made a reality, and hell's fiercest flames must everlastingly torment us.

Then, after pursuing the argument some further, Dr. Smyth says:

Such are some of the monstrous falsities, assumed as true, in the inferential argument which justifies Dr. Stanton, as the mouth-piece of multitudes, in the atrocious language attributed to him. * * * In the name, therefore, of eternal justice, sacred truth, and divine charity, we protest against an inferential argument from Scripture, which delivers over millions of people to temporal and everlasting destruction; which converts the best of Christians into the worst of persecutors, and transforms even the love of Christ, our common Saviour, into the heartless malice of His crucifiers.

Upon this extract a few remarks are demanded. 1. We presume Dr. Smyth refers to the writer of this article, for there is no other person of the same name in the ministry of the Church to which we both belong. 2. It is not our purpose to enter into the argument upon "the Divine right of secession." We shall not here stop to controvert the view which Dr. Smyth takes of our part in the discussion, so far as we have had any; for upon the general considerations involved, he embraces the mass of the Northern clergy, and speaks of some of the more distinguished of them, and of other gentlemen, by

name, as we have already shown. We are, then, at least, in very respectable company. 3. In regard to the "atrocious language" attributed to us by Dr. Smyth, we say, as in reference to the other gentlemen he names: It would have been much better for his reputation had he given some evidence of the truth of the charges he here brings against us—had he given the *ipsissima verba* of this "atrocious language." To notice this charge is the sole object we have in here referring to the matter at all; and we have merely to say, that no such language was ever used by us, at any time, or in any place or manner, oral or written, concerning our "Christian brethren," or any other persons engaged in the rebellion. We do not accuse Dr. Smyth of fabricating this charge. He has been imposed upon by some person, in all probability. How such information could reach him, shut up in Charleston, we do not know; but we suppose some Northern "sympathizer" put the "atrocious" calumny through the blockade with other "contraband goods." We have never said or written any thing out of which such a charge could be tortured.* 4. We have notions, which some tender-hearted people may deem rather stringent, as to the manner in which *all leading traitors* in this rebellion should be treated *for humanity's sake;* nor have we yet seen any thing, in human or Divine law, which properly exempts men from the just punishment due to crimes against society of the highest grade, because they are "Christian brethren." On the contrary, the "Christian" character, standing, and influence, social and official, of these "brethren," makes their guilt all the more glaring and deserving of punishment, in the sight of God and man.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF REBEL ENMITY UNIVERSAL.

It would be a work of supererogation to present the formal

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* All that we have ever *published*, in any possible way, bearing upon the matter in hand, previous to the publication of the article of Dr. Smyth, is contained in a Fast Day Discourse, preached Sept. 26, 1861, and in one or two articles in the *Danville Review*. Nothing whatever can be found in any of these about "our wives, mothers, and sisters, pandemonium, purgatorial fires," and other dreadful things which Dr. Smyth has conjured up; nor do we think any candid and loyal person will "attribute" to us any thing "fiendish" or "atrocious," either in the "language" or spirit there exhibited.

proof that enmity toward the loyal portion of the country pervades all classes in the South. He who reads knows it to be true. Several of the works named at the head of this article exhibit the evidence in a most striking and painful light.

Mr. Davis has often, with remarkable studiousness, taken pains to infuse this quality into many of his State papers, but more frequently into his speeches. The fitting time seems generally to have been when addressing the army. On these occasions he has sought the most opprobrious epithets to characterize the President, Government, and people of the United States. His more recent visits to the army, after the fall of Atlanta; his speeches at Macon, Charleston, and Columbia, show the bitterness of his heart to the full. The lowest and vilest terms were selected, and the strongest figures of speech were employed, as the vehicle of the bile and malice which rankled within. The direct effect would naturally be, and undoubtedly the deliberate purpose was, to stimulate the rebel soldiery to the intensest possible degree of personal hatred toward those whom they should meet in battle, and thus to render the contest all the more relentless and bitter. One of the earliest "orders" of the late Bishop Polk, as Major General, spoke of the people of the North as a race of "fanatics and infidels," and represented the South as contending, in this war, for their "liberties and their religion."

The Address of the Rebel Congress to the People of the "Confederate States," issued in February, 1864, from Richmond, is characterized by the same fell purpose and spirit. The press of the South is full of it. The evidence of this is daily set before us. How opposite to this is the spirit of the Northern press, almost universally. When commenting upon the remarkable "manifesto of the Rebel Congress," alluded to above, the *New York Times*, a leading Administration journal, says:

> It will always, we are satisfied, be a matter of pride and satisfaction to the friends of the North, that, in spite of the intensity of the feeling roused by the struggle in which it has been engaged for the last three years; in spite, in short, of the fact, that this struggle is a civil war—its writers and speakers have, *except in very rare cases*, refrained from the railing and vituperation on which the Southern leaders seem to rely largely, both for exciting the sympathy of foreigners and keeping up

the courage of their own people. In fact, there has been *no characteristic* of the contest so marked and so strange as the *absence of vindictiveness* on the part of the people of the free States. Our offenses against good taste have consisted rather in exaggerated estimates of our own strength, and undue depreciation of that of the enemy; or, to put it in plain English, in inordinate bragging, than in abuse or scolding. This calm, or phlegm, whichever it may be called, has unquestionably been a source of military weakness; but it has, as unquestionably, been a proof of moral strength. If it has served to prolong the war, it will do for our reputation what the war alone could never have done.

The above is the utterance of a secular journal of the highest character, in the commercial metropolis of the nation, whose opportunities for knowing whereof it affirms are unsurpassed. It unquestionably gives a true representation of the general feeling at the North, as entertained toward the South.

While the foregoing is true, here and there a press is found at the North in full sympathy with the rebellion, which exhibits as much venom toward the Northern people and Government as is seen in any Southern journal. There are several secular papers of this character, but we have never met with but one such claiming to be religious. Every issue of the *True Presbyterian*, lately published at Louisville, Ky., but now suppressed by the military authority, was filled with the most vile abuse of every thing and every body that was loyal to the Government and in favor of putting down the rebellion. If there was any one direction which its malice took more than another, it was against New England. It would be difficult to find a single number, and possibly a single column, in which the term "Yankee" did not occur, as the exponent of the object of its hatred. We have never been able to understand this phase of its special enmity, unless it should be found in the fact, that its editor (an exile from his adopted country) was educated for the Gospel ministry *by the kind hand of charity at a New England College.*

It is not among the least significant of the evidences of an utter absence of enmity among the people of the North toward the South, that they not only can tolerate the diatribes of the Southern press without having their equanimity seriously disturbed, but that they can allow presses and speakers at the North to abuse the Government and loyal people, and express

sympathy for, and thus aid the rebellion. It is only when the bounds of all truth and decency are passed, as in the case of the *True Presbyterian*, that the Government has thought fit to interfere.

II.—*Rebel Barbarities Illustrated.*

The atrocities which the rebellion has exhibited from the beginning, and during every stage of its progress, form one of the most prominent features in its extraordinary annals. This does not strike a careful observer with much surprise. It is but the natural fruit of the animosity entertained toward the people of the North generally, with these additional elements: the consciousness, on the part of the leaders, of being engaged in a bad cause, involving the gravest crimes against humanity; first, in making war upon a popular Government which had never, by the testimony of their ablest statesmen, infringed upon their clearly-established constitutional rights, and which, by its representative, the newly-elected Administration, stood pledged to the world to secure to the Southern States every constitutional guarantee of those rights in the future; and secondly, in making this war for the universally avowed purpose of establishing an independent government, "the first in the history of the world," upon human bondage as its "corner-stone," in order to make that bondage permanent, and to enlarge its area to the utmost extent.

It would be quite natural, that a war undertaken for such a purpose, should exhibit in its progress inhumanities of an unusual character; but it was scarcely to be expected that they would be quite so openly defended by the rebel press and boasted of as a virtue, or that when acknowledged by rebel Generals they would be justified by the rebel President. Much less was it supposed that the most shocking of these barbarities—as for example, the indiscriminate massacres at Plymouth and Fort Pillow—would be justified by an appeal to the law of nations and the laws and usages of civilized warfare. But all these things have been done, and they stand out in bold relief before the world. Their occurrence is so well known, that we shall but briefly refer to the facts; our object being to show, to what a towering hight of crime the rebel leaders in Church and State have been carried, these results being but the natural fruit of the movement they set in motion, and the

specific acts being but the inevitable consequence of the enmities which they have so sedulously nursed and so boldly avowed.

EARLY INSTANCES OF REBEL BARBARITIES.

The bitter hatred which the leaders infused, to so large an extent, into all classes of the Southern people, was manifested at the very beginning of the war, in acts which would have condemned any other people to eternal infamy, in the judgment of the civilized world. We need not recite, in lengthened detail, the scenes which occurred at and immediately after the first battle of Bull Run; in the brutal treatment of prisoners who were captured from the Union forces; in the frequent massacre of the helpless wounded; in the indignities shown toward the dead, in the manner of the burial of officers and privates; in the desecration of soldiers' graves for plunder; in the boiling of human bodies, and in the making of drinking cups of "Yankee skulls," and of ornaments for the *boudoir* and fingers of Southern belles out of "Yankee bones;" and of the open exultation throughout the South, in high places, that the "sacred soil" would be fattened by the carcasses of "Yankee hirelings." All this is too well known to need any thing here but a bare reference. It is officially proven by the report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War of the Congress of the United States. It is boasted of by Southern journals. It is the theme of epistolary correspondence between devoted lovers.*

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* Speaking of the Plymouth and Fort Pillow massacres, the Washington City *Chronicle* of May 6, 1864, says: "They (our armies) will not forget that the barbarities thus gloried over by the Richmond conspirators, can not be excused on the ground that they resulted from the employment of colored men in the Union armies; for they will remember the startling exposure of the Committee on the Conduct of the War after the first battle of Bull Run, in the summer of 1861. There were no black men in the Union army then, and yet, such was the ferocity of the rebel chiefs, that the dead bodies of some of the bravest and best of the men fighting under the old flag were found unspeakably mutilated. Their bones were converted into ornaments for the adornment of the persons of Southern women, and in some cases the remains of the unconscious dead were so disfigured that they could not be recognized by their nearest and dearest friends. * * * From that hour to this, and we say it with sincere sorrow, there has been other exhibitions of inhumanity on the part of the rebel soldiery; and now, when the colored men have been at last invited to take part in the effort to maintain the Republic, the horrible massacres at Fort

Nor is Bull Run the only scene of revolting barbarities toward noble men who have fallen in a noble cause. At Chicamauga where the rebels held the battle-field and won a victory, several weeks afterward it was found that the bodies of Union soldiers remained unburied, and in some instances their skulls were placed to ornament the stumps of the ground which they had consecrated to liberty by their blood. And so it is on many of the battle-fields of the South. These things have been done openly. The rebel press has declared that such indignities are but just; that the "Yankee" soldier is unworthy of a grave on the "sacred soil," and that "his flesh is only fit for manure;" and yet, that press claims to represent a people who boast of their "blood," of their "high chivalric bearing," and who "call themselves Christians."

We would not be understood as making these charges against the whole people who support the rebellion. We know there are many in the South who must condemn such things. And yet we also just as certainly know—and all the world knows—that these and similar practices have been extensively commented on, extenuated, avowed, and justified by the Southern press. But what we do not know—and what we believe is incapable of proof—is, that such barbarities have characterized the Union armies in dealing with the living or the dead; and had any such occurred, we believe that they would not have been made the subject of boasting and justification by *even one* loyal journal in the Northern States.

But we are not too ignorant of history to know that in all wars, and by all armies, cruelties and inhumanities are practiced. We too well know what has occurred in our present struggle to make it an exception. It is no doubt impossible, with the best drilled soldiers, the most rigid discipline, and the most humane commanders, entirely to prevent horrors that chill the blood and are contrary to the usages of civilized nations. Nor do we assert that the Union armies have been wholly free from these things. But here is a characteristic difference. The most revolting of the atrocities of Southern troops which have marked the course of this war, have occur-

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Pillow and Plymouth are not only not doubted by the people, but are officially proved by another report from the Committee on the Conduct of the War."

red under such circumstances, and on so large a scale, that they *reveal a system* of warfare which has been adopted by those in command; and the vindication they have received from the press, and from those in the highest civil authority, shows that it is but the reducing to its legitimate details of the *plan formed in the Council Chamber of Treason.*

In order to give a succinct view of what we wish to say upon this branch of the general subject, we shall present it in this order—the barbarities practiced toward the soldiers of the Republic, supposed to be in consequence of the employment of negro troops by the Government; the inhuman treatment of Union prisoners of war; and the indiscriminate slaughter of soldiers, and of men, women, and children, by the rebel armies, on the capture of certain forts—all which has been applauded by the Southern press and approved by those in authority.

SUPPOSED CAUSE OF REBEL BARBARITIES — EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS.

In the early period of the war, there was an almost universal repugnance, among loyal men, to employing negro troops in the Union armies. Free negroes offered themselves, but the Government declined their services. The national sentiment has since changed, and now the feeling in favor of their employment is as prevalent as it formerly was against it. Directly contrary to this was the course of the rebel authorities. They, at the outset, employed negro troops in small numbers; while, on the change of sentiment among the friends of the Union, they made loud outcries that such troops should be used against them. They have studiously made their employment the occasion of the grossest cruelties, not only toward negro troops and their commanders when captured, but toward other prisoners of war in their hands; and for a long period, in consequence of their unwillingness to recognize negroes as soldiers, there was a total cessation of the exchange of prisoners.

It is a well-established fact, as shown by the Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, that negro troops have been employed in the rebel service from the beginning of the war. They fought in the first battle of Bull Run. Prisoners of war from the rebel armies, have frequently testified that negroes have been employed as soldiers in various branches

of the service. This has sometimes been denied by the Southern press. It has been freely admitted, however—indeed, acts of the rebel Congress provided for this—that negroes, both free and slave, are employed by them as teamsters, laborers on fortifications, and in other ways to give efficiency to their forces in the field. So far as adding to the military power of a nation is concerned, it can make no difference, *in principle*, whether negroes are employed as mere laborers, or as soldiers; whether they handle a spade or a musket; if used at all, it is adding just so many men to the ability of a nation to prosecute war.

Besides employing negroes, Indians have also swelled the ranks of the Southern armies. General Albert Pike, a renegade New Englander, had a large body of them under his command, in several of the battles in Arkansas. They were also engaged in the battle of Springfield, in South-western Missouri, the last battle fought by the heroic General Lyon. There is, indeed, an overwhelming amount of testimony to the point, that not only Indians, but free negroes and slaves, have swelled the numbers that have fought the soldiers of the Union.

Our firm conviction is, that, but for fear of the consequences—that the armed slaves would turn upon their masters—they would largely replenish their ranks with this species of soldiers. It is preposterous to suppose that they are restrained from this by any other consideration. They need, it is true, the slaves as laborers on their plantations. Their labor is one of the elements of their military strength. But they would select from among those capable of bearing arms, tens of thousands for the ranks, if they dared trust them with arms in their hands. Those whom they employ, they can manage without fear. The vast numbers driven into the interior from the sea-coast and from Louisiana, when our armies took possession, and others who were sent further South from Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Georgia, as those States were in part or wholly reclaimed, must make it evident at a glance that many more laborers were thus crowded into Alabama, lower Georgia and the Carolinas, than could well be employed upon the plantations. What more rational solution, then, of the fact, that they have pushed their merciless conscription to the extent of sweeping into the ranks the chivalrous sons of the South, from sixteen years of age to fifty-five—and yet, not employing

this large multitude of negroes as soldiers—than that they are afraid of extensively arming them? Is it that they value the life of the negro more highly than the life of their sons and brothers? Perhaps so; he is "property." This makes a vast difference, but it does not meet the whole case. A hundred thousand negro slaves in arms—drilled soldiers!—in the Gulf States, fighting for the rebellion and their own bondage! Can any one believe that a possibility?

NEGRO TROOPS IN THE REBEL CONGRESS.

Mr. Davis, in his message at the opening of the present session of the Rebel Congress, recommends arming *forty thousand* negro slaves, to be held as a reserve force; to be used only in case of necessity; and their freedom and fifty acres of land to be given them as a reward for their services. Will this measure be adopted? Some of the Southern papers, previous to the meeting of their Congress, urged the arming of *three hundred thousand* slaves, putting it on the ground of absolute necessity. Will this be resorted to on a large scale? We do not believe the rebel leaders dare risk it. Nearly all the Southern Governors, in their recent messages to their respective Legislatures, strongly oppose it; and it is opposed by a large portion of the Southern press. They of course do not base their objections on the ground of fear that the slaves could not be trusted to fight for the rebel cause. Such an avowal, however fully believed, would not be made. They declare that no such necessity exists; that, even if it did, the Confederate authorities have no jurisdiction of the subject; that the negroes are needed at home for laborers; and that in any event, as he is "property," the Confederate Congress can not decree the slave his freedom. While these reasons have force, we believe that that which underlies them all, as furnishing the ground of the strongest opposition, is *the fear* of arming the slaves. Why, then, it may be asked, should not Mr. Davis share in this fear? He undoubtedly does. Hence he recommends the arming of a limited number, who could be more easily controlled. And yet, we believe the time *may* come when the *leaders* of the rebel cause, who have every thing personally to fear in case of failure, will favor a universal conscription of the slaves. They have the spirit literally to bring the heavens and earth together, and crush all

beneath them—themselves included—rather than submit to the authority of the Union.

There is one feature of these Southern discussions which is entertaining. Mr. Davis proposes to give the slave his *freedom*, and make him a holder of real estate, as a *reward* for his military services. This is violently opposed, on the ground that it conflicts with the theory on which the Confederate "nation" rests. Its "corner-stone" is that "slavery is the natural and normal condition of the negro." All its writers have stoutly maintained, for many years past, that "slavery is a *blessing* to all concerned, especially to the negro." How, then, is a very natural inquiry—can *freedom* be deemed a *reward?* This is, indeed, a poser. Either the Rebel Chief has made a gross mistake, or the whole Southern theory of society needs remodeling. "All the world" will not "wonder"—as it did at that famous cavalry charge at Balaklava, according to the Poet Laureate of England—at perceiving these contradictions in Rebel Ethics and Social Economy, for we have ceased to marvel at any absurdities which the rebellion can turn up; but it is evident that "somebody has blundered." The negro in slavery is in his "natural" place, enjoying the only condition for which he is fitted; and yet, Mr. Davis would *curse* him with *freedom!* We do not "wonder" at the outcry which the Southern press raises at this. The Rebel Chief proposes, by a formal act of Congress, to revolutionize Southern society; to spoil a vast amount of learned literature, in morals, logic, politics and theology, and render the mass of Southern divines and statesmen ridiculous in the eyes of the whole world; and, what is worse than all, to crush out the "corner-stone" of the rebel nation. We expect to hear deeper howls of agony than those which now resound through the rebel States, if Mr. Davis' recommendations should be adopted; and still, the time *may* soon come when the Southern Governors and the Southern press will be as unanimous in favor of this measure as they are now in opposition to it.

It is a fact worth pondering, in this connection, that Southern statutes, in perhaps every State, make provision for giving slaves their "freedom as a reward for meritorious services," performed for their masters or for the public good; that manumissions, on such grounds, have been not unfrequent; and that

these laws and practices date from the earliest period. This shows that in former times slavery was deemed, in itself, an undesirable condition for the negro, and that *freedom*, even for him, rather than *slavery*, was a "blessing;" and it shows, also, that the contrary ideas, which now so generally pervade Southern society, are of very modern growth. Mr. Davis may possibly have retained the old notions on the subject; but we rather presume that his late recommendation of freedom as a reward for the military services of the slave, was made in deference to the public sentiment of the world, for which, for policy's sake, he may still retain some lingering regard.

THE PRINCIPLE CONCEDED—NEGRO TROOPS IN ALL COUNTRIES.

It is evident that it can not be *principle*, or *color*, which presents the extensive employment of negroes as soldiers by the South—whatever may be said about the fear of enlisting *slaves*—for their employment, even in small numbers, concedes the case.

And beside this, nothing is better known, as a historical fact, than that negro soldiers have been used in every war in which the United States has hitherto been engaged as a nation—in which, too, the South has joined—and that they have made up a portion of the armies of nearly every nation of Europe. In the war of the Revolution, negroes, both free and slave, were employed by the Colonies of the North and the South in gaining their independence, and by Great Britain upon the other side of the contest. Negroes were also engaged in the American armies in the war with Great Britain, in 1812; and in small numbers, in various capacities, in the several Indian wars in which the United States has been engaged, and in the war with Mexico. And, so far as we are aware, no serious complaint was ever made against this species of soldiers, in any of these wars, on account of *color*. What is true of the army, in this respect, is true of the navy. Negroes have been engaged in both branches of the service as *fighting men*. And what is true of the United States and of Great Britain, is true of nearly all the monarchical governments of Europe and America. Negro soldiers are enrolled in the armies of France, Spain,

Portugal, Denmark, Turkey, Brazil, and those of other countries.*

Now, it is rather a singular phenomenon, with these well known facts of our own history before us, and with the usages of the civilized world corresponding with these facts, that the chivalrous sons of the South should have discovered, in our present war, the impropriety, in *principle*, of using a man with a black skin as a soldier; of making this the occasion of severe

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* The *first blood* shed in the war of the American Revolution, was that of a *negro slave*, fighting for *American freedom* against British tyranny. His name was Crispus Attucks. He was advertised in the *Boston Gazette*, October 2, 1750, as a "runaway slave." He was again advertised on the 13th and 20th of November. The next time his name appeared in a Boston newspaper, he was "a hero and a martyr." The "Boston Massacre," occurring March 5, 1770, has been regarded as "the first act in the drama of the American Revolution." It was then that the first blood was shed in a conflict between British troops and American citizens. "From that moment," said Daniel Webster, "we may date the severance of the British Empire." In this affray, Attucks led the party, and was the first to fall, and with two others, was killed; while two more were mortally wounded. The bodies were taken to Faneuil Hall. The most distinguished citizens followed them to the place of burial, and a monument was erected to their memory, with this inscription:

> Long as in Freedom's cause the wise contend,
> Dear to your country, shall your fame extend;
> While to the world the lettered stone shall tell
> Where Caldwell, Attucks, Gray, and Maverick fell.

The anniversary of this event was publicly commemorated in Boston by an oration, each year, until independence was achieved, when the fourth of July was substituted for the fifth of March. At Bunker Hill, negro and white soldiers fought side by side. Bancroft, the historian, speaking of the battle of Bunker Hill, says: "As in the army at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band, the free negroes of the Colony had their representatives. For the right of free negroes to bear arms in the public defense, was, at that day, as little disputed in New England, as their other rights. They took their place, not in a separate corps, but in the ranks of the white man; and their names may be read on the pension rolls of the country, side by side, with those of other soldiers of the Revolution." (*Vol. VII, p.* 421). General Washington wrote to the President of the Continental Congress, under date of Cambridge, December 31, 1775, and speaks thus of negro soldiers: "As it is to be apprehended that they (the negroes) may seek employment in the Ministerial Army, I have presumed to depart from the resolution respecting them, and have given license for their being enlisted. If this is disapproved of by Congress, I will put a stop to it." Congress decided the question thus submitted, by resolution of January 16, 1776, that "the free negroes who have served *faithfully* in the army at Cambridge, may be re-enlisted therein, but no others." (*Journals of Congress, Vol. II*). Mr. Sparks, in his Life of Washington, says: "Many black soldiers

enactments by the rebel Congress against our Government, of making it the theme for abuse by their Congressional orators, and their heated journalists; of the rebel President taking occasion from it to throw a little more of vituperation into his State papers; of discriminating against negroes in the exchange of prisoners of war; of thus presuming, as a "nation," which they call themselves, to dictate to another nation what description of troops they may and may not use in their service; of

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were in the service during all stages of the war." The General Assembly of Connecticut, in May, 1777, appointed a committee to consider the condition of slaves in that State. They recommended that they "shall be allowed to enlist" into the army, "and shall thereupon be, *de facto*, free and emancipated." At the next session of the Assembly, October, 1777, "an act was passed which gave direct encouragement to the enlistment of slaves." (*Trumbull*). Most of the Northern States enlisted negroes, free and slave, in the army of the Revolution, providing for the freedom of the latter. Many Southern statesmen encouraged the practice. Says Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, in a letter to General Washington, March 16, 1779: "Had we arms for three thousand such black men as I could select in Carolina, I should have no doubt of success in driving the British out of Georgia, and subduing East Florida before the end of July." (*Sparks*). Congress, urged by Southern men, passed, in 1779, the following: "*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the States of South Carolina and Georgia, if they shall think the same expedient, to take measures immediately for raising three thousand able-bodied negroes, * * * for the main army, to be commanded by white commissioned and non-commissioned officers;" and they also enacted, "that every negro who shall well and faithfully serve as a soldier to the end of the present war, and shall then return his arms, be emancipated, and receive the sum of fifty dollars." (*Secret Journals of Congress*). Hon. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, in the United States House of Representatives, in 1820, referring to the employment of negroes in the Revolutionary armies, said: "To their hands were owing the erection of the greatest part of the fortifications raised for the protection of our country; some of which, particularly Fort Moultrie, gave, at that early period of the inexperience and untried valor of our citizens, immortality to American arms; and, in the Northern States, numerous bodies of them were enrolled into and fought by the side of the whites, the battles of the Revolution." (*Annals of Congress*). In the war of 1812, negroes, both free and slave, were employed in the army and navy, North and South. New York, in 1814, passed an act to raise "two regiments of men of color," each regiment to "consist of one thousand and eighty able-bodied men." These regiments were raised and formed into a brigade; they received "the same pay, rations, clothing, and allowances," as others of the same grade in the United States Army; and slaves were allowed to enlist, and at the termination of their services were "deemed and adjudged to have been legally manumitted from that time." Many other States made similar provisions for negroes in the armies of 1812. General Jackson called them to his standard when commanding in the South-west. He reviewed a large body of them, December 18, 1814; they took part in defense of New Orleans on the

thus causing the untimely death of thousands of brave men, in prison, starved by themselves; and, as a fitting climax, slaughtering in cold blood negro soldiers, *and their white officers*, who have fallen into their hands as prisoners; and, moreover, "capping the climax" of these atrocities, in the well-known fact of having themselves employed negro soldiers on their side of the contest from the beginning!

23d of that month; and helped to secure his victory over Packenham, on the 8th of January, 1815. In the navy, also, negroes were employed. In McKenzie's Life of Commodore Perry, it is said: "In 1814, our fleet sailed to the Upper Lakes, to co-operate with Colonel Croghan, at Mackinac. About one in ten or twelve of the crews were blacks." Dr. Usher Parsons says: "I was Surgeon of the *Java*, under Commodore Perry. The white and colored seamen messed together. About one in six or eight were colored. In 1819, I was Surgeon of the *Guerrière*, under Commodore Macdonough; and the proportion of blacks was about the same in her crew. * * * What I have said applied to the crews of the other ships that sailed in squadrons." Commodore Chauncy, in a letter to Perry, says: "I have nearly fifty blacks on board of this ship, and many of them are among my best men." (*Life of Perry*). In all our later wars, negroes have formed a part of the forces employed.

What has thus been true of the United States, in all her wars, is true of all the leading nations of the world. The following facts are taken from a paper prepared by the Librarian of the New York State Library, and read by the Hon. Charles B. Sedgwick, in the House of Representatives of the United States: "The monarchical governments of Europe and America—those that tolerate slavery, and those that do not—alike agree in employing negroes, armed for the public defense. Thus we find, that in the Spanish colony of Cuba, with a population one-half slaves and one-sixth colored, a militia of free blacks and mulattoes was directed by General Pezuela (Governor General) to be organized, in 1854, throughout the island; and it was put upon an equal footing, with regard to privilege, with the regular army. The black and mulatto troops have been made a permanent corps of the Spanish army. In the Portuguese colonies, on the coast of Africa, the regiments are chiefly composed of black men. At Prince's Island is a regiment of black militia; at St. Thomas's are two black regiments. In Lonando, the Portuguese can muster twenty-five thousand blacks, armed with muskets. In the Dutch colony of the Gold Coast of Africa, the garrison consists of whites, mulattoes, and blacks, under a Dutch commander. In the capital of the French colony of Senegal, at St. Louis, white and black soldiers are employed. In the Danish island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, for more than twenty-five years past, there have been employed two corps of colored soldiers, in the presence of slaves. Brazil, with three million slaves, employs all colors and races in its military and naval service. The police of Rio de Janeiro is a military organization, composed mostly of blacks. The course pursued by the British Government, in Jamaica, Sierra Leone, and Hindostan, is so notorious, as simply to need to be mentioned. In Turkey, no distinction of color or race is made in the ranks of the regular army. Distinction is made, however, on the ground of difference of faith. The army is composed of Mohammedans. Christians and Jews are never recruited.

Can any honest mind ponder the facts which are so well known to the world, and believe that these things could be done and justified among any other people in the same stage of enlightenment, than those inhabiting the Southern portion of the United States, engaged in *the work of rebellion* against lawful government, and *in the cause* for which it is undertaken?

CRUELTIES TO NEGRO TROOPS AND THEIR OFFICERS.

The ill treatment of negro soldiers and their commanders is a part of the *system* of warfare which the South is carrying on. It is not the general in the field, nor the subordinate officer, nor the rank and file of the army, that is alone responsible for the cruelties inflicted. The military officers are sustained by their President. Their Congress, in its early legislation, passed acts ignoring negroes in our armies as soldiers, and declaring what treatment they might expect, if captured; that they would be sold into slavery, and that their white officers would be handed over to the civil authorities of the respective States in which they might be taken, to be dealt with according to the laws thereof—or, in more specific English, to suffer death.

This act was so worded, that it included in its terms all negroes, whether enlisted as freemen, or recruited as slaves in any of the districts which the Union armies should occupy. After the adjournment of their Congress, and the act had been canvassed by the nations of the world, some of the Southern journals advised a modification when the Congress should reassemble. The Richmond papers discussed the laws of nations; quoted Vattel and Puffendorf; and generally agreed—though some of them were not so scrupulous—that the law should only take cognizance of that portion of our negro soldiers who were recruited from slaves; that, to treat negro soldiers who were free, in a different manner from other prisoners of war, was clearly unauthorized, as it was equivalent to declaring what kind of troops we should employ.

It was really believed from this that a sense of justice, on at least one plain point, was returning to a people who had given so many evidences of disregard of it. This opinion was aided by certain official manifestations. On the assembling of their Congress in December, 1863, some movement was made for the modification of this law. But while the improved legislation

makes a better appearance upon the statute book, the subsequent and constantly recurring facts make all the worse figure upon the page of history. We are now convinced that all the learned dissertations of the Richmond papers, and their confessions of error in the early enactment, and all the bluster and apparent willingness to make reparation for an alleged oversight, as manifested in the discussions of the rebel Congress, were just so much hypocritical rhetoric—and nothing more. The continued inhuman treatment of the negro soldiers of the Union armies, furnishes the incontrovertible evidence. If they have more recently mended their ways, it is owing to such retaliatory measures as were adopted by General Butler in digging the Dutch Gap canal.

The Richmond editors made a virtue of candor in admitting the error of their earlier legislation, and they urged a change in the law. Afterward they rejoiced in and called upon their troops to "repeat" the butcheries of Fort Pillow, where were slaughtered several hundred men, women and children, because they were black, some of whom were free and always had been free; and they applauded the butchery in cold blood of white men who commanded these troops. If their law was really modified, these subsequent barbarities reveal the soulless regard the rebel authorities have for their own enactments, and the fiendish cruelty of their innate disposition which breaks through such barriers. If it was not modified, their acknowledgment of their error shows their wholesome fear of the scorn of the world, which, however, their eager thirst for innocent blood so soon overcame. But in either event, their hatred, barbarity, and most atrocious cruelty, in thus setting aside the usages of war, shows too plainly what nothing short of such a rebellion, for such a purpose, could show—that enlightened men, "chivalric" men, Christian men, may be transformed into demons, when their hearts are thoroughly enlisted, by means of treason, rebellion, and war, "to conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery."

A CHARACTERISTIC EXAMPLE—BURIAL OF A HERO.

The special manner of the treatment of officers commanding negro troops, in numerous instances, when they have been killed in battle, reveals the refinement of rebel barbarity. One

case out of many will illustrate this. Colonel Robert Gould Shaw led the Fifty-fourth Colored Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers in the attack on Fort Wagner, in Charleston harbor. This was one of the earliest negro regiments organized for the war. It was enrolled at a time when this branch of the service had not attained a high degree of public favor. Few men of standing were eager to take command of negro troops. When Governor Andrew called for a commander of this regiment, Colonel Shaw tendered his services. He at once gave character to the position. He was a young man of noble mien, in the prime of early manhood, from one of the families of Boston of the highest position, for wealth, refinement, and social standing, highly educated and accomplished, and with every thing before him in life which gave promise of a bright future.

In the assault upon that fort, in the harbor where foul treason fired the first gun upon the national flag, Colonel Shaw fell upon the ramparts, at the head of his regiment, bravely leading them, though it was but to the slaughter, against an iron hail which would have stricken terror into the heart of any but the true soldier. Since the war began, heroism has not made a costlier sacrifice, nor has treason claimed a nobler victim.

It would seem that had not all honor, all humanity—all decency—died out of rebel bosoms, they would at least have given the body of the brave officer an honorable burial. The dead hero could harm them no more. But no. They must heap all possible indignity upon a lifeless body which had fallen into their hands by the fortunes of war. They dig a shallow trench, throw in the body, face downward, and then throw in upon it the bodies of some of the brave men of his regiment who had fallen with him, and give them a shallow covering of earth. The occurrence forms the theme of social converse and exultation in the polite circles of Charleston. The papers of the city approved all that was done; "he died a dog's death, and received a dog's burial."

Such is the spirit of the rebellion in the place where "chivalry" resides, and where treason was born. It may be, that the sons and daughters of the South who applaud such deeds, think that they will inspire a wholesome fear in North-

ern bosoms; and possibly, that the circumstances of this case may have carried a keener pang to loving hearts in the home of Colonel Shaw. Let them learn a lesson in human nature to which they may be strangers, and if they fail to appreciate the true nobility of the sentiment, we can only the more pity them for the deep imbrutement which the system of negro slavery has wrought in their souls. When the father of Colonel Shaw heard of the death and burial of his son, he said, "He could not have died in a nobler cause, and he would not have had him buried by their hands in any other manner!" As for the influence which such brutalities exert upon the minds of the loyal people generally, they only serve to nerve them to a higher determination to crush the rebellion completely, and to purge out of the body politic forever that element of our public life, to perpetuate and extend which such scenes are enacted.

SYSTEMATIC STARVATION OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

The Spanish Inquisition reduced cruelty to a system, in the pretended interest of religion; the rebel authorities at Richmond have improved upon it, for purposes of State.

According to our reading, and we have read not a little on the subject, after passing by the technicalities, the errors of estimation, the construction of the cartel, and the bad temper of the commissioners, the difficulty which has always lain at the bottom of carrying out a system of exchange of prisoners of war, has been the persistent refusal of the rebel authorities to recognize negroes, employed in the Union army, as *soldiers*. Not being soldiers, they could not be regarded as entitled to be exchanged as *prisoners* of war. For this position, we have already seen that they had not a particle of authority, either in public law or the usages of nations. We therefore dismiss the point.

It now appears, from testimony which is as incontestible as any which was ever produced for any cause, that there was a wonderful method in this madness, all the while. The negro in our armies has been of great service to them; it has enabled them, under this and other pretexts, to starve our brave soldiers to death, and to reduce others to a state of living death, in the hope of depleting our forces.

The proof of this is found, first, in the actual condition of

the prisoners when exchanged, with the attendant circumstances, especially in the case of those from the prisons at Richmond, under the eye of the central authorities, and where the largest numbers have always, until a recent period, been congregated; and secondly, in the absence of any other assignable motive, and with the highest moral certainty that such must have been the object, as seen in the condition of the soldiers, and in the well-assured facts which attend and which have produced it. The sources of the evidence, on both points, are: the testimony of the prisoners, surgeons, and others, taken by the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and taken also in behalf of the United States Sanitary Commission; the corroboration furnished by other witnesses, both among Union men and rebels; and the admissions of the Southern press and authorities.

The Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War presents the following view of the case, as *one* among their several investigations, as read in the United States Senate, May 9, 1864. It exhibits the condition of the prisoners, then recently returned from Richmond, as seen by them in the hospitals at Annapolis and Baltimore, the special attention of the Committee having been directed to the case by the War Department. We give a few sentences:

The evidence proved, beyond all manner of doubt, a determination on the part of the rebel authorities, deliberately and persistently practiced for a long time past, to subject those of our soldiers who have been so unfortunate as to fall into their hands, *to a system* of treatment which has resulted in reducing many of those who have survived and been permitted to return to us, to a condition, both physically and mentally, which no language we can use can adequately describe. Though nearly all the patients now in the Naval Academy Hospital at Annapolis, and in the West Hospital at Baltimore, have been under the kindest and most intelligent treatment for about three weeks past, and many of them for a greater length of time, still they present literally the appearance of living skeletons—many of them being nothing but skin and bone. Some of them are *maimed for life*, from being exposed to the inclemency of the winter season on Belle Isle—*being compelled to lie upon the bare ground, without tents or blankets*—some of them without overcoats, or even coats, with but little fire to mitigate the severity of the wind and storms to which they were exposed. The testimony shows that *the general practice of their captors was to rob them*, as soon as they were taken prisoners, of all their money, valuables, blankets, and good

clothing, for which they received nothing in exchange, except, perhaps, some old worn-out rebel clothing, hardly better than none at all. Upon their arrival at Richmond, they have been confined, without blankets or covering, in buildings without fire; or upon Belle Isle, in many cases with no shelter, and in others with nothing but discarded army tents, so injured by rents and holes as to present but little barrier to the wind and storms. On several occasions, the witnesses say, they have risen in the morning from their resting-places upon *the bare earth, and found several of their comrades frozen to death through the night;* and that many others would have met the same fate had they not walked rapidly back and forth through the hours which should have been devoted to sleep, for the purpose of retaining sufficient warmth to preserve life. * * * Many of our men were compelled to sell to their guards and others, for what price they could get, such clothing and blankets as they were permitted to receive and have furnished for their use by our Government, *in order to obtain sufficient food to sustain life;* thus, by endeavoring to avoid one privation, reducing themselves to the same destitute condition, in respect to clothing and covering, as they were in before they received any from our Government. When they became diseased and sick, * * * their diseases and wounds did not receive the treatment which the commonest dictates of humanity would have prompted. One witness, whom your Committee examined, who had lost all the toes of one foot, through being frozen on Belle Isle, states that for days at a time his wounds were not dressed, and that they had not been dressed for four days when he was taken from the hospital and carried on the flag-of-truce boat for Fortress Monroe. * * * In addition to this insufficient supply of food, clothing, and shelter, our soldiers, while prisoners, have been subjected to the most cruel treatment from those placed over them. They have been abused and shamefully treated on almost every opportunity. *Many have been mercilessly shot and killed when they failed to comply with all the demands of their jailors; sometimes for violating rules of which they had not been informed.* Crowded in great numbers in buildings, they have been fired at and killed by the sentinels outside, when they appeared at the windows for the purpose of obtaining a little fresh air. One man, whose comrade in the service and in captivity had been so fortunate as to be among those released from further torments, *was shot dead as he was waiving with his hand a last adieu to his friend.* Other instances of equally unprovoked murder are disclosed by the testimony. The condition of our returned soldiers as regards personal cleanliness, has been filthy almost beyond description. * * * Many who have been sick and in the hospital, have had no opportunity to wash their bodies for weeks and months before they were released from captivity.

Your Committee are unable to convey any adequate idea of the sad and deplorable condition of the men they saw in the hospitals they visited; and the testimony they have taken can not convey to the reader the impressions which your Committee there received. The prisoners we saw, as we were assured by those in charge of them, have greatly improved since they have been received in the hospitals; yet they are now dying daily. * * * All those whom your Committee examined, stated that they have been thus reduced and emaciated entirely in consequence of the merciless treatment they received while prisoners, from their enemies. Physicians in charge of them—the men best fitted by their profession and experience to express an opinion on the subject—all say that they have no doubt the statements of their patients are entirely correct. It will be observed, from the testimony, that all the witnesses who testified upon that point, state that the treatment they received while confined at Columbia, South Carolina, Dalton, Georgia, and other places, was far more humane than that they received at Richmond, where the authorities of the so-called Confederacy were congregated, and where the power existed, had the inclination not been wanting, to reform these abuses, and secure to the prisoners they held some treatment that would bear a feeble comparison to that accorded by our authorities to the prisoners in our custody. Your Committee, therefore, are constrained to say that they can hardly avoid the conclusion expressed by so many of our released soldiers, that the inhuman practices herein referred to, *are the result of a determination on the part of the rebel authorities, to reduce our soldiers in their power by privation of food and clothing, and by exposure, to such a condition, that those who may survive shall never recover so as to be able to enter into effectual service in the field;* and your Committee accordingly ask that this Report, with the accompanying testimony, be printed, with the Report and testimony in relation to the massacre at Fort Pillow—*the one being, in their opinion, no less than the other, the result of a predetermined policy.* As regards the assertions of some of the rebel newspapers, that our prisoners have received at their hands the same treatment that their own soldiers in the field have received, they are evidently but the most glaring and unblushing falsehoods. No one can, for a moment, be deceived by such statements, who will reflect that our soldiers, who, when taken prisoners, *have been stout, healthy men, in the prime and vigor of life, yet have died by hundreds under the treatment they have received,* although required to perform no duties of the camp or the march; while the rebel soldiers are able to make long and rapid marches, and to offer a stubborn resistance in the field. There is one feature connected with this investigation to which your Committee can refer with pride and satisfaction—that is, the uncomplaining fortitude, the undi-

minished patriotism, exhibited by our brave men, under all their privations, even in the hour of death.*

The Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War respecting the condition of the returned Union prisoners, with the accompanying testimony, is a valuable document for the historian and for posterity. This testimony, however, was not essential to convince the present generation of the truth of these rebel barbarities. The *condition* of these prisoners, had they uttered not a word, would have been enough. Every one who has seen them is convinced of all the Committee have said; and even more. To many observers—and they have been visited by great numbers, of the highest respectability—their *mental* condition, in numerous instances, is the most harrowing feature of their case. Some were not able to tell to what regiment they belonged, where they lived, or any thing about their friends or their homes; while others had been made wholly and hopelessly insane.

REBEL CONFIRMATION OF THEIR OWN CRUELTY.

All their sufferings, both in nature and extent, have been fully substantiated by what the Richmond papers have frequently stated. At first, they denied that there was any destitution, in quality or quantity, of food, clothing, or shelter, for

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* The *Baltimore American*, of April 29, 1864, has the following editorial: "The Returned Prisoners.—In the distribution of the five hundred and sixty-five released prisoners recently arrived from Richmond, one hundred and four of the most enfeebled and helpless were sent to the Army Hospital, West's Buildings. *Of this number, thirty-three have since died*, as we learn by the report, up to yesterday noon. Thirty-three deaths in a period of less than ten days! Thirty-three out of one hundred and four! Such a per centage of mortality is frightful And this, too, in spite of the utmost efforts of human skill, of untiring and unremitted devotion to duty on the part of the medical officers, of faithful and well-directed labor on the part of the nurses, and of the most assiduous attention on the part of the ladies of Baltimore. All that could fan the flickering flame of life into a brighter glow was done by these ministers of humanity. The soothing voice of kindness, the rallying stimulant, the tempting delicacy, were all tried in vain. The vital force was expended, the wheels would no longer remove in the face of a consuming friction, and the lamp of life burned to ashes. We suppose the undertaker's certificate read: Died of debility, or exhaustion, or atrophy, or marasmus, or some kindred term; but on the page of history, and in the book of God's righteous retribution, the 'crownee's quest' will declare: *Died of slow starvation, at the hands of blood-thirsty assassins.*"

them; declared that they were in every respect well cared for; then they admitted that there was a scarcity of provisions for them, justifying the want on the ground of a scarcity in the Richmond markets; saying that *the people* must be fed if the *prisoners starved*, and that such a doom for the "Yankee hirelings" was but just. Then again, they insisted that they were as well provided for as their own soldiers, that they had precisely the same rations, and that this was all that could be demanded by the usages of war; the pure falsity of which, as to food furnished, the Committee conclusively meet by the statement, that while our robust prisoners have *perished* in their hands in great numbers, their soldiers are able to endure all the hardships of the camp, and to *fight valiantly*, immediately on being exchanged!

Whatever may be said, with truth, about the cruelties on either side displayed in this war, and whatever charges the rebels may have brought against the United States authorities, civil or military, there is nothing which furnishes a counterpart to this treatment of Union *prisoners*. The most mendacious of rebel writers has not ventured even the *charge* that the Government has systematically, and by wholesale, starved to death rebel prisoners. Those who have fallen into the hands of the Union authorities have been fed, clad, sheltered, and nursed and furnished medical aid when sick and wounded, in a manner to remove all just grounds of complaint; while rebel brutalities practiced upon Union prisoners have been entered upon deliberately and prosecuted persistently, under the very eye of the Richmond rebels in chief, and resulting in a wholesale destruction of life, and maiming others for life. These things are *directly charged;* they have been *conclusively proven*, by an amount of testimony, in character definite and circumstantial, which would compel a verdict from any panel that ever entered a jury box.

But putting the very best face upon the case which the rebels have made for themselves, and admitting its perfect truth—that such was the scarcity that *they did the best they could* to provide food for Union prisoners—still they were not justified by the law of nations, and the usages of war, *in holding them an hour*, when, in spite of their efforts, and as an inevitable result of their treatment, hundreds were dying upon

their hands, and other hundreds were doomed to a life worse than death. Vattel says:

> Formerly, a question of an embarrassing nature might have been proposed. When we have so great a number of prisoners that we find it *impossible to feed them*, or to keep them with safety, have we a right to put them to death? or shall we send them back to the enemy, thus increasing his strength, and exposing ourselves to the hazard of being overpowered by him on a subsequent occasion? At present the case is attended with no difficulty. *Such prisoners are dismissed on their parole*—bound by promise not to carry arms for a certain time, or during the continuance of the war.

This, then, is the *law* of the case. If the *facts* were as they allege, the course of justice and of decency was plain. But the rebel authorities disregarded both.

CONFIRMED BY THE REBEL PRESIDENT.

The hypocrisy and falsehood of the rebel press, concerning the treatment of Union prisoners of war, are exceeded by the official statements of Jefferson Davis. On the 3d of May, 1864, he delivered his message to the Rebel Congress, in which he says:

> On the subject of the exchange of prisoners, I greatly regret to be unable to give you satisfactory information. The Government of the United States, while persisting in failure to execute the terms of the cartel, make occasional deliveries of prisoners, and then suspend action without apparent cause. I confess my inability to comprehend their policy or purpose. *The prisoners held by us, in spite of humane care, are perishing from the inevitable effects of imprisonment, and the home-sickness produced by the hopelessness of release from confinement.* The spectacle of their suffering augments our longing desire to relieve from *similar* trials our own brave men, who have spent so many weary months in a cruel and useless imprisonment, endured with heroic constancy.

Here is an admission of one stern fact—the "perishing" of our prisoners in his hands; and of the cause of it—"the inevitable effects of imprisonment." Let that record be noted. It was too much to deny that, in the face of the world. But his soul is stained with the guilt of declaring that this was "in spite of humane care." No such care was bestowed; and the rebel chief ought to have known it well. But it is, if pos-

sible, a grosser libel to intimate that rebel prisoners are subjected by our Government to "similar trials." A more glaring untruth never came from official pen. No such truthful record, concerning *rebel* prisoners, will ever meet the eye of the world, as that put forth by the Congressional Committee concerning Union prisoners in the cells of Richmond, near by where the Arch Traitor holds his ephemeral power.

Mr. Davis would have the world believe that he weeps over the "home-sickness" of the heroes who are "perishing" in his loathsome dungeons, "from the inevitable effects" of systematic starvation. This almost surpasses the kind-heartedness of the leaders in the atrocities of the French Revolution. Robespierre is described as one of the most tender-hearted of men; and who shall doubt that the rebel chief at Richmond may be a man after his own heart? Without doubt, our soldiers in Libby Prison, and upon Belle Isle, love their homes, and long for them—at least, such of them as have not become so demented by these rebel cruelties, that they can not tell where their homes are, or whether they have any—but this is the first time, in all our reading, that we have met with the phenomenon, officially set forth too, that men of robust frames and heroic wills, even when for a few months in prison, but enjoying "humane care," have been swept into the grave by a "home-sickness" more fatal than the plague! Can rebel insolence in official robes rise to a higher pitch! We wonder if rebel surgeons in charge ever gave a certificate running like this: "Died of home-sickness." The true certificate would be that furnished by the *Baltimore American*, and which covers all these cases: "Died of slow starvation from the hands of bloodthirsty assassins."

MASSACRES AT FORT PILLOW AND PLYMOUTH.

It may be that the treatment of our heroic prisoners can not be exceeded in atrocity, by any thing which the rebels have done since the beginning of the war. It was cool, deliberate, systematized murder, by the most loathsome and painful means, on a large scale, extending through wearisome months, and for a most contemptible purpose; palliated on false pretexts, justified as righteous, and hypocritically mourned over from the throne of treason.

But in the massacre at Fort Pillow and Plymouth, occurring near the same time, the one in West Tennessee, and the other in Eastern North Carolina, there was something which struck the public mind with a deeper thrill of horror. The suddenness and extent, reaching to hundreds butchered in cold blood; embracing those in the army and out of it, men, women, and children, white and black; including soldiers who had enlisted under the flag of their country from the seceded States, thus revealing the rebel vengeance in store for all such, and for that reason; the subsequent approval by the rebel authorities, and the bold justification by the rebel press, with the call on their soldiers to "Repeat Fort Pillow," and "Repeat Plymouth;" together with the sanction tacitly given by Mr. Davis in his message to their Congress; all this, perhaps, gives these massacres, *as yet*, the highest place in the list of rebel fiendishness which the world has witnessed since the beginning of the war.

Let us first hear the Committee on the Conduct of the War, their investigations being confined, so far as we quote from them, chiefly to Fort Pillow. Their Report was made to both Houses of Congress, May 5, 1864. It is a long document. We select a few sentences, as follows:

It will appear, from the testimony thus taken, that the atrocities committed at Fort Pillow were not the result of passions excited by the heat of conflict, *but were results of a policy deliberately decided upon, and unhesitatingly announced.* Even if the uncertainty of the fate of those officers and men belonging to colored regiments who have heretofore been taken prisoners by the rebels, has failed to convince the authorities of our Government of this fact, the testimony herewith submitted must convince even the most skeptical that it is the intention of the rebel authorities not to recognize the officers and men of our colored regiments as entitled to the treatment accorded by all civilized nations to prisoners of war. The declarations of Forrest and his officers, both before and after the capture of Fort Pillow, as testified to by such of our men as have escaped after being taken by him; the threats contained in the various demands for surrender made at Paducah, Columbus, and other places; *the renewal of the massacre the morning after the capture of Fort Pillow;* the statements made by the rebel officers to the officers of our gunboats who received the few survivors at Fort Pillow; all this proves most conclusively the policy they have determined to adopt. * * *

Forrest then demanded an unconditional surrender (of Paducah), closing his communication to Colonel Hicks in these words: "If you surrender, you shall be treated as prisoners of war. But if I have to storm your works, *you may expect no quarter.*" This demand and threat were met by a refusal on the part of Colonel Hicks to surrender, he stating that he had been placed there by his Government to defend that post, and he should do so. * * * General Buford appeared before Columbus, Kentucky, and demanded its unconditional surrender. He coupled with that demand a threat that if the place was not surrendered, and he should be compelled to attack it, "*no quarter whatever should be shown to negro troops.*" To this, Colonel Lawrence, in command of the fort, replied, that "surrender was out of the question." * * * It was at Fort Pillow, however, that the brutality and cruelty of the rebels were most fearfully exhibited. The garrison there, according to the last returns received at headquarters, amounted to nineteen officers and five hundred and thirty-eight enlisted men, of whom two hundred and sixty-two men were colored troops, comprising one battalion of the Sixth United States heavy artillery, (formerly the First Alabama artillery,) of colored troops, under command of Major J. W. Booth; one section of the Second United States light artillery, colored; and one battalion of the Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry, white, commanded by Major W. F. Bradford. Major Booth was the ranking officer, and was in command of the fort. The Report details several attacks, which were repulsed, in which Major Booth was killed, and then proceeds: "The rebels having thus far failed in their attack, now resorted to their customary flags of truce. * * * *During the time these flags of truce were flying, the rebels were moving down the ravines and taking positions from which the more readily to charge upon the fort. Parties of them were also engaged in plundering the Government buildings and commissary and quartermaster's stores in full view of the gunboat.* Captain Marshall states that he refrained from firing upon the rebels, although they were thus violating the flag of truce, for fear that, should they finally succeed in capturing the fort, they would justify any atrocities they might commit by saying that they were in retaliation for his firing while the flag of truce was flying. * * * Immediately after the second flag of truce retired, the rebels made a rush from the positions they had so treacherously gained, and obtained possession of the fort, raising the cry of 'no quarter.' But little opportunity was allowed for resistance. *Our troops, black and white, threw down their arms,* and sought to escape by running down the steep bluff near the fort, and secreting themselves behind trees and logs, in the bushes, and under the brush, some even jumping into the river, leaving only their heads above the water, as they crouched down under the bank. Then followed a scene of cruelty and

murder without parallel in civilized warfare, which needed but the tomahawk and scalping-knife to exceed the worst atrocities ever committed by savages. *The rebels commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex, white or black, soldier or civilian. The officers and men seemed to vie with each other in the devilish work. Men and women, and even children, wherever found, were deliberately shot down, beaten, and hacked with sabers.* SOME OF THE CHILDREN, NOT MORE THAN TEN YEARS OLD, WERE FORCED TO STAND UP AND FACE THEIR MURDERERS WHILE BEING SHOT. *The sick and wounded were butchered without mercy, the rebels even entering the hospital building and* DRAGGING THEM OUT TO BE SHOT, OR KILLING THEM AS THEY LAY THERE UNABLE TO OFFER THE LEAST RESISTANCE. All over the hill-side the work of murder was going on. Numbers of our men were collected together in lines or groups and deliberately shot. Some were shot while in the river, while others on the bank were shot and their bodies kicked into the water, many of them still living, but unable to make any exertions to save themselves from drowning. *Some of the rebels stood upon the top of the hill, or a short distance down its side, and called to our soldiers to come up to them, and as they approached shot them down in cold blood; if their guns or pistols missed fire, forcing them to stand there until they were again prepared to fire.* All around were heard cries of 'no quarter, no quarter; kill the damned niggers; shoot them down.' All who asked for mercy were answered by the most cruel taunts and sneers. Some were spared for a time, only to be murdered under circumstances of greater cruelty. No cruelty which the most fiendish malignity could devise was omitted by these murderers. *One white soldier who was wounded in one leg so as to be unable to walk, was made to stand up while his tormentors shot him. Others, who were wounded and unable to stand up, were held up and again shot. One negro, who had been ordered by a rebel officer to hold his horse, was killed by him when he remonstrated. Another, a mere child, whom an officer had taken up behind him on his horse, was seen by General Chalmers, who at once ordered the officer to put him down and shoot him, which was done.* The huts and tents in which many of the wounded had sought shelter were set on fire, both that night and the next morning, *while the wounded were still in them;* those only escaping who were able to get themselves out, or who could prevail on others less injured than themselves to help them out, and even some of these thus seeking to escape the flames were met by these ruffians and brutally shot down, or had their brains beaten out. One man was deliberately fastened down to the floor of a tent, face upward, by means of nails driven through his clothing and into the boards under him, so that he could not possibly escape, *and then the tent set on fire; another was nailed to the side of a building outside of the fort,*

and then the building set on fire and burned. The charred remains of five or six bodies were afterward found, all but one so much disfigured and consumed by the flames that they could not be identified, and the identification of that one is not absolutely certain, although there can hardly be a doubt that it was the body of Lieutenant Akerstoom, Quartermaster of the Thirteenth Virginia Cavalry, and a native Tennesseean. Several witnesses who saw the remains, and who were personally acquainted with him while living, have testified that it is their firm belief that it was his body that was thus treated. *These deeds of murder and cruelty closed when night came on, only to be renewed the next morning, when the demons carefully sought among the dead lying about in all directions for any other wounded yet alive, and those they found were deliberately shot.* * * * We (the Committee) found the evidences of this murder and cruelty still, most painfully. * * * Although a great deal of rain had fallen within the preceding two weeks, (previous to the Committee's visit) the ground, more especially on the side and at the foot of the bluff, where most of the murders had been committed, was still discolored by the blood of our brave but unfortunate men, and the logs and trees showed but too plainly the evidences of the atrocities perpetrated there. * * * How many of our troops thus fell victims to the malignity and barbarity of Forrest and his followers, can not yet be definitely ascertained. Two officers belonging to the garrison were absent at the time of the capture and massacre. Of the remaining officers but two are known to be living, and they are wounded, and now in the hospital at Mound City; one of them, Captain Porter, may even now be dead, as the surgeon, when your Committee were there, expressed no hope of his recovery. In reference to the fate of Major Bradford, who was in command of the fort when it was captured, and who had up to that time received no injury, there seems to be no doubt. The general understanding seems to be that he had been brutally murdered the day after he was taken prisoner. *Of the men, from three hundred to four hundred are known to have been killed at Fort Pillow,* OF WHOM AT LEAST THREE HUNDRED WERE MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD *after the fort was in possession of the rebels, and our men had thrown down their arms and ceased to offer resistance.* Of the survivors, except the wounded in the hospital at Mound City, and the few who succeeded in making their escape unhurt, nothing definite is known, and it is to be feared that many have been murdered after being taken away from the fort. When your Committee arrived at Memphis, Tennessee, they found and examined a man, Mr. McLagan, who had been conscripted by some of Forrest's forces, but who, with other conscripts, had succeeded in making his escape. He testifies that while two companies of rebel troops, with Major Bradford and many other prisoners, were on the march from Brownsville to Jackson, Tennessee, Major Brad-

ford was taken by five rebels, one an officer, led about fifty yards from the line of march, *and deliberately murdered, in view of all there assembled.* He fell, killed instantly by three musket balls, even while asking that his life might be spared, as he had fought them manfully and was deserving of a better fate. *The motive for the murder of Major Bradford seems to have been the simple fact, that, although a native of the South, he remained loyal to his Government.* The testimony herewith submitted, contains many statements made by the rebels, *that they did not intend to treat 'home-made Yankees,' as they termed loyal Southerners, any better than negro troops.*"

THE REBEL PRESS AND MR. DAVIS UPON THESE MASSACRES.

When these atrocities became known at Richmond, a portion of the rebel press, apparently receiving their first news of them through the Northern papers, affected to disbelieve them.* Soon afterward, the worst was confirmed by correspondents of the Southern papers who were with the rebel army that committed them.† Another portion of the press at the rebel cap-

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*The Richmond *Enquirer*, of April 30th, says: "The latest United States papers contain the very violent indignation of the Yankees over the *alleged* Fort Pillow 'massacre.'" It also speaks of it as "the 'so-called' massacre at Fort Pillow;" and says: "In this light it will be understood and appreciated as merely another falsehood." Again, it says: "The officer who is charged with the 'so-called' massacre, General Chalmers, was entertained by some Union officers on board the steamer *Platte Valley*. This does not look as if there had been any 'massacre.'" Again: "We have seen no evidence of any 'massacre' whatever."

†The Mobile *Advertiser* has an account of the capture of Fort Pillow, furnished by one of Forrest's men, the General in immediate command of the attacking party. It corroborates the statements of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, as will be seen by a sentence or two: "For ten minutes, death reigned on the fortification and along the river bank. Our troops, maddened by the excitement, shot down the retreating Yankees, and not until they had attained the water's edge and turned to beg for mercy, did any prisoners fall into our hands. Thus the whites received quarter, *but the negroes were shown no mercy.* * * * Our loss is trifling, not exceeding twelve killed, *while the enemy's killed amounted to four hundred, most of them negroes.*" As further confirmation, a correspondent of the *Appeal* (formerly published at Memphis), writing from Okalona, Mississippi, says: "*You have heard that our soldiers buried negroes alive at Fort Pillow. This is true. At the first fire after Forrest's men scaled the walls, many of the negroes* threw down their arms and fell as if they were dead. They perished in the pretense, and could only be restored at the point of the bayonet. To resuscitate some of them, more terrified than the rest, they were rolled into the trenches made as receptacles for the fallen. Vitality was not restored till breathing was obstructed, and then the resurrection began."

ital, two days earlier and therefore more candid than their cotemporaries that had denied them, substantially admits that these barbarities were in *the line of the determined "policy"* of the rebel Government. It cordially *approves* of them, and calls upon their armies to "repeat" them. All this fully warrants and sustains the Committee on the Conduct of the War in declaring that such inhumanities were but the carrying out of a *predetermined plan* adopted by the Arch Traitors at Richmond.*

Mr. Davis, in his message to his Congress, on the 3d of May, recounts the successes of his troops in the West, on Red river, in Louisiana, and in Kentucky *and West Tennessee.* He thus explicitly refers to the scene of Forrest's operations and to his murderous exploits at Paducah, Columbus, and Fort Pillow; regarding the *latter*, especially, as the "victory" on which he congratulates the Congress and the army, for at Paducah Forrest was repulsed and from it he retreated, and upon Columbus he made no attack, although at both places he demanded a surrender of the forts, and threatened, in case of refusal, to show "no quarter." The rebel President thus indorses the Fort Pillow massacre; tacitly, yet none the less really. He calls upon the rebel Congress and the people to rejoice with him over a "victory," which was gained by treachery and followed by a fiendishness which throws the Sepoys at Lucknow into the shade forever; for the atrocities at Fort Pillow were committed by and in the name

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* The Richmond *Examiner*, of April 28th, when speaking of President Lincoln's remarks at the Baltimore Fair, that "retaliation" would be resorted to, says: "The Confederates have succeeded in establishing a raw, 'raw,' 'raw,' on his callous hide. * * * Why does it suddenly become too serious, too cruel? *Simply because we have shown that* WE, AS A PEOPLE, *are heartily tired of a policy*, dictated partly by sentimentality, partly by foolish deference to the good opinion of the world, partly by an official awe at Washington; *a policy* to which we have sacrificed too long the lives of our brave soldiers and *our solemn sense of duty.*" Referring again to Mr. Lincoln's remark, that "retribution shall come," the *Examiner* further says: "And these brave words may mean something, IF WE RECEDE FROM OUR POSITION. They may mean something, if the fortune of war or the mismanagement of our military leaders should give the Yankees an overwhelming advantage in prisoners. REPEAT FORT PILLOW, REPEAT PLYMOUTH, a few times, and we shall bring the Yankees to their senses, and, what is even better, *our government will rise to a proper sense of its position as an organ of a nation*, and no longer act as if it were the junta of a set of revolted provinces."

of a people *claiming* to stand at the highest point of civilization and refinement, the very soul of chivalry and honor; and they were committed upon defenseless men, women, and children, in large part because they were a degraded and an oppressed race to whom the Creator of all had given a black skin! And the people, at the official call, "rejoiced with exceeding great joy." Well—let the record stand; they have written it for themselves, before the eyes of all men.

THE MASSACRES JUSTIFIED—LAW OF NATIONS.

For all acts, men have a reason. The Southern press justify the massacres at Plymouth and Fort Pillow, by appealing to the law of nations and the usages of war.*

Here, it will be perceived, is another Southern testimony to the massacre; an open and public admission of the fundamental proposition on which the Committee on the Conduct of the War furnish the harrowing details. As the object of the *Daily News* is to show the ground of justification, the *fact* of the indiscriminate "slaughter" is only mentioned incidentally; but the admission is full, and without abatement, while the justification goes to the extent of putting to the sword the *whole* of "the mongrel garrison."

The Southern papers are not quite agreed upon what the law

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* The Savannah (Georgia) *Daily News*, of April 25th, in an article entitled, "'Old Abe' on Retaliation," says: "According to the telegraphic report, Old Abe threatens retaliation for the slaughter of his white and black troops at the capture of Fort Pillow. He will hardly retaliate by executing prisoners in his hands; and if he waits until he captures a Confederate garrison by assault, he will find that retaliation in that case is a game that both sides can play at. *According to the usage of war*, when a garrison refuses, upon summons, to surrender, and forces on the investing force the necessity of an *assault*, they incur the consequence of their temerity. In former times, the summons to surrender was accompanied with a threat of putting the garrison to the sword; and if, under such circumstances, the besieged determined to try conclusions, they knew their fate if defeated. In the policy of war, it may become necessary for a General to capture a fortified position, which may be temporarily held by a very inferior force, and who, in assault, might involve the lives of double their number. Under such circumstances, a surrender comes too late for safety, after the works have been carried at the point of the bayonet by infuriated troops. *We believe that Forrest was justified by the usages of civilized war in the signal punishment he visited upon the* MONGREL *garrison of Fort Pillow.* They twice refused to receive his flag demanding a surrender to superior numbers, and, of course took the consequences of their temerity."

of nations authorizes in such cases. The Richmond *Enquirer* says: "Should it become necessary to put a garrison to the sword, *under the laws of war, we should expect the whites to be shot and the negroes to be sold.* A negro at $5,000 is too valuable to be shot."

To settle the question at issue, whether the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, as at Fort Pillow, is justified by the usages of war, or whether these usages justify even the slaying of *soldiers* who have refused to surrender, and a successful assault follows—let us consult a competent and acknowledged authority upon the Law of Nations.

VATTEL ON THE FORT PILLOW MASSACRE.

In Chitty's VATTEL, Ch. xviii, "Of Civil War," this distinguished publicist says:

> It is very evident that the common laws of war—those maxims of humanity, moderation, and honor, which we have already detailed in the course of this work—ought to be observed by both parties in every civil war. For the same reasons which render the observance of those maxims a matter of obligation between State and State, it becomes equally and even more necessary in the unhappy circumstance of two incensed parties lacerating their common country.

According to this authority, whether the ground taken by the United States be correct, that this is a "civil war" and the Southern people "rebels," or that the parties, as the South claims, are "independent nations," the ordinary laws of war must be understood to govern the contest.

In Ch. viii of the same work, "Of the Rights of Nations in War—and first, of what we have a Right to do, and what we are Allowed to do, to the Enemy's Person, in a Just War," it is said:

> But the very manner in which the right to kill our enemies is proved, points out the limits of that right. On an enemy's submitting and laying down his arms, we can not with justice take away his life. Thus, in battle, quarter is to be given to those who lay down their arms; and, in a siege, a garrison offering to capitulate are never to be refused their lives. * * * How could it be conceived in an enlightened age, that it is lawful to punish with death a governor who has defended his town to the last extremity, or who, in a weak place, has had the

courage to hold out against a royal army? In the last century this notion still prevailed; it was looked upon as one of the laws of war, and is not, even at present, totally exploded. What an idea! to punish a brave man for having performed his duty! Very different were the principles of Alexander the Great, when he gave orders for sparing some Milesians, on account of their courage and fidelity. * * * It is in vain to object, that an obstinate defense, especially in a weak place, against a royal army, only causes a fruitless effusion of blood. Such a defense may save the State, by delaying the enemy some days longer; and besides, courage supplies the defects of the fortifications. * * * If it be urged, that, by threatening a commandment with death, you may shorten a bloody siege, spare your troops, and make a valuable saving of time, my answer is, that a brave man will despise your menace, or, incensed by such ignominious treatment, will sell his life as dearly as he can, will bury himself under the ruins of his fort, and make you pay for your injustice. But, whatever advantage you might promise yourself from an unlawful proceeding, that will not warrant you in the use of it. The menace of an unjust punishment is unjust in itself: it is an insult and an injury. But above all, it would be horrible and barbarous to put it in execution; and, if you allow that the threatened consequences must not be realized, the threat is vain and ridiculous. *Just and honorable means may be employed to dissuade a governor from ineffectually persevering to the last extremity:* and such is the present practice of *all prudent and humane generals.* At a proper stage of the business they may summon a governor to surrender; they offer him honorable and advantageous terms of capitulation—accompanied by a threat, that if he delays too long, *he will only be permitted to surrender as a prisoner of war, and at discretion.* If he persists, and is at length forced to surrender at discretion, they may then treat both himself and his troops with all the severity of the law of war. *But that law can never extend so far as to give a right to take away the life of an enemy who lays down his arms, unless he has been guilty of some crime against the conqueror.*

We understand the meaning of the foregoing to be, that the life of a garrison is not forfeited by the laws of war, simply by a heroic resistance to an attack and a persistent refusal to surrender on demand, even though the place may be finally carried by assault. This appears evident from a special and sole exception which the author makes to this otherwise general rule as follows:

There is, however, *one case*, in which we may refuse to spare the life of an enemy who surrenders, or to allow any capitulation to a town reduced

to the last extremity. It is when that enemy has been guilty of some enormous breach of the law of nations, and particularly when he has violated the laws of war. *This refusal of quarter is no natural consequence of the war, but a punishment for his crime*—a punishment which the injured party has a right to inflict. But, in order that it be justly inflicted, *it must fall on the guilty.* * * * He who has even the most just cause to punish a sovereign with whom he is at enmity, will ever incur the *reproach of cruelty*, if he causes the punishment to fall on his *innocent subjects.*

This view of the general rule, given in the former extract above, is confirmed by the views of the London press on the Fort Pillow massacre.*

But we have not yet given, from Vattel, that which *fully* meets the Fort Pillow atrocity. It was not a garrison of *soldiers merely*, that the high-born "Southrons" put to the sword. It was—*men, women, and children, the sick and the wounded.* Hear this great authority again, in the same chapter:

Women, children, feeble old men, and sick persons, come under the description of enemies; and we have certain rights over them, inasmuch as they belong to the nation with whom we are at war, and as, between nation and nation, all rights and pretensions affect the body of the society, together with all its members. But these are enemies who make no resistance; and consequently we have no right to maltreat their persons, or use any violence against them, *much less to take away their lives.* This is so plain a maxim of justice and humanity, that at present every nation, IN THE LEAST DEGREE CIVILIZED, acquiesces in it.

We have now—touching the "usages of war"—arrived at a point of the present case sufficiently exhaustive. The people in rebellion against the Government of the United States claim

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* The London *Daily News* says: "There can be no doubt, that, *under the recognized laws of war*, the Government of the United States is perfectly entitled to visit such an atrocity with *signal retaliation.* It is laid down clearly enough by Vattel, and indeed by every authoritative writer on the subject, that if a hostile general has, without any just reason, caused prisoners to be executed, the Government against which he is fighting may execute an equal number of his people, notifying to him that it will continue thus to retaliate, for the purpose of obliging him *to observe the laws of war.*" As the London journal regards *this case* as a proper one for "retaliation," it of course regards "the laws of war" to have been violated in this massacre.

to be a "nation." We admit, for the moment, their claim. Then, Fort Pillow furnishing the facts, and Vattel the law, they are a "nation" not "in the least degree civilized." There we are willing to leave them.

THE RATIONALE OF THE MASSACRES.

If a solution were sought for these atrocities, perpetrated and justified by a people of so much refinement, intelligence, cultivation, valor, pride, and piety—all which, at least, are qualities claimed by them—it can not so rationally be furnished as by referring it to the monstrous imbrutement which their peculiar views of the system of negro slavery have wrought into the very texture of body and soul; and to the desperation with which the prospect of speedy and final failure to the cause undertaken for its extension and perpetuation has seized them. No other people, we venture to affirm, upon the face of the wide earth, in the year of grace eighteen hundred and sixty-four, having the qualities which have hitherto been accorded to them, could have thus vented their malice upon the innocent and unoffending of a down-trodden race.*

Aristotle defines a *slave* to be "a tool with a soul in it." But it was left for our day to reveal a race of *masters* who are utterly without souls. Their deeds show this lack in their

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* The views we here take are those only which are common to the loyal portion of the people. The *Washington Chronicle*, speaking of these massacres, says: "They must, in any case, prove the baleful influence of the institution of slavery, the devilish passion it gives, and the hatred of freedom with which it inspires the leaders of the rebel army and their followers. Desperation develops their latent ferocity, and they throw aside the thin disguise of spurious chivalry, which for awhile vailed their ingrained brutality. Whatever was in any degree refined or civilized among them has disappeared, and the infernal spirit of the slave-dealer, the inhuman cruelty of the overseer, have come to the surface, have assumed the rein, and, in the last agony of despairing rage, perpetrates crimes which the diabolism of slavery alone could imagine."

The religious press, Protestant and Catholic, takes very much the same view as the secular. The *Catholic Telegraph* says: "The barbarities practiced by the Southern troops on their captives, are not only true, but monstrous in character. The savages on the frontier of Minnesota did nothing more revolting than these chivalrous gentlemen at Fort Pillow. We also hear that the prisoners, returning home from rebel prisons, are reduced by starvation to mere skeletons; and others, owing to the treatment received, are rendered imbecile. No people pretending to Christianity would perpetrate such horrors on their fellow-creatures, if they had not been demoralized by slavery."

nature. It is true that in Greece and Rome the cruelties developed by slavery were dreadful to contemplate. The legal aspect of the system, and the practice under it, show its atrocities to have exceeded what hitherto has commonly occurred under the Southern system; and the ears of the world have been continually dinned with this, as an extenuation of the latter. But that was a pagan era, only emerging into the dawn of Christianity; while this is the age of Gospel light in its meridian brightness. The great men of antiquity, who defended the *system* of slavery, were themselves enslaved by a degrading and brutalizing idolatry; while "our Southern brethren" claim to have arrived at a high degree of Christian knowledge, and have been pointed to as models of all the Christian virtues.

What, then, though in Greece, Euripides "does not experience the most transient emotion at the sight of these unfortunates;" that Aristophanes thinks it a "good jest to show us Charon refusing them his bark;" that old Hesiod "coldly writes that the slave is to the rich what the ox is to the poor;" that the cultivated Epictetus, once himself a slave, remains "almost insensible to the ills of his fellows;" and what though, in Rome, the great Cato compares his aged slaves "to the worn-out cattle in his stable," and Plautus regards them as "a race good for chains" only; what if all this was asserted by these men, and like sentiments, or even worse, were entertained by other great men of those times, and their practices accorded with them? These men were in that condition described by Paul in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans—"professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts and creeping things; who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed forever."

But "our Southern brethren" are not *such* idolaters. They have, it is true, in a very palpable sense, "worshiped" slavery; determined to build a government upon it as a "corner-stone;" declared it their great "providential trust" to "conserve and extend" it; "changed the truth of God into a lie" to convince the world that God smiled upon their efforts, that they were

acting according to His Word, and that they were special executors of His will. But all this they have done in spite of the full blaze of a Revelation from heaven; in the face of an otherwise universal sentiment of Christendom; in the light of the nineteenth century of the Christian era; and when the power of the same Gospel under which they live has broken the shackles of the slave in every other country where it has been planted and sustained.

It may be that "our Southern brethren" are right, and all the world are wrong; that they, "professing themselves to be wise," *are* "wise," and the rest of mankind are "fools;" and that the result of their present schemes will be the demonstration of this. But we are of the opinion that the present movements of God's providence in this land will overwhelm these conspirators against human freedom, and remove slavery from it for evermore. The very barbarities which they practice, and their highest authorities defend, as a means of executing their "divine mission," will but hasten the long-desired consummation.

We do not charge upon the Southern Church the sanction of these cruelties, practiced upon the innocent of a down-trodden race by their military and civil rulers. We have, as yet, no means of knowing how they would be regarded by the religious press or religious bodies of the South. But the past may guide us in forming a judgment. If they speak at all, we expect to find these atrocities justified. We may be mistaken, but we think the events will reveal that we are not. The action of religious bodies and distinguished religious men, already known to the world, is one of the grounds of our expectation.

In April, 1863, various denominations of Christians at the South, including Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, German Reformed, and some other smaller bodies, published "An Address to Christians throughout the World," upon the whole subject of the war. They regard the Union as past being restored, and the "Confederate Government" permanently established. They speak of the Emancipation Proclamation of the President as a "mere political document," and take the view which Southern politicians and their Northern sympathizers have often done, that it will have

no practical effect, that it is a mere "brutum fulmen." But they tell the world what they will do in certain contingencies; they intimate a possible universal slaughter of the black race in their midst; "make it absolutely necessary," says the Address, "for the public safety, that the slaves be slaughtered, and he who should write the history of that event, would record the darkest chapter of human woe yet written." These several denominations of Christians, through this Address, commend the Christian character of their rulers, generals, soldiers, and people; and they make the Rebel Chief—the man who in his message to their Congress rejoiced over the victory at Fort Pillow—the type of that exalted piety which they display to the admiration of "Christians throughout the World."

Art V.—*Abraham's Position in Sacred History.*

About two thousand years after the creation of the human race, and two thousand before the incarnation of its Redeemer, a Shemite family left Ur of the Chaldees, in the region beyond the Euphrates, and removed to Haran. The head of the family was Terah. He took with him Abram, his youngest son; Sarah, Abram's wife; and Lot, his grandson, whose father, Haran, Terah's eldest son, was dead. The occasion of this migration was the command of God, requiring Abram to leave his country and his kindred, and go to another land (Acts vii: 3). Although this command was addressed to Abram, yet Terah, true to the instincts of an aged father, undertook the journey with his son. The party remained at Haran until the death of Terah; when Abram, now the patriarch of the family, took with him "Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan," (Gen. xii: 5).

In this incident mention is made, for the first time, of the most illustrious name in Old Testament history. The prominence given to Abraham in the Scriptures appears in a variety

of forms: in the space appropriated to his biography, in the frequent recurrence of his name throughout the Sacred Volume, in the titles of honor applied to him, and in the position assigned to him in the genealogical registers. The history of the world, for the first two thousand years, is condensed into eleven chapters of the book of Genesis, but the personal history of Abraham is spread over fourteen chapters of the same book; and, besides, all the following Scriptures are occupied in unfolding the divine purposes, the rudiments of which were revealed to the patriarch. Next, the name of Adam occurs eleven times in both Testaments; the name of Noah twenty times; but that of Abraham may be found in as many as one hundred and twenty places—these places being distributed, not unequally, throughout the entire volume. Terms of the highest reverence also are applied to him. "Ab," is equivalent to Father; "Ab-ram," to high Father, and "Abra-ham," to Father of many nations (Gen. xvii: 5). He is called the "friend of God," by historian, prophet and apostle (2 Chron. xx: 7; Isaiah xli: 8; James ii: 23). Paul styles him, "our father Abraham," "the father of all them that believe," and "faithful Abraham;" and Christ employs the expression, "Abraham's bosom," as an equivalent for the heavenly rest. Again: the tables of genealogy and chronology, which occur in the antecedent history, terminate in this patriarch; and the tables, which follow in Moses, in the Chronicles and in Matthew, take their departure from his name, make their way through the ages to David, and through David and his royal line to Christ. Not less significant, moreover, is the position accorded to the patriarch in the written history and unwritten traditions of the Oriental races. The cheeks of the Jews mantled with pride when they exclaimed, "We have Abraham to our father!" According to Josephus, he is reverenced by the Chaldeans as their teacher in monotheism; and by the Egyptians, as their teacher in mathematics and astronomy. Nicolaus, the historian of Syria, ascribes to him the conquest of Damascus, accomplished when on his journey from Chaldea to Canaan.* The Koran abounds in tributes of respect to his memory and in traditions of his piety and wisdom. He is known among the

* Josephus, *Ant.* i, ch. vii, § 7, 8.

Arabs, to this day, as "El Khalil," "The Friend," i. e. of God. The natives of Orfa, a town which claims to be the ancient Ur of the Chaldees, still repeat his story; and, among the cypresses which shade the sacred pool of Callirhoe, the Beautiful Spring, they point to the spot, where, as they say, he offered his first prayer to the living God.* Hebron, in Palestine, to this day bears the name of El Khalil in honor of Abraham; and the inhabitants show not only his tomb but the venerable oak, Sindian, under which, as they believe, he pitched his tent.

Now, the celebrity of Abraham is wholly due to his position in Biblical history, or to the part which was assigned to him in the historical evolution of the plan of salvation. In order to a proper appreciation of his true position, it is necessary to advert to the religious condition of mankind at the period of his migration. The time that elapsed between the flood and the birth of Abraham is computed at about three hundred and sixty-five years. The population of the earth at this period is purely a matter of conjecture. Professor C. F. Keil entertains his readers with two calculations; in one of these he assumes an average of eight children, and in the other of ten children, to a marriage. The first calculation terminates in a sum total of twenty-five millions of souls; the second, in a sum total of two hundred and ninety millions, as the population of the globe at the call of Abram.† The patriarchs of the world after the flood were still living. Noah died shortly before or shortly after the birth of Abraham; but Shem lived until Abraham was far advanced in life, and until Isaac had reached early manhood. The human race, as a whole, had long since forgotten God. In the Messianic prophecy, uttered by Noah, it was declared that salvation should come to man through the line of Shem (Gen. ix: 26). But, in the days of Peleg, a general apostasy occurred, taking the form of an attempt, in which the whole race, the posterity of Shem included, were joined together to set up a godless empire, having its capital city on the plains of Shinar. The Almighty crushed the conspiracy by confounding their languages; and, as the effect of that measure, scattering the people abroad over the whole earth. Neither the confusion of tongues, nor the dispersion of man-

* Stanley's Jewish Church, p. 7.
† Keil and Delitzch, Vol. i, p. 178.

kind, served to hold in check the prevailing ungodliness. Many tongues there were, many nations, many lands; but one heart was in all men—and that was desperately wicked. The Pentateuch does not describe the religious condition of the nations descending from Ham and Japheth; but there is no reason to suppose that they were better than the descendants of Shem; and the descendants of Shem, although Shem himself was still living and the Messianic promise was in his line, had become idolaters. This fact is fully established by the message which God sent to the Hebrews soon after the conquest of Canaan: "And Joshua said unto all the people, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor; and they served other gods" (Josh. xxiv: 2. Comp. v. 14). Chaldea was, according to the commonly received opinion, the cradle of idolatry, if not its native land. In the time of Jeremiah, fifteen hundred years later, Chaldea was notorious for its pagan worship. "It is a land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols" (Jer. l: 38. Comp. l: 2; li: 47, 52). It may be assumed, therefore, that at the birth of Abraham, the human race was in a state of total apostasy. The promise of God, in the first Gospel, that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, and His promise, through Noah, that salvation should come to mankind in the family of Shem, demanded the adoption of measures to arrest the universal ungodliness, and to establish, upon sure foundations, the kingdom of God among men. These measures began with the calling of Abraham. Now, in the degeneracy of mankind, and in the peculiar plan upon which it pleased God to unfold the work of redemption, the true place of Abraham in sacred history is to be sought.

Five factors entered into his historical position. First, in him was commenced a new era or dispensation of the kingdom of God on earth. The term *Universalism* has been employed to describe what was peculiar in the previous administration of that kingdom. In the foregoing ages the word of revelation, the worship of God, and the care of the sanctuary were committed to the keeping of the human family as a whole. No special relation had been established between God and a favored race. There was in existence no chosen people, in the bosom

of which the kingdom of the saints was established, no sacerdotal order whose exclusive prerogative it was to offer gifts and sacrifices to God. Throughout the three groups of nations descending from Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the knowledge of divine truth was not unequally diffused, and the worship of God perpetuated by here and there a patriarchal priest. Shem had received the promise, but the most of his descendants were idolatrous. The curse had been pronounced on Canaan, yet his posterity had not wholly forgotten Jehovah; for Melchisedek, a priest of the most high God, was a Canaanite. But with Abraham a new era was introduced, the characteristic of which has been denominated *Particularism*. In him a chosen individual, in his immediate posterity a chosen family, and in his more remote descendants a chosen people emerged from the mass of mankind. To them only were intrusted the word of revelation, a true sanctuary, a consecrated priesthood, and an acceptable worship. The seed of Abraham became unto God a peculiar treasure above all people, a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (Ex. xix: 5, 6). The rest of mankind, including all the nations descending from Japheth and Ham and all the nations descending from Shem, the Abrahamic stock excepted, experienced a silent rejection for their ungodliness and idolatry. The end of this arrangement, however, was the redemption of the whole human race. The universal gave place for a time, to the particular; but the particular was intended to terminate in the universal. One man and his posterity were selected to receive the blessing, but they were to be the channels through which the blessing was to flow unto all nations.

Secondly, he became the progenitor and founder of a new and remarkable race. The most important branch of his posterity were called Hebrews, a term which points, according to some of the learned, to Eber, one of Abraham's ancestors, or, as others maintain, to the fact that he crossed the river Euphrates on his journey to Canaan. After the time of the Judges they were known as the children of Israel or Israelites, or simply Israel. At the secession of the Ten Tribes the remnant took the name of Jews, from the tribe of Judah. But although they never bore the name of Abraham, as a patronymic, they were so far true to their history as to refer to Abraham as their progenitor, and to begin their national genealogies with his

name. The unique and conspicuous position occupied by the Jews in all the ages and in every country, their place in the history of every historical race in ancient and modern times, above all the part assigned to them in the development of salvation and the wonderful career of this people in the progress of which that plan of mercy was evolved, all point back to Abraham as one of the most renowned of the renowned few who have founded great nationalities.

Thirdly. His relation to the covenant of circumcision, as the human party contractor, was another element entering into his public position. The biography of the patriarch turns upon the giving of the covenant as the most decisive event of his life, and this instrument became the primal organic law of the institutions of Judaism and Christianity. Very grave questions have arisen touching the nature, extent, and permanency of the Abrahamic covenant, very wide differences of opinion exist as to the proper interpretation of its promises and stipulations, and as to the uses and significance of its seal; yet it will not be denied that the covenant itself is one of the most, if not the very most important document, of its kind, recorded in the biblical history.

Fourthly. In Abraham the Church of God received its first organization. The church had existed through all the ages, even from the utterance of the first Gospel in the curse pronounced on the serpent; but it existed in the persons of its individual members, scattered abroad; it was made manifest in the observance of the holy Sabbath and in the ordinance of sacrifice, as that was solemnized by here and there a true worshiper like Abel, Noah, and Melchisedek; or it was made known in the word of life revealed unto it and published by here and there a preacher of righteousness like Enoch and Noah. But as an organized society it did not exist until it was established in the family of Abraham. As the light was on the first day created and not until the fourth day gathered upon the disc of the sun, so the church was at first made visible in the persons and holy worship of the saints scattered abroad, and then, at the end of two thousand years, these were assembled and constituted into a separate community—the household of faith.

Fifthly. The Scriptures do not hesitate to speak of Abraham as, in a spiritual sense, the father of all true believers. He is

called "the father of all them that believe" (Rom. iv: 11). Gentile converts are repeatedly described as his children (Rom. iv: 12; Gal. iii: 29). And the promise made to him that he should be the father of many nations, is explained by Paul in the same spiritual and comprehensive sense (Gen. xvii: 5; Rom. iv: 16, 17). True believers, though they be Gentiles, are the real Israel of God, the acknowledged children of Abraham, and, as children, heirs to all the covenant promises that remain to be fulfilled.

The historical position of Abraham supplies the point of view from which his biography is to be examined. The problem actually solved, by the providence and grace of God, may be stated thus: A man was raised up, in a period of almost total apostasy, in whom a nature was formed answerable to the dispensation of saving mercy that was introduced in his person, to the mission and career of the race that took its origin from himself, to the covenant in which he became a party with the Almighty, to the Church of God that was organized, for the first time in his family, and to the whole body of the redeemed on earth, of whom he was reckoned to be the father. Any biographical sketch of the patriarch or any commentary on his life and times, will be wholly insufficient which does not rightly estimate his place in biblical history, and which does not, also, reproduce those features in his character and those incidents in his life which correspond to his exalted and peculiar position. He was not a statesman, or lawgiver, or soldier; he was not the founder of a new world-power or of a dynasty of kings; but he was the representative and type of the visible kingdom of God on earth.

The opening paragraph of the inspired biography of Abraham furnishes the clue to the real tenor of the narrative: "Now the LORD had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee: and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xii: 1-3). It will be observed that these words contain in both form and substance a divine communication to Abram. This circumstance exhibits the first

characteristic in his personal history: it was, more than that of any other patriarch, a series of divine revelations. The contents of these communications are to be examined hereafter. Nothing more is needful, just here, than to point out the fact that an abundance of revelations was made to him, and that these enter largely into what was peculiar in his career. He who denies the possibility of a special revelation from God, or admitting its possibility, denies that any such communication has been made to mankind, can not proceed a step in this inquiry. The biography of Abraham contains either a series of veritable revelations or of insignificant legends.

The narrative is so constructed, secondly, as to explain the nature of his vocation and its attending circumstances. "The LORD had said unto him, Get thee out of thy country," etc. (Gen. xii: 1. Compare Acts vii: 2-3). His journey was undertaken at the command of God. He was not, as some writers have assumed, a Bedouin sheik, leaving the crowded pastures and exhausted water-springs of Chaldea and wandering with his flocks as far as Canaan, in search of wider fields and more redundant fountains; nor was he drawn away from home by the love of adventure or by the impulses of a roving disposition; he was not a fugitive from justice or oppression, nor a refugee from the ruins of a falling kingdom or from the terrors of civil war. His vocation was undoubtedly divine. Not only the call itself, as supernatural, is determined by the record, but its circumstantials are explained. One of the most important of these, is the fact that the divine choice fell upon the line of Shem. According to the terms of the second Messianic prophecy, as it was uttered by Noah, the blessing promised in the first gospel, even a holy seed, was to be revealed in the posterity of Shem (Gen. ix: 26). The genealogical table in the eleventh chapter of Genesis traces the lineage of Shem through eight generations down to Terah and Abram his son; which completes that part of the case. Next; the people out of which Abram was taken were idolaters (Josh. xxiv: 2). That Terah served other gods is distinctly stated. Whether Abram was himself an idolater is, perhaps, an open question. But even if he had escaped the contagion, the fact that his immediate family had reached that stage of iniquity, lends much significance to the circumstance that he was chosen and called out of

the world unto the service of God. Once more: This vocation was sovereign. Why Abram was chosen rather than Terah his father, or Nahor his brother, or Lot his nephew, or any other individual in the line of Shem, does not appear. If, as it seems to be established, he was the youngest son of Terah, the election did not follow the law of primogeniture.*

If, in early life, he served other gods, there was no reason in his religion why he should be taken out of the mass of the Chaldeans; if he was from his youth up a worshiper of the true God, his piety was a divine gift, and as such was not the procuring cause of his vocation. His moral qualities, such as his generosity, courage and hospitality, were of a high order. His obedience and faith were every way remarkable; yet these also were the gifts of God. They do not explain his vocation. They were the fruits, not the roots thereof. Their existence in him is to be accounted for by the fact that he had been chosen and foreordained of God unto his exalted position, and these virtues had been imparted to him as qualifications for the work set before him. His vocation was sovereign in the general sense that he was called for reasons not revealed, and in the more rigid sense of an act of sovereignty, in that he was called for reasons which were not in him but in God.

The opening paragraph of the narrative indicates a third characteristic of Abraham's career—his colonization. The com-

* The names of Terah's sons are arranged in the following order: Abram, Nahor, Haran (Gen. xi: 27). This arrangement is not decisive of their relative ages, but may have been designed to indicate their relative importance in the history. Terah became a parent at 70 years of age (xi: 26); he died at Haran, aged 205, when his eldest son, if living, was 135 (xi: 32). But Abram went to Canaan after the death of Terah, and was at that time 75 (Acts vii: 4; Gen. xii: 4): showing that Abram was not the oldest son by 65 years, and that Terah was 130 years old at the birth of Abram. But if that be true, why did Abram think it strange that he himself should become a father at 100? (Gen. xvii: 17. Comp. Rom. iv: 19). The Samaritan Pentateuch escapes the difficulty by putting the age of Terah when he died, at 145; but this reading is not sustained by any of the ancient versions. The best explanation is, perhaps, that Abram at 100 knew himself to be prematurely old; an explanation which is suggested by the fact that after the death of Sarah, at which time he was 137, six sons were born to him in his marriage with Keturah (Gen. xvii: 17; xxiii: 1; xxiv: 67; xxv: 1-2). Haran, who died in Ur, was probably the oldest son; for Nahor married his daughter, and if, as the Jews assert, Iscah was another name for Sarah, Abram also married a daughter of Haran (xi: 29). Comp., however, xx: 12.

mand required him to leave his country and to go to a land that God would show him (Gen. xii : 1). It is to be borne in mind that the original call was addressed to Abram, not after he reached Haran, as some have held, but before he left his native place in Ur of the Chaldees. This fact is to be deduced from the terms of the call; it required him to leave his *country*, a command which would have been superfluous if he had already migrated from Chaldea. It is confirmed by what God afterward said to him: "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xv : 7). It is established by the testimony of Stephen: "The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into a land that I will show thee" (Acts vii : 3). There is a wide difference between the two methods according to which the dispersions of mankind have proceeded. The first is a process of colonization, whereby a certain number of families expatriate themselves forever and remove to a distant land, crossing a continent or a sea in a movable column, as birds of the air migrate from land to land. The second and more common method is a process of natural expansion, whereby mankind when they multiply, enlarge gradually the bounds of their habitations and spread abroad like a sea with its shores taken away. The early settlements effected nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, on the eastern edge of this continent, furnish a fine example of colonization; the progressive occupancy of its vast interior is a remarkable example of natural expansion. Now the enterprise of colonization which has made so large a figure in the history of the Japhetic races and the Phenician branch of the family of Ham, has been almost wholly foreign to the habits and traditions of the Shemitic tribes. The Chaldean shepherds, guided by the stars, led their flocks over wide ranges of hunting grounds; and their warriors, impelled by the lust of plunder or revenge, carried their arms, even before the call of Abraham, as far as Southern Palestine. But the wanderings of the shepherds and the raids of the Bedouin robbers terminated at the point of departure—the tents of the women and children. Their habitual inertness and contentment, their virtues, such as they were, and their vices, too, rooted them to their native regions. Now

Abraham was required to abandon all these traditions, to quit forever his country and to emigrate to another land. With colonization its usual concomitants came to him and to his posterity—new forms of government, new usages, new habits of life, a new type of civilization, and what was peculiar in their experience, a new religion.

Closely allied to the process of colonization was a fourth element in the plan of life prescribed to the patriarch: the process of segregation. He was directed to separate himself not only from his country, but from his kindred, and from his father's house (Gen. xii: 1). At his departure from Ur of the Chaldees, he took with him none of his family except his wife, his father, Lot his nephew, and Lot's wife; and thus he was parted from the great body of his kindred. He sojourned at Haran, a city several days' journey north of Canaan, until the death of Terah, his father, severed the last link that bound him to his ancestry (Acts vii: 4). After his arrival in Palestine, a difficulty which arose among the herdsmen led to the final separation of Lot from the chosen family. The isolation of Abram was now complete; he and Sarah, his wife, with their servants, were alone in the land. Not only so, but his wandering life, bringing him successively to Sichem, to Bethel, to Hebron, to Egypt, to Gerar, to Beersheba, and back to Hebron, precluded the possibility of his becoming identified with the people who held the promised land. Further, the difficulties in which he became involved with Pharaoh and Abimilech prevented his affiliation with the Egyptians and the Philistines, and banished him from those countries. And, further yet, when he went into the land of Canaan he had no children, and was, therefore, cut off from alliance, by intermarriage, with the aborigines. Then, finally, Ishmael, as soon as he was grown, was separated from the chosen family and dwelt in the desert; and the children of Abraham's last wife, Keturah, were sent away "eastward into the east country." Nothing is more remarkable in the dealings of God with the patriarch than the rigor with which the law of segregation was applied to his immediate family.

The Almighty, having given these commands to Abraham, proceeds to bestow upon him a series of promises. These promises shaped and colored the course of his life. "I will

make of thee," said Jehovah, "a great nation." He entered the land of Canaan without a child and without expectation of offspring. At his death he left behind him, in his son Isaac, the germ of David's kingdom in all its glory and power; in Ishmael, the progenitor of twelve princes, and of as many powerful Bedouin tribes; and in the seven sons of Keturah, the ancestors of the vast and warlike populations of Arabia. And, yet more, Abraham left behind him the beginnings of a "nation" greater than all these combined, to wit, his spiritual seed, the whole body of the redeemed (Gal. iii: 29).

Then followed the words: "I will bless thee." The sacred writer shows, in many particulars, how this promise was fulfilled. The wealth of Abraham increased; "he was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold" (xiii: 2). The servants born in his house multiplied until they furnished him with a band of three hundred and eighteen fighting men (xiv: 14). He routed the armies of the confederate kings from the East, who invaded Palestine, put them to flight, chased them from the valley of the salt-sea, through the whole length of the country, as far north as Hobah, "which is on the left of Damascus," and rescued his nephew Lot, and the goods, the women, and the prisoners from the hands of the marauders (xiv: 13, 16). And as the richest of his temporal blessings, God gave to him a son in his marriage with Sarah, and spared the boy when bound upon the altar. Length of days is commonly considered an inestimable blessing. This Abraham enjoyed, for he lived to a good old age, even to a hundred and seventy-five years.

Another element in this benediction is thus described: "I will make thy name great." The renown of Abraham, first in his own day, among his own kindred, and throughout the East, and then by means of the circulation of the Scriptures, through all the ages, among all kindreds of the earth, and throughout all lands under heaven, has given to this promise its largest fulfillment. Nothing can exceed the honors which Jew, Mohammedan, and Christian, at war in almost every other sentiment, unite in paying to the far-famed, illustrious, and imperishable memory of Abraham.

Not only so, but the Almighty declared that he would regulate the destiny of other men according to the attitude they should assume toward his chosen one. He said: "I will bless

them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee." Calvin finds in these words an extraordinary manifestation of the kindness of God, "in that he familiarly makes a covenant with Abraham, as men are wont to do with their companions and equals. For this is the accustomed form of covenants between kings and others, that they mutually promise to have the same friends and enemies."* The promise, moreover, indicates a leading feature in the biography of the patriarch. God did, in point of fact, bless the friends and curse the enemies of his servant. When Abraham went to Egypt, Pharaoh took Sarah from her husband, intending, doubtless, to shut her up in his harem. Jehovah sent great plagues upon the king and upon his house on account of Sarah; so that Pharaoh gave her back to her husband (xii: 14–20). Several years afterward, Abimilech, a Philistine chief, offered to Abram and Sarah a similar indignity. Jehovah warned the Philistine of the crime he was about to commit, and threatened him with instant death. The warning was effectual, and Sarah was again restored unharmed to Abraham (chap. xx). The life of the patriarch was full of honors and blessings. All his affairs, even his sorest trials, received a joyous issue. Toward the close of the narrative the sacred writer sums it all up in terms responsive to the original promise: "Abraham was old and well stricken in age; and the LORD had blessed Abraham in all things" (Gen. xxiv: 1).

The concluding consummate blessing is thus described: "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." The Apostle Paul declares, in terms, that the true intent and meaning of this promise is the salvation of the heathen by the Gospel. "And the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the Gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed" (Gal. iii: 8. Comp. Rom. iv: 16, 17). It is also a favorite opinion with some of the best interpreters, that the expression "all families of the earth" should be read "all families of *the ground*;" that the word *families* points to the division of the one family into many at the confusion of tongues (Gen. x: 5, 20, 31); and the word *ground* points to the curse pronounced on the ground

* Calvin on Gen. xii: 3.

(chap. iii: 17). The conclusion, according to Keil, is, that "the blessing of Abraham was once more to unite the divided families, and change the curse, pronounced upon the ground on account of sin, into a blessing for the whole human race. This concluding word of God to the patriarch comprehends all nations and times, and condenses, as Baumgarten has said, the fullness of the divine counsel for the salvation of all men in the call of Abram. All further promises, therefore, not only to the patriarchs, but also to Israel, were merely expansions and closer definitions of the salvation held out to the whole human race in the promise to our first parents."* This glorious promise was repeatedly renewed. At the destruction of Sodom, the Almighty assigned, as a reason for admitting Abraham into His secret counsels, the fact that "all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him" (xviii: 18). After the sacrifice of Isaac, Jehovah said to him, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." Here a new and further revelation was made, even the assurance that all nations should be blessed in the seed of Abraham, and not in Abraham severally, according to the terms used in chap. xii: 3. But the seed of Abraham is Christ, according to the interpretation put upon the promise by the Apostle Paul. "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ" (Gal. iii: 16). The same promise was afterward renewed to Isaac (Gen. xxvi: 3, 4); and again to Jacob, both on his flight from Canaan and on his return thither (Gen. xxviii: 14; xxxv: 11). All the promises made to Abraham, to the patriarchs who came after him, and to the Hebrew nation, and all the blessings bestowed upon them all in their generations culminate in this—the exceeding great and precious promise of a Saviour. In the form in which it was delivered to Abraham, on the occasion of his original call, it is commonly styled the Third Messianic Promise; the first having been given to Adam, the first father of the race; the next to Noah, the second father of the race; and the third to Abraham, the father of the faithful. This promise imparts to the biography of Abraham, to the covenant made with him, to the subsequent cove-

* Keil and Delitzch's Penta, i: 193, 194.

nants, to the law and the prophets, to all the Scriptures of the Old Testament and the New, to the life and death of Christ, to the Pentecost of the Jews and the Pentecost of the Gentiles, to the labors of the apostles, to the testimony of the martyrs and confessors, and to all human history, their true significance and final end.

It has been already stated that the career of Abraham was distinguished by the number and importance of the divine revelations which he received. Before examining their contents it is necessary to consider the medium through which they were communicated, their subject-matter, their central mass, the form in which they were delivered, the elements which enter into the record made of them, and the progressive development of their leading ideas.

The term Theophany describes the medium through which the revelations were communicated to Abraham. This term is derived from the Greek (*θεωφανεια*), and is applied to the visible manifestations of Jehovah, the actual appearance of the God of glory to the senses of men. He revealed his will to the earlier patriarchs by immediate inward communications; although, it must be acknowledged, that the expressions "The Lord God called unto Adam," "God spake unto Noah," etc., might be taken in the more literal sense of an audible address. But without debating that question, it is to be received as indubitable, that the Almighty appeared openly and spoke audibly to Abraham, and to multitudes of his descendants in their generations. The manifestation occurred sometimes in supernatural visions, sometimes in dreams, and at other times to the external senses, when Jehovah assumed a bodily form. Moses wrote: "The word of Jehovah came unto Abraham in a vision;" "And Jehovah appeared unto him in the plains of Mamre" (Gen. xv: 1; xviii: 1). Stephen said: "The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia" (Acts vii: 2).* The theophany is, therefore, a leading feature of the Abrahamic history; and many of the learned treat the period as the opening of the theophanic era, an era

* The term for "appeared" is *ωφθη*. Compare Acts ii: 3. "And there *appeared* [*ωφθησαν*] unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them." The phenomenon was, in both cases, doubtless visible.

which culminated when Jehovah went before the Hebrews, through the wilderness, in the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire, and which, perhaps, was not finally closed until the apostolical age. The divine manifestations granted to Abraham were ten in number. They occurred in the following order: I. In Mesopotamia, Acts vii: 2. II. At Sichem, Gen. xii: 7. III. At Bethel, xiii: 14. IV–VIII. At Mamre, xv: 1; xvii: 1; xviii: 1; xxi: 12; xxii: 1. IX and X. At Mt. Moriah, xxii: 11, 15.

The subject-matter of these ten theophanic revelations lies upon their surface. The two ideas, which are most prominent in the entire series, are the Promised Land and the Promised Seed. God gave the assurance to Abraham that he should be the father of a great nation, even of many nations; and the further assurance that his posterity should occupy, as their own rightful inheritance, the land of Canaan. Six of the ten revelations contain the promise both of the seed and of the land; the remaining four are restricted to the one transcendent blessing of a vast posterity.

It is evident, also, that the central mass of all these revelations, and of all the incidents which enter into the life of Abraham, is the covenant of circumcision. This covenant was concluded between the Almighty and the patriarch in two stages; it was begun in the fourth theophany and finished, several years afterward, in the fifth. The leading idea of this instrument in its first stage is, clearly, the Promised Land, and in the second the Promised Seed. To this covenant all that precedes is preparatory and all that follows is supplementary. The whole weight and stress of the narrative rests on this central ground-work. Many promises had been made to Abraham; but these are all repeated in terms or by implication in the body of the covenant. Many providential events had attended or controlled his career in life; these are all explained in the covenant. It sums up and reduces into one body, and broadly unfolds all the revelations which before, even from the days of Adam, had been given to mankind; and it contains the elements of every spiritual blessing which has, through all ages since the time of Abraham, even unto this day, been disclosed to the faith of the believer.

The form in which these revelations were communicated fol-

lowed the analogy of the other holy oracles. It has pleased God to make known his will through the word, not by a single revelation, complete in all its parts, but through a series of successive revelations. He gave the Scriptures, not at one time, by one man in one volume; but at different times, running through a period of two thousand years, by thirty or forty inspired penmen, and in as many as sixty-six different books. "God at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets" (Heb. i: 1). This law of inspiration governed the commands and promises which were addressed to Abraham; they were communicated not all at once, but in nine distinct portions, at eight different times, and in five different places. The period within which these revelations were given may be estimated at fifty years. Abraham was seventy-five years of age when he entered the land of Canaan (Gen. xii: 4); eighty-six at the birth of Ishmael (xvi: 16); one hundred at the birth of Isaac (xxi: 5); one hundred and thirty-seven when Sarah died (xxiii: 1; xvii: 17); and one hundred and seventy-five at his own death (xxv: 7). The age of Isaac at the time of his sacrifice is not recorded; but on supposition that he was then twenty-five years of age, it will follow that not less than fifty years elapsed between the first theophany at Ur and the tenth and last on Mt. Moriah.

It is to be observed, still further, that two distinct elements enter into the structure of the history. One of these is a series of specific revelations, and the other is a running narrative of the events in the life of Abraham, by which the revelations are connected and explained. The covenant-promises are neither wrought into one consecutive whole, nor are they left in detached and insulated fragments. In their nature they are divers not diverse, and in form not disparate but linked together by the record of facts. The plan of the history combines both its two constituent elements in one coherent narrative. The intervals between some of the theophanies extend through several years, but they are filled up with incidents which elucidate the promises and commands of Jehovah. At the beginning God made known his purpose to bless the friends and afflict the enemies of the patriarch; and the subsequent history shows how this purpose was executed on Pharaoh, on Melchisedek, on Abimilech, on Lot, on the confederate kings.

The divine word calling Abram out of the mass of mankind is fully explicated by the divine providence which separated him from his country and his kindred, and his father, and his son Ishmael, and his six sons, the offspring of Keturah, and from all the heathen. The promise of a country is expounded by the record which is made of his sojourn in Canaan, and by the altars and wells, the grove and the burying-place which he left in the land as the monuments of his title to the inheritance. The repeated promises which God made to him respecting his posterity are recorded; so also are the successive stages in his personal history which terminated in the birth of Isaac. Through the entire narrative the sacred writer holds the reader closely to the connection which God established between his revelations to Abraham and his dealings with him. Every word of promise, and every word of command uttered by Jehovah, stand related to some corresponding act of faith or act of obedience performed by the patriarch.

The progressive development of the covenant promises ought also to be noted. It may be clearly traced in the revelations respecting the land of promise, the seed of promise, and the assurances which God gave of his faithfulness to his engagements.

At Ur, in the first theophany, God said to Abraham: "Get thee out of thy country .... to a land that I will show thee" (Gen. xii: 1). The patriarch "went out not knowing whither he went" (Heb. xi: 8); being left in ignorance as to the name and character of the country to which he was traveling. On his arrival at Sichem, God announced to him, in the second theophany, that he had at last reached the land of promise: "Unto thy seed will I give this land" (Gen. xii: 7). He added nothing, however, defining the extent of the inheritance. At a later period the patriarch ascended "the mountain east of Bethel," where he had "builded an altar unto the Lord" (xii: 8). The view from this height commanded to the north the hills which separate Judea from the fertile plain of Samaria, with glimpses through their valleys of the intrenched cities of the Canaanites; to the south the mountains which were round about the site of Jerusalem and the more distant ranges of Hebron met the vision; to the west rolled the waters of the great sea; while to the east the valley of the Jordan,

laden with tropical luxuriance and fragrant with aromatic shrubs, the long ravine, rich with verdure, and fruits, and stately cedars, winding from Bethel to the Jordan, and beyond the Jordan the dim outline of Moab, graved themselves upon the picture.* Here in this mountain the LORD appeared the third time to Abraham, and said: "Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever" (Gen. xiii: 14, 15). The Lord said more than this; for he added: "Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee" (verse 17). This wide domain was still further enlarged beyond the spheres of both his vision and his journeys. At Mamre, in the fourth theophany, God granted to his seed the whole vast region "from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates" (xv: 18). And then, in the fifth theophany, the imperial gift was made perpetual: "I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession" (xvii: 8). And, finally, the Almighty endowed his servant with an eternal inheritance in "a better country, even an heavenly," of which the earthly Canaan was only a type. "For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God" (Heb. xi: 10).

This law of progressive development appears in the revelations concerning the chosen seed. Respecting their numbers God said at Ur (Gen. xii: 2): "I will make of thee a great nation;" afterward at Bethel (xiii: 16): "I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth;" at Mamre (xv: 5): as the stars in heaven "so shall thy seed be;" and at Moriah (xxii: 17): "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore." More remarkable still was the gradual disclosures to the patriarch in regard to the legitimacy of the promised seed. At Ur the word of God was: "I will make of thee a great nation;" although Abraham was childless, and Sarah his wife was sixty-five years of age, and she had borne no children. At Sichem, and then at Bethel,

* Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, pp. 214, 215.

the promise became more definite: "Unto thy seed will I give this land;" and "I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth." The patriarch relied, it is certain, with implicit faith upon these repeated assurances; but year after year passed away, and he went childless in the land. In his perplexity he attempted to solve the problem, not knowing the power of God, by the conjecture that his seed should arise by way of adoption. Accordingly he proposed to acknowledge and treat as his own heir a child born in his house, the son of his steward, Eliezer of Damascus. God corrected his mistake, saying: "This shall not be thine heir, but he that shall come out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir" (xv: 1–14). But the eleventh year of his sojourn in Canaan found Sarah still childless; and despairing of offspring, she in her turn, not knowing the power of God, attempted to solve the problem. Her conjecture was that the birth of a son from the loins of Abraham and the womb of her servant-maid Hagar, followed by her act, receiving and adopting the child as her own, would fulfill the divine oracle. She gave Hagar to her husband to be his wife, and Ishmael was born. Although the unhappiness which this carnal expedient introduced into the family, should have taught all the parties that they had misinterpreted the word of God, yet both Abraham and Sarah appear to have treated Ishmael as the legitimate heir of the promises until he was thirteen years of age (chap. xvi). In the theophany of the covenant of circumcision, God said to Abraham: "I will bless Sarah and give thee also a son of her" (xvii: 16). At this news, as if it were too strange and too good to be true, Abraham fell upon his face and laughed. Not long afterward the Lord repeated the assurance to Abraham in the hearing of his wife, and she also laughed (xviii: 10–13). But within a year Isaac was born at Mamre; God's covenant was established in him to the exclusion of Ishmael; in due time Isaac was offered in sacrifice to God, and Abraham received him a second time from the dead, the type of Christ, the true and holy SEED of the covenant promises (Gen. xxii: 12; Heb. xi: 19; Gal. iii: 16).

After the same manner were the assurances of the Divine faithfulness communicated. In the beginning God gave to the patriarch a simple promise; in the next two theophanies

this promise was repeated; in the fourth God exalted the promise into a covenant, which he ratified by passing between the fragments of slain beasts (xv: 17); in the fifth God gave the second stage of the covenant in the sign of circumcision (xvii: 10); and finally, He confirmed it all by an oath, wherein, when he could swear by no greater, he swore by himself (xxii: 16). The attestation assumed the forms successively of a promise, a covenant with sacrifice, a covenant with a sacrament, and an oath: "By Myself, saith the LORD."

It has been already observed, that the progressive discovery of God's purposes to Abraham followed the general law of divine revelation. To this it should be added, that one of the providential purposes of this arrangement was to secure the spiritual discipline of Abraham. His vocation was divine; in him a new dispensation of the kingdom of God was introduced; in him and in his family the visible Church was organized; he became, with the Almighty, an original party to the covenant in which the foundations of that Church were laid; he was the founder of a holy nation, a kingdom of priests, and the father of all true believers coming after him to the end of time. A spiritual discipline, protracted, thorough, and complete, was therefore a necessity of his position. Without this, his departure from Chaldea, his separation from his kindred, his segregation from the heathen, have no significance. Now, as the means of this discipline, God imparted to him imposing manifestations of his glory; slowly unfolded before him stage by stage, his adorable purposes, and held him, through the space of fifty years in subjection to specific revelations, special providences, the powers of the world to come, and the irresistible grace of the Holy Spirit.

ART. VI.—*Withdrawal of Two of the Conductors of this Review: Card of the Remaining Five: Temporary Suspension of the Publication.*

THE present number of the *Danville Review* concludes the year 1864, and the fourth year of its own existence. The number has been considerably delayed by changes in the corps of conductors of the work, and by difficulties of many kinds, and very embarrassing; with respect to which, no joint statement need now be made, nor could probably be now fully agreed on.

The Rev. Drs. E. P. Humphrey and S. Yerkes have informed the remaining conductors, now at Danville, that they withdraw from their connection with this *Review*. Those remaining conductors are, Rev. Drs. R. J. Breckinridge, R. L. Stanton, and Rev. Professors J. Cooper and J. Matthews, now at Danville; with whom is Rev. Dr. R. W. Landis, now absent on duty as a chaplain in the U. S. V.

These five persons last named are the future proprietors and conductors of the *Danville Review*. Those who issue this card, after the most careful consideration of all the possible alternatives left to them, after the withdrawal of their two colleagues, saw nothing that for the moment was so free from difficulties and objections as the temporary suspension of their publication. It is this extremely disagreeable conclusion they have now to announce to the patrons of this work, and to that loyal public which has sustained it during the four years of its existence.

For a time we inclined to the opinion that this inevitable suspension of the publication should be for a definite and short period, in order to ascertain precisely whether such an income could be secured for it, from its subscription list, as would cover its necessary expenses, and put it in a condition to pay a fair price for, at least, that portion of the matter published in it which should be furnished by outside contributors; whereby it might be delivered from the incessant danger of destruction by means of the neglect of any of its conductors, or by means of their untimely withdrawal from the Association.

On reflection, however, it has seemed the better way, simply to announce the necessity of the discontinuance, which it is

hoped may be only temporary, and to reserve the rest—namely, the time, manner and circumstances of the resumption of its publication—for further developments of providence, further consideration on our part, and a more complete acquaintance with the tendencies of events which seem, at present, to bear unfavorably upon our work. In the mean time, advanced payments already made will be returned as soon as it may be determined that we can not resume the publication of the *Review*. And due notice will be given, as soon as other arrangements are satisfactorily made, and the simple point can be directly submitted to the public, namely, can we secure the patronage necessarily for such an editorial existence as can be considered somewhat more than a reprieve from death for one number at a time.

It was once thought to be of great importance to the establishment, the growth, and the efficiency of the charitable and educational institutions founded at Danville, that a strong and earnest periodical, at once orthodox, evangelical and loyal, capable of being the organ of several of them, and especially of the Theological Seminary, should be sustained here by the united efforts of our numerous scholars and divines, and most especially of all the theological professors; and should be sustained in the form of a Quarterly Review. That the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the U. S. A., which was so deeply interested in several of these institutions, and the founder of the Theological Seminary, did not consider the outspoken loyalty of this *Review* any objection to it, in the most religious, nay, most spiritual point of view, the formal and emphatic and reiterated deliverances of that great tribunal sufficiently attest. And now, assuredly, as always heretofore, this *Review* will prefer extinction to an ignominious and feeble existence, without conviction and without vigor enough to plead for human freedom, as a part of revealed religion, or to plead for the triumph of the nation over anarchy, treason and insurrection, or for the triumph of light over darkness.

Whatever may become the unhappy lot of the people of Kentucky, or of the great interests of religion, of letters, of human freedom, and of lasting peace, in this distracted region, most certainly this *Review* will never lend itself to the support of any interest, any party, or any institution, inconsistent with

the principles it has constantly avowed, or with the sentiments it has steadfastly maintained. Whoever may suppose they can serve God, or their generation, more effectually or more becomingly, in a different, if not opposite manner, will probably be sustained, for the time being, by that unhappy combination of parties, both in church and state, which has brought Kentucky to the brink of destruction, and whose overthrow, both in the state and the church, is an indispensable condition of the safety of either.

DANVILLE, KY., *January* 21, 1865.